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EMERSON AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

MILDRED SILVER

The College of the Ozarks

IT GOES without saying that Emerson believed in the possibility of individual progress, but did he accept, reject, or weigh critically the idea of general progress that flourished in the nineteenth century?¹ This question has been unduly neglected.² In the pages

¹ Especially in the years, up to 1859, when Emerson's attitude was forming. Although there was a certain reaction in France after the Revolution (1789) against the idea of progress, it spread rapidly in various forms. These forms may be divided into two main types: the socialistic type, a closed system, in which the individual counts for little and the state for much; the individual type which sees progress as an indefinite slow improvement of man into a remote future by means of the forces which have caused his ascent in the past. Godwin, Wordsworth, Owen, Coleridge, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Comte, Tocqueville in the first group, De Staël, Guizot, Cousin, Jouffroy, Kant, Fichte, F. von Schlegel, Hegel, Schelling in the other, were all known to Emerson, as far as one may judge from the reading lists at the ends of the journals.

Apparently there was little serious writing on the question in the United States. Like "Manifest Destiny," progress was taken for granted by popular writers and speakers of the time. The history of the idea in the United States has been neglected.

After 1859, when Darwin established evolution as a scientific hypothesis, the idea of progress as a law of nature seemed to be firmly established, although evolution in itself does not necessarily imply progress, as Darwin later admitted. See L. T. More, *The Dogma of Evolution* (Princeton, 1925), p. 195. Emerson's attitude toward progress seems to have been little affected by *The Origin of Species*, probably because he had accepted the idea of evolution as a fact years before. Darwin merely verified Emerson's philosophic and poetic conclusions with scientific ones.

For further discussion see: J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (London, 1920); W. R. Inge, *The Idea of Progress* (Oxford, 1920); Robert Shafer, "Progress and Science," *Essays in Criticism* (New Haven, 1928); Norman Foerster, *The American State University: Its Relation to Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1937), chap. ii.

For the popular attitude toward progress in America in Emerson's day see, e.g., the following orations: Charles Sumner, "The Law of Human Progress," *The Works of Charles Sumner*, Vol. II (Boston, 1872); George Bancroft, "The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race," *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1855); Job Durfee, "The Influence of Scientific Discovery and Invention on Social and Political Progress," *Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations*, ed. William C. Lane, John C. Schwab, Charles S. Northrup (Boston, 1915).

See also that curious compilation, *Eighty Years of Progress of the United States* (Hartford, 1868), which boldly claims to be "The most complete history of a nation's progress ever written."

² Lord Morley, writing soon after Emerson's death, complained that Emerson did little "to fire men with faith in social progress as the crown of wise endeavour" (John Morley, *Ralph Waldo Emerson: An Essay*, New York, 1884, p. 53). Few of his other biographers and critics even mention the matter of progress, although some of them give considerable space to his philosophy. See O. W. Firkins, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1915). Frederic I. Carpenter, in his introduction to *Ralph Waldo Emerson* in the "American Writers Series" (New York, 1934), p. xxxiii, assumes that Emerson believed in the idea of progress, as does Henry David Gray, *Emerson* (Stanford, 1917), p. 39.

that follow I shall attempt to show: (1) that Emerson rejected the popular belief of his age that general progress was a law of nature operating automatically and causing an unbroken advancement in the past, present, and future;³ (2) that at one time or another he questioned every form of the idea of progress; (3) that at different periods in his life the idea of progress was vitally bound up with his prevailing interest at that particular time; and (4) that he finally arrived at a conception of progress much less sweeping than that of some of his contemporaries,⁴ based not on natural law or Providence

Newton Dillaway, *Prophet of America: Emerson and the Problems of To-day* (Boston, 1936), though it can scarcely be called a scholarly treatise, deserves Bliss Perry's judgment of it as expressed in the introduction, "I call this a wise, kindly, and courageous volume." Written from the viewpoint of a religious mystic, its main thesis is that Emerson is once more coming into his own because America is turning to mysticism in religion, science, and daily living. He presents Emerson as believing only in the progress of individuals, not of groups or masses (p. 141), but he distinguishes clearly between the "rugged individualism" of which the collectivists accuse him and the "true individualism" of Jesus and Socrates. He does not, however, dwell further on the idea of progress except as a negative implication from his exposition of the centrality of the worth of the individual in Emerson's philosophy of life.

Dorothy Mumford, "The Idea of Progress in Emerson," a Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1930, is an interesting study attempting to trace the development of the idea in Emerson's thought from an early belief in it, through a period of skepticism to a modified acceptance. Although she strains her material at times to fit her hypothesis, and although I cannot agree entirely with her conclusion, there is much of value in her study.

The notes to the Centenary edition of Emerson's works, written by Dr. Edward W. Emerson, show in several places his own belief in progress and his desire to prove that his father held that belief. See *Works* (Centenary ed., Boston, 1903-1904), "Nature," I, 45 n.: "Although the 'degradation' was a Platonic doctrine, I think it so contrary to Mr. Emerson's steady belief in amelioration that the expression here implies merely that the animals are lower steps in an ascending series." *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. R. L. Rusk (New York, 1939) contains no material relevant to this discussion.

³ Cf. J. B. Bury's definition of progress: "This idea means that civilisation has moved, is moving, and will move in a desirable direction" (*op. cit.*, p. 2).

⁴ Some of these statements are as follows:

"The course of civilization flows on like a mighty river through a boundless valley, calling to the streams from every side to swell its current, which is always growing wider, and deeper, and clearer, as it rolls along. Let us trust ourselves upon its bosom without fear; nay, rather with confidence and joy. Since the progress of the race appears to be the great purpose of Providence, it becomes us all to venerate the future" (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 516).

"Let us, then, be of good cheer. From the great Law of Progress we derive at once our duties and our encouragements. Humanity has ever advanced, urged by instincts and necessities implanted by God,—thwarted sometimes by obstacles, causing it for a time, a moment only in the immensity of ages, to deviate from its true line, or seem to retreat, but still ever onward. At last we know the law of this movement" (Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 134).

"My friends, I tell you, we have but begun; we are in the very morning of our days; our numbers are but an unit; our national resources but a pittance; our hopeful achievements in the political, the social, and the intellectual nature, are but the rudiments of

but on the possible development of the unchanging potentialities in each individual.

Before attempting any comprehensive understanding of Emerson's attitude toward the question of the idea of progress, we must recall his manner of working. Critics complain of Emerson's lack of system, but he was not so aimless as we might think from his self-criticism.⁵ Emerson painted on a large canvas. He believed that the unity of all truth is inherent in the universe, and that if he faithfully reported his particular impression, that little section of truth which he perceived at any one time would fit with the bits which he gathered at other times to form a perfect whole.⁶ Such an attitude makes a closely chronological study useless and undesirable. However, Emerson's thought was influenced not only by his physical and mental development through the years but by the great changes going on about him. We shall try to point out these influences in their appropriate places, even though in the main we must treat Emerson's work as a whole.

I

When we think of Emerson and the idea of progress we naturally recall the famous passage in "Self-Reliance" beginning "Society never advances" and continuing for almost four pages in a detailed and reiterated denial of the possibility of progress for the race.⁷ This vivid picture of society as a wave was no sudden inspiration. For more than twenty years he had been debating the subject with himself, taking first one side and then the other, as is shown by entries in the early journals.⁸ In 1837 he had said in his journal under the

what the children of the Pilgrims must yet attain. If there is anything certain in the principles of human and social progress; if there is any, the least, reliance to be placed upon the conclusions of reason, in regard to the nature of man, the existing spectacle of our country's growth, magnificent as it is, does not suggest even an idea of what it must be" (Edward Everett, *An Oration Delivered at Plymouth*, Boston, 1825, p. 12).

⁵ *Journals* (Boston, 1909-1914), V, 326. ⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 321.

⁷ *Works*, II, 84-87. This same characteristic view of the matter is shown in his "Lecture on the Times" delivered the next winter. He had been discussing the "Times" in the abstract, but he went on to remind his audience that this was not an abstract question, that "we talk of the world, but we mean a few men and women. . . . In our idea of progress, we do not go out of this personal picture" (*ibid.*, I, 261). When Emerson spoke of progress, even when he meant the progress of society, it was usually linked in the last analysis with the individual.

⁸ At seventeen he had thought that "The human soul, the world, the universe are laboring on to their magnificent consummation" (*Journals*, I, 74), but two years later he wrote of this view, "and so we believe in childhood." The passage continues with a denial of the validity of "This more brilliant and seductive faith" (*ibid.*, I, 219). Cf. also *ibid.*,

heading "Progress of the Species" that every individual had to learn the whole lesson for himself; he could not accept formulas or rules from former ages without reworking them. "Since each must go over every line of the ground, can there be any progress of the species?"⁹ And later, "Progress of the Species! why the world is a treadmill."¹⁰

However, Emerson was not satisfied with such a thoroughgoing denial of this "seductive faith." That he took a great interest in all phases of the idea of progress is not strange. He must have heard it discussed constantly at college and have met it in his reading of philosophy. The significant thing is that he did *not* take it for granted, in spite of his optimistic view of life; and neither was he satisfied with an arbitrary rejection of the whole idea. His restless searching mind kept picking away at the problem for more than fifty years.

II

In spite of the fact that in his early manhood Emerson had made the direct denial of human progress which we have noted, he showed in his journals that he did not consider the matter closed. He often wrote out questions for thought in his journals and then set himself to answer them. We may imagine him as analyzing the idea of progress and asking: Does history show a continuously progressive movement? Have we advanced in knowledge? In the arts? Does our material and scientific progress help or hinder man? Has the race made moral and spiritual progress? Is there such a thing as progress of the species? We shall consider each of these phases in order.

In Emerson's answers to the question, "Does history show a continuously progressive movement?" we can distinguish three views,

I, 103, 220, 229, 299, 307. At twenty-one he had recorded the reading of "Everett's rich strains at Plymouth," but, even when warmed by their optimism, all he could admit was that "this consenting declamation from every quarter on the suspicious promise of the times" was "an authentic testimony to the reality of the good or at least to a degree of it" (*ibid.*, II, 45).

There seems to be a difference of opinion among critics as to the value of Emerson's journals for such a study as this. They do not show us a different Emerson, I think, only a different view of him. They allow us an occasional visit behind the scenes. We often see the steps by which he arrived at a certain opinion, the doubts which he felt before he made a positive statement, the evil which he recognized but did not feel obliged to mention in public. As a whole, the journals seem much less hopeful of progress in the nineteenth-century acceptance of the word than the published works.

⁹ *Journals*, IV, 306. Cf. *ibid.*, VI, 101. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 230.

views difficult to reconcile. The first involves the Platonic doctrine of degradation and the Hebraic teaching of the fall of man. The statement in *Nature* is characteristic: "All history is but the epoch of one degradation."¹¹ The second view is often expressed in both journals and published works throughout his life. The most detailed and lengthy elaboration of it follows the declaration in "Progress of Culture" that he finds "a certain equivalence of the ages of history."¹² In this passage occurs that sentence so frequently repeated, "The world is always equal to itself."¹³ The third view seems to contradict the other two as well as his dictum that society never advances. It involves Emerson's belief in Providence, Fate, "a great and beneficent and progressive necessity,"¹⁴ "a sublime and friendly Destiny," as he variously names this force.¹⁵ It is difficult for us to see how this idea differs from the law of progress.

There are, however, some important considerations to be taken into account when we are trying to arrive at Emerson's true conception of Fate or Providence. First, we should remember that he does not dodge the fact that fate often seems the opposite of beneficent.¹⁶ While Fate is limitation it is opposed by Power, "the other fact in the dual world," which expresses itself in man as will, thought, freedom.¹⁷ There is a blessed Unity, a Beautiful Necessity which reconciles these two opposites, nature and soul, law and freedom, Fate and power. This fact, then leads to two other considerations, the supreme importance of the individual and the primacy of the moral law. His most poetic statement of the working of fate involves all three points. It is that famous peroration to the remarks at the funeral services for Lincoln. The passage begins, "There is a serene Providence which rules the fate of nations," and

¹¹ *Works*, I, 70. See notes. Cf. "Milton," XII, 274, and *Journals*, VII, 131.

¹² *Works*, VIII, 213. Cf. *Journals*, VI, 101; III, 410.

¹³ See *Works*, "Works and Days," VII, 174; "The Poet," IX, 313; "Shakespeare," XI, 452, for the same statement.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, "The Conservative," I, 313.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, "The Young American," I, 371. Other expressions are: "Fate involves the melioration" ("Fate," VI, 35); "An eternal beneficent necessity is always bringing things right" ("The Sovereignty of Ethics," X, 189); "Against all appearances the nature of things works for truth and right forever" ("Worship," VI, 219); "Men are but the mouth-pieces of a great progressive Destiny" (*Journals*, II, 253); "Through the years and the centuries, through evil agents, through toys and atoms, a great and beneficent tendency irresistibly streams" (*Works*, "Montaigne; or the Skeptic," IV, 185-186).

¹⁶ "Providence has a wild, rough, incalculable road to its end, and it is of no use to whitewash its huge, mixed instrumentalities, or to dress up that terrific benefactor in a clean shirt and white neckcloth of a student in divinity" (*Works*, "Fate," VI, 8).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 22.

continues with an enumeration of its accomplishments in spite of disaster and through defeat to the climax of its achievements, when it "obtains the ultimate triumph of the best race by the sacrifice of everything which resists the moral laws of the world." To accomplish this it "creates the man for the time."¹⁸ Thus, in the final analysis Providence brings about progress through the agency of the individual man who gains his power from becoming a channel for the working of the moral law.

An outgrowth of this conception of divine Destiny as showing a progressive movement in history is the hope for and faith in some measure of future progress. We can find literally hundreds of passages which express Emerson's optimistic view. As Holmes said, "he sides with the party of the future."¹⁹ These passages, cited out of their context, could be used to depict Emerson as the "credulous" optimist which many critics call him.²⁰ However, his philosophy is not so "fatally easy" as appears on the surface.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, "Abraham Lincoln," XI, 337-338. Cf. the Fugitive Slave Law speech of 1854, "I hope we . . . have come to a belief that there is a divine Providence in the world, which will not save us but through our own cooperation" (XI, 244).

¹⁹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "American Men of Letters Series" (Boston, 1898), p. 157.

²⁰ Lucy Lockwood Hazard, in *The Frontier in American Literature* (New York, 1927), p. 160, does something worse than citing passages out of context. To prove her point that Emerson was the immediate ancestor of George Follansbee Babbitt and that in such lectures as "The Fortune of the Republic" he equals the fatuousness of Babbitt's Rotary Club speech if not its "punch," she quotes from a section in which Emerson is keenly critical of our so-called democracy, our lack of integrity, our evasion of truth, our recklessness, and our failure to live up to any of our possibilities. She lifts three sentences from this context, thus ruining their ironical effect, but to be sure of her purpose she omits the last clause which pointed the whole paragraph. One would hesitate to decide whether this shows a lack of scholarly integrity or a total failure to understand plain English.

The passage as it stands in her book is as follows: "In proportion to the personal ability of each man he feels the invitation and career which the country opens to him. He is easily fed with wheat and game, with Ohio wine, but his brain is also pampered by finer draughts, by political power and by the power in the railroad board, in the mills, or the banks. This elevates his spirits, and gives of course, an easy self-reliance."

In Emerson, *Works*, "The Fortune of the Republic," XI, 522, the following clause is a part of the last sentence: "that makes him self-willed and unscrupulous."

Ernest Marchand, "Emerson and the Frontier," *American Literature*, III, 149-174 (May, 1931), takes a much more conservative and truer view of Emerson's optimism, although he is betrayed into calling it "boundless" even while he is employed in showing that it had well-marked limitations.

²¹ Cf. the expansive challenge which he flung at the young men of Dartmouth in 1838. "Say rather all literature is yet to be written. Poetry has scarce chanted its first song. The perpetual admonition of nature to us, is 'the world is new, untried. Do not believe the past. I give you the universe a virgin today'" (*Works*, "Literary Ethics," I, 167). He had been discussing the resources of the scholar, and this was his presentation of the scholar's task. His third point was the rule for the scholar's life if he is to accomplish this task, and he made it no easy short cut. Solitude, rigorous labor, asceticism, loving, hating, suffering—these and much more must be the lot of the "good scholar."

In discussing the question of an advance in knowledge Emerson shows a similar ability to take several views. Holmes continued his remark above, "he will not be unjust to the present or the past." In his hope for the future he was, nevertheless, often severe with the present and the past. He frequently denied that there had been any real progress of knowledge.²² He also said that an advance of knowledge is meaningless unless the right kind of individual uses the knowledge. He tacitly admitted an accumulation of knowledge, but he felt that there is no real advance because ancient man had the same "infinitely versatile resources" that man has today. He simply used them to different ends.²³

Emerson spoke occasionally of the progress of art, but he usually meant not the fine arts but the useful arts. He did lament the fact that American freedom had not had the result in painting, sculpture, poetry, fiction, and eloquence which was expected of it.²⁴ He said flatly that ancient literary masterpieces had never been surpassed. He admired classical art not because of its place in time but because of its clarity, its naturalness, its unfolding as the product of organic necessity.²⁵ He talked of the progress of culture, but defined culture as all that "which gives the mind possession of its own powers."²⁶ Thus with him the progress of art and culture was closely connected with material progress which at the other extreme merged into scientific progress.

The progress of science was one of Emerson's great interests

It sounds like a forecast of Emerson's own experience in the next few weeks and months when he was being severely criticized for the Divinity School address. Cf. also his discussion of the wise man and his place in government. "We think our civilization near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star" (*ibid.*, "Politics," III, 216-217). Here, then, his theme is not indefinite future progress but the need of the influence of character on society.

²² *Journals*, II, 92. "A great progress of knowledge—and nothing on earth has a title to the name—" This was written at twenty-two. Forty years later he said, "There is a perpetual march and progress to ideas . . . and ideas must work through the brains and the arms of good and brave men, or they are no better than dreams" (*Works*, "American Civilization," XI, 310).

²³ *Journals*, III, 410. "A singular equality may be observed between the great men of the first and the last ages. The astronomy, the arts, and the history of sixty centuries give Lafayette, Canning, Webster no advantage over Saladin, Scipio, or Agesilaus. The reason is, the arts, the sciences are in man, and the Spartan possessed and used the very talent in his war that Watt used for economic ends, and the pride and self-sufficiency of the ancient was founded on this very consciousness of infinitely versatile resources." Other examples follow. Cf. *ibid.*, VI, 101; X, 287.

²⁴ *Works*, "Literary Ethics," I, 156-157.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Art and Criticism," XII, 303-305.

²⁶ *Works*, "Progress of Culture," VIII, 217.

all through his life.²⁷ However, in spite of his interest in every new thing, in scientific discoveries, in inventions, in practical improvements of every kind, he did not consider material and scientific progress as an unmixed blessing.²⁸ He felt that for every seeming gain there is a proportionate loss.²⁹ Property and comfort cause men to degenerate into selfish householders dependent upon "furniture and trumpery," and too late it is seen that civilization was a mistake.³⁰ He saw clearly the dangers of giving man more power than he was ready to use properly³¹ and begs God, "Don't trust children with edge tools."³² He is fearful of the effect of the flying machine. "We are not yet ripe to be birds."³³

Still he saw the other side of the picture. Every fine soul should have all the benefit that arts and tools can give him.³⁴ That he was not greatly impressed by Thoreau's Walden experiment we may judge from his comment "that it proved a man could live on the level of a woodchuck if he wished."³⁵ It is not strange that as an old man he looked back over his lifetime and said, "The splendors of this age outshine all other recorded ages." The list of the inventions and discoveries which he appends only makes us wonder that he kept his head as well as he did.³⁶ Never does he lose sight of two basic ideas: that the foundations of art and culture are the moral sentiment,³⁷ and that the true test of civilization is the kind of man it produces.³⁸

As a young man Emerson saw that the new discoveries in science would have a far-reaching effect on politics, philosophy, religion,

²⁷ See *ibid.*, "The Adirondacs," IX, 190, and the note on this passage, IX, 464, for his interest in the laying of the Atlantic cable. Dr. Emerson here calls attention to his father's interest in this particular scientific advance because it would "weld the races together in brotherhood."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Civilization," VII, 33.

²⁹ *Journals*, VII, 518. Cf. *Works*, "The Conservative," I, 316; *Journals*, VI, 322; *ibid.*, X, 173.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 27-28. Cf. also *Works*, "Works and Days," VII, 165.

³¹ *Journals*, III, 360.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 450.

³³ *Works*, "A Letter," XII, 393. Cf. "Works and Days," VII, 163.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, "Culture," VI, 141.

³⁵ Quoted by Grant C. Knight in *American Literature and Culture* (New York, 1932), p. 199.

³⁶ *Journals*, X, 359.

³⁷ *Works*, "Beauty," VI, 306; "Progress of Culture," VIII, 228.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, "Civilization," VII, 174-175. In "Works and Days" is Emerson's seasoned statement of the problem and his solution of it: the hypocritical days may bring in their hands material benefits that seem like treasures far outshining those of other times. But this is an illusion. "The World is always equal to itself. . . . An everlasting Now reigns in Nature. . . . Every day is Doomsday" (*ibid.*, VII, 174-175). The progress with which he concludes this essay is that of "every earnest mind" (*ibid.*, VII, 185).

and literature, and he welcomed the change.³⁹ As an old man he kept the same attitude. At sixty-seven he remarked in his journal that he should not feel threatened or insulted if a chemist should create an animalcule. He would consider it an indication that now man was ready to be trusted with a new responsibility. Matter would be proved to be impregnated with God and all would be unity again.⁴⁰ This is courageous thinking, the kind Emerson habitually exhibited, but he often saw the other side of the matter. "Except to better men, the augmented science is a mere chemic experiment of the quickest poison."⁴¹ He never made a formal synthesis; he was not interested in closed systems. He left that task to the unity inherent in truth.⁴²

Inevitably, as he was searching and testing to see whether the new sciences truly foreshadowed or reflected improvement in man as a human being, he came back to the question of moral progress. "Is this secular progress we have described, this evolution of man to the highest powers, only to give him sensibility, and not to bring duties with it?" he asked in 1862.⁴³ He required of educated man an ideal standard, a faith in the possible improvement of man.⁴⁴ Historically speaking, this is the best world that has yet been possible, but "if we see it from the side of Will or Moral Sentiment, we shall accuse the Past and the Present, and require the impossible of the Future."⁴⁵ Over and over he asserted the identity of the intellect and the ideal. "The high intellect is absolutely at one with moral nature."⁴⁶

While we have already noted in Part I that Emerson answered the question, "Is there progress of the species?" by a firm and repeated denial, we see by now that no decision was final with him. Since his growing interest and belief in evolution is one of his dominant interests which is to be discussed in detail in Part III, we shall leave further consideration of this question to be taken up there.

From this brief review of Emerson's attitude toward the various phases of progress, it appears that he not only took opposite views at times, but that in more than one case he had at least three well-

³⁹ *Journals*, VI, 246.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 348.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XII, 430.

⁴² For three pairs of contrasted ideas which he says he cannot reconcile, see *ibid.*, VIII, 86-87.

⁴³ *Works*, "American Civilization," XI, 299.

⁴⁴ *Journals*, V, 24.

⁴⁵ *Works*, "The Conservative," I, 301.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, "The Sovereignty of Ethics," X, 185.

defined views. He said that history showed a retrogressive movement, that it had not moved at all, and that fate involved amelioration or a progressive movement. While he never reconciled these contradictions entirely, he constantly fell back upon the importance of the individual and the development of his moral character as a basis for progress of any kind. He denied that there has been any advance of knowledge, yet at another moment he suggested that it was rather a question of the kind of men who used the knowledge. He felt that while we had made great advances in the useful arts quite the opposite was true of the fine arts. He constantly warned against the dangers of material and scientific progress, but he did not condemn it unqualifiedly. He saw the evil effects that advance in science might have on civilization, but, as always, he trusted that the government of the world was moral and that better men would learn the proper use of dangerous tools. Such agility in turning from one view to another may bewilder us, but we should observe that Emerson never let go the thread which guided him through the maze, the infinite possibilities within the self-reliant individual. We shall observe this same tenacity of his in Part III, where we are to see the relation of the idea of progress to Emerson's ideas of religion, science, humanitarianism, and patriotism.

III

Certain set principles in Emerson are the warp with which his loom is strung. Some of these we have already noted: the primacy of the individual, the basic position of the "moral sentiment," the importance of character. Other ideas, like that of progress, are the woof, lending variety to his web, as the warp insures continuity, and, in turn, being colored and held firm by the longer, stronger threads. Of these lifelong warp threads we want to consider particularly his doctrine of the Over-Soul, his interest in the question of evolution, his attitude toward all institutional reform, and his love of country.

Whatever belief in progress Emerson had is based first of all on the doctrine of the Over-Soul, which is found everywhere in his writings. Its first announcement in *Nature* is amplified and clarified in the Divinity School address, the "Over-Soul" essay, and other essays in the first series (1841). Because this term for the immanence of God was an unfamiliar one, the doctrine is often considered pe-

culiarly Emersonian, but it goes back to the beginnings of the Eastern religions⁴⁷ and has found varying expression in the lives of mystics from Buddha and Socrates to members of the Oxford Groups. The doctrine of the Over-Soul represents Emerson's solution of the problem of the one and the many, for it includes the idea of the transcendent God, the unifying force in the universe, as well as that of the immanent God. He claims no originality for his belief but shows that the same power which is manifested in the trances and visions of the great mystics is apparent in the simplest religious experience of the ordinary man. Superficially viewed, this looks like an easy way of life, a suitable foundation for an easy optimism. Actually it is as difficult as it is beautiful. As Emerson said, "If anyone imagines that this law is lax, let him keep its commandment one day."⁴⁸

"Self-reliance . . . is reliance on God."⁴⁹ Thus Emerson in one simple statement connected his gospel of individualism with his underlying theme of God's immanence.⁵⁰ If we keep in mind that Emerson's individualism is based not on the uniqueness or originality of each separate man but upon precisely the opposite foundation, his sharing of the Universal Mind, we shall better understand the positions to which his belief led him. He has been accused of pride of intellect or the pride of modernity, but this is a charge rather against those who misread him, who emphasize the self and forget God. The pride of modernity is closely related to the idea of progress. If we feel that our times are the best that ever have been we are likely to believe that such progress will continue into the future. Yet we have seen that his early attitude toward progress was an emphatic denial of any advance of society as a whole. The word *progress* occurs several times in the essay on the Over-Soul, but it is always used of a man's improvement in character, of his advance toward a more and more complete incarnation of the Great Spirit, of his absorption of and into the Divine Unity.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Mysticism in English Literature* (New York, 1913), p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Works*, "Self-Reliance," II, 74.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, "The Fugitive Slave Law," XI, 236.

⁵⁰ This is his translation of Luke's words, "The Kingdom of God is within you," or Paul's, "We are the temple of the living God."

⁵¹ See Carlyle's expression, in his preface to the first English edition of the *Essays* (1841), of his delight at the "brave Emerson" to whom the "jabbering" of many "Ghosts" such as "Progress of the Species" was unmusical. This is quoted in the notes, *Works*, II, 377. On the other hand, Garnett says that Emerson wrote the essay "Circles" to reconcile the rigidity of unalterable law with the fact of human progress, according to the intro-

It may seem a far cry from this "dangerous" doctrine of the immanence of God to Emerson's keen and curious interest in the theory of evolution. We cannot say, perhaps, just how the two ideas were related in his own mind, but it is profitable to trace their historical connection with each other and with the idea of progress.⁵² Even though creation was considered a degradation or a descending scale, men soon came to think of the ladder as a "way-up" as well as a way down. At first this was conceived only as the way of the mystic in seeking unity with the source of all life power, but gradually the idea became temporalized and man was seen as the climax of creation as far as the face of this globe was concerned. It needed only one more step to make this an irresistible argument for the progress of the human race, the change from a conception of the chain of being as something static and finished by the creator at the beginning of the world to an hypothesis of continuous creative growth.⁵³

At the end of the eighteenth century the doctrine which had been evolved to prove that this best of all possible worlds was one of logic and reason was taken over by the Romantics, particularly in Germany, and its diversitarian consequences exploited.⁵⁴ Critics have made a good deal of Emerson's anticipation of Darwin's announcement of his evolutionary theories. Charles and Mary Beard,

ductory note to "Circles" (*ibid.*, II, 433-434). Dr. Emerson saw in one sentence from this essay his father's effort to use "The old doctrine of Heraclitus again, brought to the modern use of progress by evolution" (*ibid.*, II, 302, n. 1). See the biographical sketch, *ibid.*, I, xxvi-xxx, also I, 330, n. 1; XI, 578-579. Cf. the last paragraph of n. 2 in this article. In "Circles" there are a half-dozen references to progress, but they all involve the individual as well as the race. See *ibid.*, II, 304, 305, 308.

⁵² Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21, speaks of the incompatibility of the other-worldliness of the Middle Ages with some of the fundamental assumptions of the idea of progress.

Arthur C. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, 1936), has traced the two ideas of God which made a cleavage through medieval thought from Plato to the Renaissance, and he has shown how the idea of God as a creator, as a source of outflowing energy, as a part of his creation, continued a strain of this-worldliness all through the Middle Ages.

⁵³ This step came early in the eighteenth century or earlier with the various writings of Leibniz, and by the middle of the century not only philosophers but poets such as Young and Akenside were proclaiming the new doctrine. Voltaire and Johnson raised voices in protest, but they were drowned out in the rising tide. Kant's theory of cosmic evolution was, like these others, dependent upon a temporalized version of the principle of plenitude. Robinet in the sixties developed a theory of creative evolution, which anticipated Schelling and Bergson.

⁵⁴ Schiller, Novalis, Fichte, the Schlegels, the young Goethe, and many others, especially Schelling, developed this side of the principle of plenitude both in biology and in literature. The natural philosophers, Bacon, Oken, Treviranus, Lamarck, Goethe, St. Hilaire, all supported an evolutionary theory against Linnaeus, Cuvier, and Agassiz.

in their enthusiasm for progress, emphasize Emerson's "penetrating discernment" and "prescience" in seeing at least as early as his "Poetry and Imagination" lecture in 1854 the far-reaching effects that the theory of evolution would have on society.⁵⁵ When we remember that he was early introduced to Goethe by Carlyle, and that he knew Schelling by way of Coleridge, we cannot be greatly surprised at his familiarity with an idea which had been absorbing the interest of philosophers and scientists for more than a century.⁵⁶

Emerson's early journals show a growing interest in paleontology, biology, anthropology, and other sciences which were beginning to throw a new light on "the full and regular series of animals from mites and worms up to man."⁵⁷ His first visit to Europe in 1833 stimulated this interest in every phase of the life of man, past, present, and future. He visited the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, where Buffon and Lamarck had made fruitful discoveries, and was greatly impressed by the arrangement of the anatomical specimens there.⁵⁸ His editors consider that even then he was beginning to think about evolution. He got Lamarck's theories from Lyell's *Principles of Geology*.⁵⁹ Emerson derived from John Hunter the words "progressive and arrested development," which haunted him the rest of his life,⁶⁰ and Owen took him through the Hunterian museum in London. We should not be surprised at Emerson's knowledge of, and interest in, evolution.⁶¹ The remarkable fact is that although Emer-

⁵⁵ Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1935), p. 783.

⁵⁶ John Jay Chapman, *Emerson and Other Essays* (New York, 1899), p. 42. "He lived too early and at too great a distance from the forum of European thought to absorb the ideas of evolution and give place to them in his philosophy." See Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46, for a more reasonable view, and Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 45, for an early pronouncement on the question. H. H. Clark, "Emerson and Science," *Philological Quarterly*, X, 225-260 (July, 1931), discusses the effect of Emerson's belief in evolution on his faith in "animated beneficence" and points out the fact that it might have had a marked influence upon many of his ideas and attitudes, but he does not include the idea of progress among them.

⁵⁷ *Journals*, I, 379.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 161-164. Cf. X, 236, and note. Also "Biographical Sketch," *Works*, I, xxvii.

⁵⁹ *Journals*, III, 536; *Works*, I, xxviii. This was the book which Darwin took with him on the *Beagle* and from which he probably got his knowledge of Lamarck's ideas. See Henry F. Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin* (New York, 1913), p. 233.

⁶⁰ *Works*, "Poetry and Imagination," VIII, 7, and *Journals*, X, 236.

⁶¹ The fact that Darwin had his conclusions ready twenty years before they were published, and that in 1858 he reluctantly gave them to the public at the insistence of Hooker and Lyell only because Wallace was ready to publish his own paper shows us that the idea was already a commonplace one, although it was not accepted as a fact.

son saw the effect that the acceptance of the theory of evolution would have in establishing a law of progress, he still questioned, still doubted. As we have seen, when the nineteenth century finally grasped the idea of evolution it felt that at last it had absolute proof that progress was inevitable.⁶² Emerson could not help sharing the general enthusiasm, but with characteristic skepticism he tempered his enthusiasm with caution, and kept setting one idea against another as if experimenting to see what would happen as a result of their proximity.

Probably his second visit to Europe in 1847 added fuel to the fire. At least his writings from 1850 to 1860 show the most marked interest in the question. Beside certain very positive statements, which sound as if he wanted to convince himself of the truth of progress if he still had any doubts about it, he used four types of juxtaposition or opposition. He instanced the theory of degradation, the truth of Rousseauistic primitivism, the immutability of human nature, and the dependence of all improvement on individual progress. One of his milder statements occurs in the 1844 volume of essays. "To the intelligent, nature converts itself into a vast promise, and will not be rashly explained."⁶³ Over and over in one form or another he announced that melioration is the law of nature.⁶⁴

We have noted Emerson's early connection of the theory of degradation with his views of history. It is not a question which occurs often in his writings, perhaps because his growing belief in evolution superseded it, but there are several passages which show his interest in this Platonic doctrine.⁶⁵ Two of them are in his journals, not far apart. The first states the problem. Are beasts and plants degradations of man or are they prophecies of him? "That point of imperfection which we occupy—is it on the way *up* or *down*?"⁶⁶ The second is a picturesque restatement of the problem plus his solution. Are the trilobites or the gods our grandfathers? That depends upon "whether we look from the material or the poetic side."⁶⁷ This is perhaps another way of saying that

⁶² Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁶³ *Works*, "Nature," III, 193.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, "Method of Nature," I, 302; "Intellect," II, 330; "Race," V, 67; "Culture," VI, 140, 165; "Poetry and Imagination," VIII, 4; "The Sovereignty of Ethics," X, 188; "Emancipation Proclamation," XI, 326; "Powers and Laws of Thought," XII, 19, 50; *Journals*, VII, 117; IX, 342; X, 462.

⁶⁵ *Works*, "Nature," I, 45, 70, 71. Cf. *Journals*, VII, 399.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 435.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 497.

here is a question which finds its answer in the unity of the Universal Mind. In "Quotation and Originality" he asked, when he saw how much of our literature and art is borrowed from the ancients, "Now shall we say that only the first men were well alive, and the existing generation is invalidated and degenerate?"⁶⁸

He connected primitivism as well as degradation with the doctrine of the Over-Soul. We find at the close of one of his finest expressions of God's immanence a quotation from some traveler who professed to have seen human nature in all its forms. "It is everywhere the same, but the wilder it is, the more virtuous."⁶⁹ Another note in the journals is in ridicule of primitivism. Civilization is onerous and expensive. Why keep it up? Let's be Indians. But why stop there? It would be cheaper still to be mud turtles or oysters.⁷⁰ Critics have detected in Emerson the Rousseauistic doctrine that the sciences corrupt manners, but, as we have seen, he did not reject material and scientific progress. It was only when "things are in the saddle and ride mankind" that he objected to them.

If his statements of the immutability of human nature occurred only in the early writings we might conclude that he changed his mind on the subject as he became more and more interested in evolution and the idea of progress. Although there are more such passages in the early journals than elsewhere, they also are found scattered throughout his works. The most poetic statement is the comparison in "Works and Days" of life with the action of the surf.⁷¹ His feeling that the ancients have never been surpassed found expression frequently.⁷² We have seen that he was fond of the dictum "The world is always equal to itself."⁷³ Sometimes he even went so far as to say that the individual could not change: "When I see changed men, I shall look for a changed world."⁷⁴

Such a view must have been only a momentary aberration, and however far he wandered he always returned to the central fact of individual progress. Since he accepted Lamarck's principle of "ef-

⁶⁸ *Works*, VIII, 187-188.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, "Worship," VI, 214. Some of these passages containing a primitivistic note surprise us where we might least expect them. See *ibid.*, "Power," VI, 69-71; "Plato; or the Philosopher," IV, 46; *Journals*, VII, 130. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 88.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 42.

⁷¹ *Works*, "Works and Days," VII, 181.

⁷² *Journals*, I, 170; II, 253-254; III, 410.

⁷³ *Works*, "Progress of Culture," VIII, 213; XII, 480, note for page 391.

⁷⁴ *Journals*, VII, 430. Cf. *Works*, VI, 370, note for p. 131.

fort"⁷⁵ rather than Darwin's mechanistic explanation of evolution, we can see why a theory of progress brought about by the self-improvement of individuals would appeal to him rather than an inevitable amelioration determined by the laws of nature. Critics may argue whether Emerson was a monist or a dualist, but there can be no doubt that he thought "man hath all that nature hath, but more." It would have cut clean across his deepest convictions to have had to subscribe to a belief in a deterministic, mechanistic view of humanity and its place in the scheme of things.

As we have said before, Emerson felt no intellectual responsibility to fuse his various ideas into one deft synthesis. He did not think of them as separate problems to be solved with mathematical exactness, but rather as the colors in the spectrum, shading imperceptibly into one another, full of contrast, yet refracted from and resolving into one bright ray of truth. His method of study, like his method of teaching, was to oppose conflicting truths, to balance them against each other, not to compare them or to reconcile them. So he looked at Dundee church tower and thought, "This was built by another and a better race than any that now look on it," but at another time, "if idealists will work as well as these men wrought, we shall see a new world apace."⁷⁶ In two ways these seemingly conflicting ideas of amelioration in nature "which alone permits and authorizes amelioration in mankind,"⁷⁷ of primitivism, of degradation, of the immutability of the human race, and of the supremacy of the individual find a resolution. One way, which he might call the "poetic," is through his theory of correspondence. To him mind, not matter, is of prime importance. Matter is only a manifestation of the mind. He used melioration, metamorphosis, degradation, metaphorically or symbolically. "To the vigilant the history of the universe is only symptomatic; and life mnemonical."⁷⁸ The second way is the simplest yet the most difficult we can imagine, and to Emerson it was axiomatic. Life is the crucible. Whatever there proves dross will dispose of itself after the pure metal has been drawn off. We need concern ourselves only with the true.

This tendency in Emerson to make theory meet the test of practice kept him from a belief in socialistic types of the idea of progress

⁷⁵ *Works*, "The Young American," I, 372 and note.

⁷⁶ *Journals*, VII, 398.

⁷⁷ *Works*, "The Young American," I, 372.

⁷⁸ *Journals*, VII, 82.

such as flourished in the first half of the century. He read Fourier and Owen with great interest, he listened to the schemes of Alcott and Ripley, but he did not join the Brook Farm Association.⁷⁹ In his young manhood he objected to all reforms as such because they were partial, not basic. He saw clearly that man would have to be changed from within, if at all, and that institutions would be the result, not the cause. When he was drawn into the Abolition movement almost against his will because he felt that his duty as a citizen and as a man required it, he felt unhappy and out of place. What he learned about his fellow men during the years just before the war did not lead him to any Utopian dreams of man's perfectibility. He was more horrified by the complacency and selfishness of the New England manufacturers in their lukewarm attitude toward the Fugitive Slave Law and their avoidance of war at any price than he was by anything the South did. After the war his interest in humanitarian projects became closely tied up with his interest in the future of his country and his devotion to it.

The patriotism of Emerson developed chronologically and demonstrated itself in four distinct phases corresponding loosely with four different attitudes toward the idea of progress, three of which we have already suggested. In his youthful writings where we found an enthusiastic acceptance of progress we also find a boyish patriotism expressed in the flowery oratorical style of his Southern friends whose eloquence he admired. Everett and Webster were at this time his idols. In early manhood, at the time of "Self-Reliance" and the denial of all progress except that of the individual, he was critical of all government except that of the individual over himself, and he looked forward to a time when we could dispense with it entirely. During the period from the outbreak of the Mexican War to the end of the Civil War, the time when he was especially enthusiastic over evolutionary theories which might have led him to a complete acceptance of the idea of progress, he was gravely concerned for his country.⁸⁰ No one can be positive about might-have-

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 322-323.

⁸⁰ Although Emerson's activities at this time are well known, perhaps the extent of his influence is not fully realized. More to the point for this study is the inference we surely have a right to draw, that these dark days must just as truly have had their influence on him, bringing out his virility ("This filthy enactment was made in the nineteenth century by people who could read and write. I will not obey it, by God," *Journals*, VIII, 236); toning down his faith in "Manifest Destiny" (*ibid.*, X, 106); showing him the greed and servility of his fellow New Englanders (*Works*, "American Civilization," XI, 300, *Journals*, VII, 13-14, 201); tempering his optimism (*ibid.*, V, 119).

beens, but it seems quite possible that but for this time of anxiety and trial he might have swallowed whole the nineteenth-century idea of progress.

The fourth phase of his patriotic devotion came with the successful close of the war, the emancipation of the slaves, and the new movement to the West. Now that his country seemed to be passing into happier days he was once more heartened, and he left for us a succession of patriotic lectures in such essays as "Resources," "Civilization," "Progress of Culture," and "The Fortune of the Republic." These essays have an overoptimistic note which sounds very flat to one who has studied critically his United States history from the vantage point of our own confused and troubled times. They exude a flow of the old catchwords, "boundless resources," "democracy," "freedom," "progress." However, as we look deeper, we see that even here progress has distinct limits. Civilization depends upon morality and its final test is the kind of man it turns out. He criticized the levity of the people made reckless by easy power which makes them self-willed and unscrupulous. He objected to the use of that glamorous phrase, "Manifest Destiny," as being profanely used. He saw the good in his country and hoped to increase it by emphasizing it, but he also saw the bad and put his finger forcibly on the sore spot.⁸¹ In the end, patriotism with Emerson was no synonym for indiscriminating nationalism, but it implied a full development of the individual citizen as a necessary foundation for real national development.

It was natural that Emerson should choose for his Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in 1867 a subject which would allow him to present a summary and synthesis of his ideas.⁸² This was his moment of triumph, his return at the height of his fame to the platform of his alma mater, which had been closed to him for the thirty years since the Divinity School address.

This lecture, "The Progress of Culture," contains many of his characteristic ideas which may be summarized as follows: America is a land of opportunity, especially since the Union has withstood its trial. Science is producing a new world. This is an ethical improvement. Freedom is developing a noble class. Human nature is the same in every age and country. Geniuses represent their nations, but sometimes they are born an age too soon. Hope lies in these

⁸¹ *Works*, "Civilization," VII, 33-34.

⁸² *Ibid.*, VIII, 207-234.

great men. The moral sentiment is supreme. There is a complete correspondence between man and nature. There is unity or identity in the whole universe. The universe is repeated in each atom. The inventions of science are only crutches. Superiority comes through dependence upon the Divine Source. Superiority carries responsibility with it. Men are great through meeting and overcoming difficulties. Through the efforts of cultivated men there will be both individual and racial progress.

So Emerson comes full circle and ends, in a sense, just where he began. The self-reliant man, depending on the deeper, higher self, which is God, will through his own effort to express the indwelling Spirit make his pilgrim's progress. Others will be encouraged by his example to do likewise. Since Providence out of our evil not only seeks to bring forth good but succeeds in doing so, in the course of time there will be progress for the race. Institutions, history do not make men, but man makes institutions and history; therefore as man reaches higher and higher stages in his own evolution he will remake institutions, and history will tell a new story. But "far off . . . is the perfectibility."⁸³ This is progress of a sort, but it is far different from the idea of progress as an inevitable law of nature or as a decree of a benevolent Divinity who will bring everything right regardless of what man does. With these nineteenth-century views of progress Emerson had no patience. For him all progress of the individual, of the nation, of the race, depended upon man's fuller incarnation of the Divine, upon his "indisputable infinitude."⁸⁴

⁸³ *Journals*, III, 557.

⁸⁴ *Works*, "The Conservative," I, 298.

HOW COOPER BECAME A NOVELIST

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THE STORY of the incidents that led James Fenimore Cooper to become a novelist is familiar to all students of American literature. In 1820 the Cooper family occupied a cottage on Angevine Farm, at Scarsdale, New York, where Cooper, who had retired from the United States Navy, lived the life of a country gentleman. Farming was his vocation, but landscape gardening was for a time his chief diversion: he planned a lawn and ornamented it with shrubs; he transplanted trees and drained a swamp; and he built a "ha-ha fence, then a novelty in this country."¹

"Reading," says Susan Fenimore Cooper, "was a regular resource for the evening hours and rainy days." Cooper had a taste and a gift for reading aloud. "For Shakespeare he was always ready; . . . Pope, Thomson, Gray, were also in favor. But he could seldom be induced to read more than a page or two of Milton at a time." Every month packet ships from England brought to the New York booksellers volumes fresh from the London press: the religious works of William Wilberforce and Hannah More, the poems of Byron, and the novels of Maria Edgeworth and of Scott. The booksellers had in Cooper a very good customer; new books were always "in particular request" with him. He bought the Waverley Novels as they came out, "and rapidly as the great Scotch novels succeeded each other, something more was needed to fill up all those quiet evening hours at Angevine."

"Unfortunately," continues the narrative, "those English packets brought trash, as well as treasures literary from beyond the sea. On one occasion a *new novel*² chanced to be on the table; he was asked to read. The title and look of the book were not to his taste; he opened it, however, and began." Suddenly after wading through a few pages, he threw it aside in disgust. "I can write you a better book than that myself," he exclaimed. "Playfully challenged" to make good his boast, he "immediately began throwing together the outline of a tale, something in the style of the rejected volume." As

¹ Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Pages and Pictures from the Life of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1861), pp. 14-15.

² The italics are mine.

the story advanced, he became so "amused and interested" that he worked on until he brought the tale to a conclusion. Meanwhile, at the suggestion of his wife, he had begun to think of publication, but he came to no decision about this matter until he had sought further advice. He accordingly read parts of his manuscript to Charles Wilkes, of New York, a friend in whose taste he had great confidence; to James Atcheson, of Otsego County, an Englishman of learning and talent; and to the family of John Jay, at Bedford, New York, with whom he had been on terms of intimacy from childhood. It is a significant fact that a lady who was a guest of the Jays refused to believe that the story was original: she said that she had heard the tale before and that the author was a woman. The general verdict of the audience, however, was favorable; and so *Precaution* was published on August 25, 1820.³

Susan Fenimore Cooper's first account of the genesis of *Precaution*, found in her anthology, *Pages and Pictures*, was published in 1861; her second appears in "Small Family Memories," dated January 25, 1883, and published in 1922 as an introduction to Cooper's *Correspondence*.⁴ In this account Susan gives a few details not mentioned in the first. The book that Cooper started to read aloud was "a new novel that had been brought from England in the last *monthly packet*; it was, I think, one of Mrs. Opie's or one of that school. . . . It must have been very trashy; after a chapter or two he threw it aside, exclaiming, 'I could write you a better book than that myself!' Our Mother laughed at the idea, as the height of absurdity—he who disliked writing even a letter, that he should write a book!! He persisted in his declaration, however, and almost immediately wrote the first pages of a tale, not yet named. . . ." He soon became much interested in the undertaking and outlined "a regular plot." He consulted his wife about the details and read to her every chapter immediately after finishing it. As to the novel that Cooper imitated and the extent to which he imitated it, Susan is self-contradictory. In one paragraph she says that he "resolved to imitate the tone and character of an English novel of the ordinary type"; in the next, she asserts that "he aimed at close imitation of the Opie School of English novels." She gives more explicit information about the visit to Bedford than is to be found in the earlier

³ *Pages and Pictures*, pp. 15-20.

⁴ *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. by His Grandson, James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922), I, 7-72.

account: "My Mother wished the book to be printed, my Father had some doubts on the subject, and at last it was decided that if his friends the Jays listened with interest to the reading, the printing should take place. . . . We made the little journey in the gig; Father, Mother, Susie, and *Precaution*." Some months elapsed between the visit and the publication of the book.⁵

A third account, published in 1887, contains only three sentences, but it makes a more explicit statement about the relationship between Cooper's first novel and the English work that provoked him to write it than is to be found in the earlier and fuller narratives. "Wearied with the dullness of an English novel which he was reading aloud, he declared he could write a better book himself. The idea appeared the height of absurdity to his friends. Nevertheless, an *elaborate imitation in plot and character of the rejected English tale*⁶ was the consequence, and *Precaution* was not only written, but published."⁷

An analysis of Susan Fenimore Cooper's three accounts shows that they agree in only two details; namely, that Cooper on a certain occasion began to read aloud from an English novel which he found not to his taste, and that the conversation growing out of this incident led him to write a story that was to some extent an imitation. The first and second accounts say that the book which Cooper began was a new novel and imply that it was trashy, and the second expresses the opinion that it was by Mrs. Opie or one of her school. The first account asserts that Cooper was prejudiced from the beginning by the "title and look" of the work, and that he threw it aside in disgust after wading through a few pages; the second says that "after a chapter or two" he threw it aside; the third states merely that he was wearied by the dullness of the book. The first account says that he began work on his own novel immediately, and the second that he wrote the first pages almost immediately. Of the source of *Precaution*, the original account says that Cooper outlined a tale "something in the style of the rejected volume"; the next says, first, that he "resolved to imitate the tone and character of an English novel of the ordinary type," and later that he "aimed at a close imitation of the Opie school of English novels"; the last

⁵ *Correspondence*, pp. 38-40.

⁶ The italics are mine.

⁷ Susan Fenimore Cooper, "A Glance Backward," *Atlantic Monthly*, LIX, 201 (Feb., 1887).

declares that he wrote "an elaborate imitation in plot and character of the rejected English tale."

"Small Family Memories" is the only one of Susan Cooper's accounts that mentions Mrs. Opie, but a letter written by Mrs. Cooper to her sisters on December 29, 1830, reveals the fact that Mrs. Opie called on the Coopers in Paris and invited them to a party. The letter says nothing of Mrs. Opie's tales or of *Precaution*, but James Fenimore Cooper, Jr., supplies a footnote about Mrs. Opie, in which he says, "It was one of her stories which Cooper was reading when he declared that he could write a better one, and to prove it wrote *Precaution*; the story was probably one of either her *New Tales* (1818) or *Tales of the Heart* (1820)."⁸ At least one reference to Mrs. Opie is found in Cooper's own writings. In a review of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, in December, 1838, he took the biographer to task for asserting that "to Sir Walter Scott is the world indebted for the healthful class of novels that have succeeded, and indeed eradicated, the sickly sentimentalism of the old school. . . . To say nothing of twenty others, Miss Edgeworth alone had supplanted the sentimentalists before Scott was known, even as a poet. This whole School, which includes Mrs. Opie, Mrs. More, Miss Austin [*sic*], and Mrs. Brunton, not to say Madame d'Arblay, was quite as free from sentimentalism as Scott, and because less heroic, perhaps more true to every-day nature."⁹

Biographers and critics have repeated Susan Cooper's story, sometimes with embellishments; but until recently no one, so far as I know, has made any attempt to identify the English book. Professor Fred Lewis Pattee, in an article published in 1925, says that Mrs. Cooper "was addicted to novels, sentimental tales of the Mrs. Opie variety, or what Cooper himself termed 'old fashioned Lord Mortimer romances,'" but he makes no conjecture as to what book it was that Cooper found so dull. On the contrary, he says, "Would that we knew its title." Discussing the merits of *Precaution*, however, he says that in many respects it "is the best novel written in America before 1821. Were it republished today as a newly-discovered early work by Jane Austen it would deceive most readers."¹⁰

⁸ *Correspondence*, I, 202-203.

⁹ Quoted by Marcel Clavel, in *Fenimore Cooper, sa vie et son œuvre* (Aix-en-Provence, 1938), p. 255 n.

¹⁰ Fred Lewis Pattee, "James Fenimore Cooper," *American Mercury*, IV, 292-293 (March, 1925).

Three years after Professor Pattee's article appeared, Professor Harold H. Scudder published a study in which he declared it "a surprising fact . . . that no one before Professor Pattee in 1925 had remarked that *Precaution* suggests Jane Austen." He himself had found in Susan Fenimore Cooper's reference to her father's ha-ha fence a suggestion that Cooper had read *Mansfield Park* (1814), in which a ha-ha plays an important part;¹¹ and in *Precaution* he had discovered many details which convinced him that the unidentified English source is *Pride and Prejudice*.¹²

In 1931 Robert E. Spiller referred to the possible sources of *Precaution* as follows:

The similarity of [Cooper's] experiment to Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* has led some to believe that this was the book which he laid down with the remark, "I could write you a better book than that myself," but there is only the similarity of the stories to support the supposition. As the world was full of lady novelists at the time, this is not conclusive evidence. Susan Cooper suggests that it might have been one of Amelia Opie's, "or one of that school," whereas Anna Mulford, who relies upon the local tradition of Sag Harbor rather than upon internal evidence, asserts definitely that the novel was *Discipline*, a very popular work by Mrs. Mary Balfour Brunton, published in 1814.¹³

When Professor Pattee revised his article on Cooper for his history of American literature, he still made no attempt to name the source of *Precaution*. "What novel could it have been?" he asked. "A family tradition mentions Mrs. Opie, but it could as well have been one of many others: Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818), Lady Caroline Lamb's *A New Canto* (1819), Elizabeth Anne Le Noir's *The Maid of La Vendée* (1810), or Regina Maria Roche's *The Munster Cottage Boy* (1819). It might even have been Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813)."¹⁴ The last sentence seems to imply

¹¹ Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: Martin Secker, 1923), ix, 108; x, 113. For the benefit of readers who have editions of novels different from those used by the writer, references to chapters as well as to pages are given.

¹² Harold H. Scudder, "What Mr. Cooper Read to His Wife," *Sewanee Review*, XXXVI, 177-194 (April, 1928).

¹³ Robert E. Spiller, *Fenimore Cooper, Critic of His Times* (New York, 1931), p. 73. The reference to Mrs. Brunton is in Anna Mulford's *A Sketch of Dr. John Smith Sage* (Sag Harbor, L. I., 1897), p. 30. On pp. 70-72 of his work Professor Spiller shows that from 1819 to 1822 Cooper was frequently in Sag Harbor, the port of a whaling vessel of which he was part owner.

¹⁴ Fred Lewis Pattee, *The First Century of American Literature, 1770-1870* (New York, 1935), p. 320.

that Professor Pattee considers Professor Scudder's arguments worthy of consideration but that he is not quite convinced by them.

In *American Fiction*, published in 1936, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn says: "Various guesses have been made at [Cooper's] model, but internal evidence points to Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. But if Cooper followed Jane Austen, rather than Mrs. Opie, or any other of the novelists of English social life of the time, he followed her at a distance." Professor Quinn mentions one or two of the resemblances previously discussed by Professor Scudder, but goes into no details. He explains his own reference to Mrs. Opie in a footnote, which is slightly inaccurate: "According to his daughter, they had been reading one of Mrs. Opie's romances."¹⁵

In his monumental study of Cooper's early work, published in 1938, Professor Clavel points out the discrepancies found in Susan Fenimore Cooper's three accounts and calls attention to the inconsistency of her statement that Cooper began immediately to plan an imitation of a novel that he had thrown aside in disgust after reading only a chapter or two. Professor Clavel is therefore inclined to believe that the most probable of Susan's statements is that found in her second account, namely, that Cooper imitated the tone and character of "an English novel of the ordinary type," by which she meant the realistic novel of manners developed by Maria Edgeworth, Frances Burney, Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Brunton, and Jane Austen, all of whom are mentioned with approval in Cooper's review of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*. To these possible sources Professor Clavel adds two that are not noticed by any of the other biographers and critics of Cooper. In Admiral Howell¹⁶ he sees an English sailor of the type created by Smollett, and in Mr. Benfield an eccentric reminiscent of Sir Roger de Coverley.¹⁷ After reviewing all the theories about the source of *Precaution* that have been mentioned above, Professor Clavel reaches the conclusion that we shall probably long be ignorant of the title of the book that Cooper more or less imitated in his first novel.¹⁸

¹⁵ Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York, 1936), pp. 54-55.

¹⁶ J. Fenimore Cooper, *Precaution: A Novel* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), xii, 396 ff.

¹⁷ Clavel, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-264.

I

It was almost by accident that I began this study. I have for Cooper a very deep affection, which goes back to my early childhood, when my father, imitating, perhaps unconsciously, the novelist himself, read to my mother and me *Wing-and-Wing*, *The Spy*, and the *Leatherstocking Tales*. In courses in American literature during the last twenty years I have mentioned innumerable times the mysterious English novel; and like Professor Pattee, I have often thought, "Would that we knew its title." I had no hope of gratifying my curiosity, however, until I happened one day to notice the very obvious resemblance between the titles *Persuasion* and *Precaution* and to recall that the former was published in 1818 and the latter in 1820. This slight clue led me first to study *Persuasion* very carefully and then to join that noble band, the chosen few, who have actually read *Precaution*.¹⁹ By the time I had finished the first chapter of the latter I was convinced that there is a very definite relationship between the two works.

Although I did not investigate the opinions of others about the source of Cooper's novel until after I had finished my comparison of *Persuasion* and *Precaution*, I at first attempted in this paper to take up the various theories in chronological order. I soon discovered, however, that I could save much space by presenting my own theory first. For example, a resemblance between a character in *Precaution* (1820) and one in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) loses significance if it has already been shown that the character in *Precaution* resembles still more closely one in *Persuasion* (1818), which was a "new novel" in 1819, while *Pride and Prejudice* was not.

In the opening chapters of *Persuasion* and *Precaution* we find situations that are strikingly similar. In *Persuasion* Sir Walter Elliot by living beyond his income had so involved himself in debts that he was obliged to retrench. "There was only a small part of his estate that Sir Walter could dispose of: but had every acre been alienable, it would have made no difference. He had condescended to mortgage as far as he had the power, but he would never conde-

¹⁹ See Thomas R. Lounsbury's *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston, 1884), pp. 17-18, for an amusing account of Bryant's attempting to discuss *Precaution* without having read it. Professor Clavel finds Professor William Lyon Phelps guilty of the same offense (*op. cit.*, p. 274), and shows that Lounsbury himself displays lamentable ignorance of the contents of the work (*op. cit.*, pp. 252, 265, 270, 271, 274, 276, etc.).

scend to sell."²⁰ Consequently he rented his country seat, Kellynch Hall in Somersetshire,²¹ and took a house in Camden Place, Bath,²² where he could reduce his expenses without hurting his pride. Seventeen years before the opening of *Precaution* Sir Edward Moseley had inherited "an estate which placed him among the greatest landed proprietors of the county. But, as he had made it an invariable rule never to deduct a single acre from the inheritance of the eldest son, and the extravagance of his mother, who was the daughter of a nobleman, had much embarrassed the affairs of his father, Sir Edward, on coming into possession of his estate, had wisely determined to withdraw from the gay world, by renting his house in town, and retiring altogether to his respectable mansion about a hundred miles from the metropolis." When the story begins, he has succeeded in paying his debts and making provision for his younger children, and is preparing again to take possession of his London house.²³

The families of the two baronets resemble each other in several respects. Sir Walter Elliot has three daughters, Elizabeth, Anne, and Mary; Sir Edward Moseley also has three daughters, Clara, Jane, and Emily. In *Persuasion* Mary, the youngest daughter, is a married woman and the mother of two children at the opening of the book.²⁴ Anne, the second daughter and heroine of the story, pays her an extended visit, during which important incidents take place.²⁵ In *Precaution* Clara, the oldest daughter in the Moseley family, is married soon after the story begins,²⁶ and her home, Bolton Parsonage, becomes the scene of events when Emily, the youngest of the sisters and the heroine of the book, visits her.²⁷ Elizabeth, the eldest of the Elliot sisters, and Jane, the second daughter of Sir Edward Moseley, are both ambitious to marry men of wealth and rank,²⁸ both fail to realize their ambitions, and both are still spinsters when we last hear of them.

Sir Walter Elliot, who had been left a widower at forty, was interested chiefly in his handsome eldest daughter, who resembled him in selfishness and conceit. Mary "acquired a little artificial importance by becoming Mrs. Charles Musgrove," thus connecting herself

²⁰ Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Company, 1922), i, 9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, i, 1.

²² *Precaution*, i, 51-52.

²³ *Ibid.*, v-xiv.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, x-xi.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xv, 148.

²⁶ *Persuasion*, v, 40.

²⁷ *Precaution*, viii, 100.

²⁸ *Persuasion*, i, 6; *Precaution*, i, 49.

"with an old country family of respectability and large fortune." "Anne, with an elegance of mind and sweetness of character which must have placed her high with any people of real understanding, was nobody with either father or sister." Consequently she was obliged to turn for affection and guidance to Lady Russell, a friend of her mother's.²⁹ Cooper, lacking Jane Austen's skill in the analysis of character, managed rather awkwardly to place Emily Mosely in a situation closely resembling that of Anne Elliot. Emily's parents were both living, and the members of the family were in every way congenial, but she had nevertheless been brought up under the complete control of her father's sister, Mrs. Wilson.³⁰

Between the two godmothers there are many points of similarity. Both are described as being wealthy, both were women of sense and character, both had strong prejudices, and both were inclined to be benevolent despots. Lady Russell had settled near Kellynch Hall to be near her friend, Lady Elliot, and had remained after the latter's death, the chief adviser of the Elliot family. After the death of her husband Mrs. Wilson, at the earnest entreaties of her brother and sister-in-law, became one of their family, and with their approval devoted most of her time to the formation of the character of Emily, who, it was generally understood, was to be her heir.³¹ In both instances the rather unusual relationship produced the happiest results. To Lady Russell, Anne was "a most dear and highly valued god-daughter, favourite, and friend"; and from her she derived ideas and principles that made her in every way superior to her sisters.³² In like manner Mrs. Wilson's efforts were so successful that Emily on all occasions revealed herself as a miracle of good judgment, sound principles, and sincere piety. Each of the widows showed the best of intentions in trying to help her protégée select a worthy husband, but neither was infallible in judgment. Lady Russell's "persuasion" led Anne to break her first engagement to Captain Wentworth, the man she loved.³³ In like manner, Mrs. Wilson's "precaution" led to many complications which frequently jeopardized the happiness of Emily.³⁴

Before the opening of the story, Anne Elliot had been courted by

²⁹ *Persuasion*, i, 4-5.

³⁰ *Precaution*, i, 53.

³¹ *Persuasion*, i, 3-4; ii, 10-11; *Precaution*, i, 53.

³² *Persuasion*, i, 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, iv, 28.

³⁴ *Precaution*, xi, 129; xxiv, 237; xxvii, 262, etc.

Charles Musgrove, who later married her sister Mary.³⁵ Mrs. Musgrove and her daughters were on amicable terms with Mary, but they wished that Charles had married Anne.³⁶ Emily Moseley had not been courted by Francis Ives, her sister's husband, but she was as great a favorite with her brother-in-law's family as Anne was with hers. "I wish," said Doctor Ives to his wife, the evening his son had asked their permission to address Clara, "Francis had chosen my little Emily."³⁷ Anne was also courted unsuccessfully by her cousin, Walter William Elliot;³⁸ Emily likewise by her cousin, Lord Chatterton.³⁹

The two girls show like symptoms when in distress about their love affairs. Anne Elliot, after being persuaded to break her engagement to Captain Wentworth, lost her bloom and became faded and thin.⁴⁰ When Wentworth saw her again, eight years later, he found her so altered that he would not have known her.⁴¹ When Emily Moseley tried to stifle her love for George Denbigh because she had been led to believe him unworthy, she betrayed her distress in blanched cheeks and wandering looks.⁴² When she returned home from the visit during which she had received the disquieting misinformation, Dr. Ives, her rector, who had not seen her for more than four months, was startled at her changed appearance.⁴³

Jane Austen's heroine loved music, and played the piano well;⁴⁴ at a concert she revealed the fact that she had a general interest in music by translating the words of Italian songs for another member of her party.⁴⁵ Cooper denied his heroine accomplishments of this sort, but solemnly explained his reason for doing so. Emily had no taste for music; "and the time which would have been thrown away in endeavoring to cultivate a talent she did not possess, was dedicated, under the discreet guidance of her aunt, to works which had a tendency both to qualify her for the duties of this life, and fit her for that which comes hereafter."⁴⁶ On the other hand, she had at an early age "manifested a taste for painting and a vivid perception

³⁵ *Persuasion*, iv, 29-30.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, 47-49.

³⁷ *Persuasion*, xii, 114-115; xx, 208, etc.

³⁸ *Persuasion*, i, 4-5; iv, 29.

³⁹ *Precaution*, xxx, 285; xxxii, 305. George Denbigh is really the Earl of Pendennys, but his identity is rather clumsily concealed until we reach the fortieth chapter.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 354.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xx, 206-207, 211.

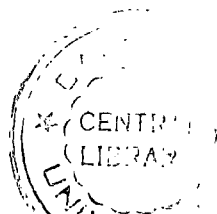
⁴² *Precaution*, xii, 137-138.

⁴³ *Precaution*, xv, 163; xxxvi, 347, etc.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vii, 65-66.

⁴⁵ *Persuasion*, vi, 50-51.

⁴⁶ *Precaution*, xii, 137.



of the beauties of nature." Consequently, "her inclination had been indulged, and Emily Moseley sketched with neatness and accuracy, and with great readiness."⁴⁷

Anne Elliot and Emily Moseley were both great readers and were both very careful in their choice of reading matter. Discussing poetry with Captain Benwick, a young man who had lost his fiancée by death and was trying to find solace in the poems of Byron and Scott, Anne expressed the opinion that poetry is too stimulating to the emotions for a person in his situation. "She thought [that] it was the misfortune of poetry to be seldom safely enjoyed by those who enjoyed it completely; and that the strong feelings which alone could estimate it truly were the very feelings which ought to taste it but sparingly." Therefore she recommended to him "a larger allowance of prose in his daily study," and suggested in particular "such works of our best moralists, such collections of the finest letters, such memoirs of characters of worth and suffering, as occurred to her at the moment as calculated to rouse and fortify the mind by the highest precepts and the strongest examples of moral and religious endurances."⁴⁸ Emily Moseley also loved reading, but she "had never read a book that contained a sentiment or inculcated an opinion improper for her sex or dangerous to her morals."⁴⁹ On various occasions the Moseley sisters and Mrs. Wilson read and discussed poetry with Colonel Egerton, George Denbigh, and the Duke of Derwent. The ladies admired Campbell for his musical lines and for his "beautiful description of wedded love in Gertrude of Wyoming." Jane Moseley had often devoured with ardor the "treacherous lines" of Thomas Moore, but Emily had never been permitted by her aunt to read "such things."⁵⁰ Cooper's comments about reading are more numerous than those of Jane Austen and his opinions are more definite and uncompromising. In these comments we have an excellent example of his method of expanding and elaborating material suggested by his source.

Both of these admirable young women had powers of discernment which enabled them to detect lack of principle, even when it was concealed by faultless manners. The frankness and apparent integrity of William Walter Elliot completely charmed Anne's

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, xix, 192.

⁴⁸ *Persuasion*, xi, 111.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, 86-87; xvi, 169; xxxiv, 326.

⁴⁹ *Precaution*, xii, 137.

father and sisters,⁵¹ and his manners "in their propriety and correctness, their general politeness and suavity," pleased even the more observant Lady Russell,⁵² but his studied courtesy never completely deceived Anne. "The names which occasionally dropt of former associates, the allusions to former practices and pursuits, suggested suspicions not favourable of what he had been. She saw that there had been bad habits; that Sunday travelling had been a common thing; that there had been a period in his life (and probably not a short one) when he had been, at least, careless on all serious matters." She was willing to believe that he might have reformed, but she was unable to trust him completely.⁵³ The easy and gracious manners of Colonel Egerton made a very good impression on most people who met him. Sir Edward and Lady Moseley found him most agreeable,⁵⁴ Jane fell in love with him,⁵⁵ and even Mrs. Wilson was unable completely to resist his charm,⁵⁶ but Emily from the beginning detected in him a lack of sincerity and principle.⁵⁷ Egerton was guilty of no recorded misconduct on Sunday, but the proper observance of the Sabbath became the subject of a homily by Mrs. Wilson when Emily's brother John overcame the scruples of his wife against going for a drive on that day.⁵⁸

The careers of Elizabeth Elliot and Jane Moseley were very similar. The former, after seeking earnestly to win the love of William Walter Elliot, her cousin and the heir to her father's title and estate, and being twice cruelly snubbed by him, was obliged in the end to reconcile herself to spinsterhood, "for a change [was] not very probable."⁵⁹ Jane Moseley, who, like Elizabeth, was ambitious for wealth and rank, became engaged to Colonel Egerton, "the undoubted heir to the title, and most probably to the estates of his uncle, Sir Edgar Egerton,"⁶⁰ but she was later jilted by him.⁶¹ In the last chapter we see her leaning on the arm of her father as they take their daily walk. The baronet, Cooper gravely informs us, looked upon her with less pleasure than he did upon her more fortunate sisters, but with a "proper proportion of paternal love."⁶²

⁵¹ *Persuasion*, xv, 150 ff.

⁵² *Ibid.*, xvii, 176-177.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, xii, 135 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 64; vi, 89-90.

⁵⁵ *Persuasion*, i, 6-7; xv, 150 ff.; xxiv, 280.

⁵⁶ *Precaution*, vi, 83.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv, 245.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, xxiv, 279.

⁵⁹ *Precaution*, vi, 83.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, 84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xxxix, 379-381.

⁶² *Ibid.*, xlix, 482.

Matchmakers, and girls and women in search of husbands appear in *Persuasion* as they do in all of Jane Austen's other stories. Elizabeth Elliot in her efforts to win her cousin is abetted by her father because he wants to keep his estate in the family.⁶⁸ Sir Walter himself is eagerly pursued by Mrs. Clay, a widow,⁶⁴ and the Musgrove sisters both try to capture Captain Wentworth.⁶⁵ Cooper again expands and elaborates an idea derived from his source, and introduces "husband-hunting"⁶⁶ women in abundance. Lady Chatterton makes a vocation of hunting husbands for her daughters,⁶⁷ and succeeds in marrying Catherine, the elder, to Lord Herrielfield, from whom she later separates,⁶⁸ and Grace, the younger, to John Moseley,⁶⁹ who finally proposes to her in spite of his annoyance at her mother's machinations.⁷⁰ The Jarvis sisters set out to capture Colonel Egerton, and one of them succeeds.⁷¹ Cooper's most ruthless man hunter, however, is Caroline Harris, who offers to buy a title for Captain Jarvis if he will marry her.⁷² In short, Emily Moseley is almost the only girl in the novel who is not actively engaged in the pursuit of some man.

The heroes of the two stories are both unusually handsome and attractive young men. Captain Wentworth had a "glowing, manly, open look"⁷³ and an impressive air; and he moved about well in a drawing room.⁷⁴ Even the ultrafastidious Sir Walter Elliot "was very much struck by his personal claims, and felt that his superiority of appearance might not be unfairly balanced against [Anne's] superiority of rank."⁷⁵ He was "a remarkably fine young man, with a great deal of intelligence, spirit, and brilliancy,"⁷⁶ and he had a "warm and amiable heart."⁷⁷ When George Denbigh, the Earl of Pendennyss, unexpectedly appeared at the rectory during a dinner party given by Dr. Ives, every one present was struck by his "vigorous health and manly beauty."⁷⁸ There was something in his person and manners "that insensibly attracted those whom chance threw in his way. His face was not strikingly handsome, but it was noble; and when he smiled, or was much animated, it invariably

⁶⁸ *Persuasion*, i, 6; xv, 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, viii, 78.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ix, 114; x, 122; xvii, 173, etc.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 316.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 59; xxv, 245.

⁷³ *Persuasion*, vii, 66.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiv, 278.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, x, 100.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, v, 35-37; xvi, 158, etc.

⁶⁶ *Precaution*, xxiii, 227.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxi, 299; xlvii, 461-462.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, xvii, 175.

⁷² *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 350-352.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xxii, 252-253.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 26-27.

⁷⁸ *Precaution*, iv, 75.

communicated a spark of his own enthusiasm to the beholder. His figure was faultless; his air and manner . . . sincere and ingenuous." His breeding was high; his respect for others bordered on that of the old school. His voice "was soft, deep, melodious, and winning."⁷⁰ When he appeared in Dr. Ives's parlor, he supported his invalid father "with a grace and tenderness that struck most of the beholders with a sensation of pleasure."⁸⁰

In delineating the characters of their heroes the authors mention similar acts of kindness performed by them in the past which bring them similar rewards during the progress of the two narratives. Captain Wentworth, after his arrival at Kellynch Hall, immediately won the friendship of Mrs. Musgrove because he had been kind to her deceased son when the latter had served as a midshipman under him.⁸¹ Mrs. Wilson likewise was extremely partial to the Earl of Pendennis because her husband, General Wilson, had once "been rescued from captivity, if not from death by a gallant and timely interference of this young nobleman." Later, when General Wilson fell in battle, he was "supported from the field by, and actually died in the arms of the young peer," who completed his conquest of Mrs. Wilson's heart by writing her a letter in which he spoke in a tender and affectionate manner of his late commander.⁸²

Most of the characters in *Persuasion* were very deferential to rank. Sir Walter Elliot "was a man who, for his own amusement, never took up any book but the Baronetage."⁸³ Elizabeth was jealous of Lady Russell's superior position, "and would have rejoiced to be certain of being properly solicited by baronet-blood within the next twelvemonth or two."⁸⁴ Mary was much annoyed when she was not given the precedence which was her due.⁸⁵ All the family except Anne were extremely anxious to be on intimate terms with their exalted relatives, the Dowager Viscountess Dalrymple and her daughter the Honorable Miss Carteret. Even William Walter Elliot and Lady Russell, though not obsequious, agreed that "family connexions are always worth preserving, good company always worth seeking." Anne alone realized that the Viscountess and her daughter had "no superiority of manner, accomplishment, or understanding," and thought that "there [had] been by far too

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, x, 121.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 75.

⁸³ *Precaution*, ix, 112-113.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 5-6.

⁸¹ *Persuasion*, vi, 54-56.

⁸² *Persuasion*, i, 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, 48-49.

much trouble taken to procure the acquaintance."⁸⁶ Cooper, as a matter of fact, dearly loved a lord: he peopled his countryside with swarms of baronets, viscounts, earls, and dukes, and he described with a respect that approaches veneration the elegance of their equipages, the magnificence of their estates, and the magnitude of their incomes.⁸⁷ When Emily Moseley's family learned that the man she was to marry was not plain George Denbigh, but the Earl of Pendennyss, her mother was suffused with "a glow of delight," her aunt became a "smiling widow," her uncle heard the news with "ardent emotion," and her sister "rejoiced in common with the rest."⁸⁸ The Earl of Bolton, one of Cooper's most amiable characters, always assumed an air of gravity when he even mentioned dignities.⁸⁹ It is therefore amusing to find that Cooper imitates Jane Austen by introducing a number of passages that satirize servility to rank. Jane Moseley, like Sir Walter Elliot, loved to study the *Baronetage*.⁹⁰ Mrs. Jarvis and her daughter never rested until Mr. Jarvis, a worthy merchant but no aristocrat, purchased a baronetcy and became, first Sir Timothy, and then Sir Timo.⁹¹ Lady Chatterton married her eldest daughter to Lord Herrielfield, a wealthy viscount, although his Lordship's conversation "promised little toward rendering the house of incurables more convalescent than it was before his admission."⁹² And the wealthy Caroline Harris "would cheerfully, at any time, have sacrificed one half her own fortune to be called my lady."⁹³

Though much more admirable in character, Sir Edward Moseley resembled Sir Walter Elliot in some respects. Both were very handsome men, but Sir Edward lacked the vanity which often made Sir Walter ridiculous.⁹⁴ Sir Walter's financial troubles were due to his own imprudence.⁹⁵ Sir Edward's debts had been inherited with his estate, but he himself was somewhat impractical. "Nature," says Cooper, "had not qualified Sir Edward for great or continued exertions, and the prudent decision he had taken to retrieve his fortunes was perhaps an act of as much forecast and vigor as his talents or energy would afford."⁹⁶

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, xvi, 162-165.

⁸⁷ *Precaution*, xx, 198; xxxi, 295; xxi, 210, etc.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, xlvi, 449-450.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, xx, 200-201.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, 64; viii, 106.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, xxxii, 312.

⁹² *Ibid.*, xxix, 283-284; xxxi, 299-301; xxxv, 336 ff.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 350.

⁹⁴ *Persuasion*, i, 2; xlii, 138-139; *Precaution*, i, 53.

⁹⁵ *Persuasion*, i, 8-9.

⁹⁶ *Precaution*, i, 52.

Charles Musgrove, the brother-in-law of Anne Elliot, is much interested in hunting;⁹⁷ John Moseley has the same interest.⁹⁸ Cooper makes more of this sport than Jane Austen does, and builds an important plot incident around it.⁹⁹ Charles is represented as having the reprehensible habit of teasing his wife.¹⁰⁰ John teases various people, but particularly his sisters¹⁰¹ and his uncle, Mr. Benfield.¹⁰²

The two novels resemble each other in the rather surprising detail that both contain poor drivers. After renting Kellynch Hall, Admiral Croft purchased a gig, in which he and his wife took frequent drives about the country and managed to have an upset almost every day.¹⁰³ Once, when Anne was with them, they had a narrow escape between a rut and a dung cart.¹⁰⁴ On arriving at the Deanery, Captain Jarvis, who was a very clumsy driver, upset his gig. Colonel Egerton, who was with him, "received some injury to his ankle," and consequently became an object of solicitude on the part of the Jarvis sisters, "who took such palpable care of him that he wanted for nothing."¹⁰⁵ Following his usual practice of amplifying his material, Cooper makes John Moseley also a poor driver and causes him to have one slight accident. "The only point in dispute between Emily and her brother was her want of faith in his driving."¹⁰⁶

In *Persuasion* Sir Walter Elliot is guilty of gross favoritism in his treatment of his children. "For one daughter, his eldest, he would really have given up anything which he had not been very much tempted to do. . . . His two other children were of very inferior value."¹⁰⁷ In Cooper's story the great partiality of General Frederick Denbigh to George, his second son, becomes the source of important complications in the plot and is partially responsible for the tragic death of Francis, his elder son, and for the unhappy life of George himself.¹⁰⁸ Here again Cooper amplifies and elaborates.

The reader of *Precaution* finds many minor details in character and situation that remind him of *Persuasion*. Jane Austen mentions a clergyman named St. Ives;¹⁰⁹ Dr. Ives and his son Francis, both clergymen, are important characters in Cooper's story. The Chris-

⁹⁷ *Persuasion*, v, 39; vii, 63; x, 90-91.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, xviii, 183 ff.

¹⁰¹ *Precaution*, i, 49-50; iv, 73, etc.

¹⁰⁸ *Persuasion*, x, 92.

¹⁰⁵ *Precaution*, ii, 58-59.

¹⁰⁷ *Persuasion*, i, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Persuasion*, iii, 20.

⁹⁸ *Precaution*, ii, 60; vii, 92; xvi, 169.

¹⁰⁰ *Persuasion*, xxii, 250.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, iii, 66-68.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, x, 101-102.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, x, 119.

¹⁰⁸ *Precaution*, xlii, 406 ff.; xlv, 436 ff.

tian name Frederick is used by both authors.¹¹⁰ Anne is the name of the heroine of *Persuasion* and of the mother of the heroine of *Precaution*.¹¹¹ Mr. Musgrove and Mr. Benfield are both very solicitous about the care of their carriage horses.¹¹² The wife of Admiral Crofts asserts that when her husband was in active service on the North Sea, she "lived in a perpetual fright . . . and had all manner of imaginary complaints." When General Wilson was abroad with the army, his wife suffered "perpetual and life-wearing anxiety."¹¹³ Anne Elliot's share of her father's estate was ten thousand pounds; the Jarvis sisters each inherited ten thousand pounds from a maiden aunt.¹¹⁴

The settings of the two stories are very similar. Kellynch Hall and the Great House of Mr. Musgrove are country estates near the village of Uppercross, in Somersetshire; Moseley Hall is situated near the village of B——, in Northamptonshire.¹¹⁵ At these country seats the chief amusements are hunting,¹¹⁶ walking,¹¹⁷ driving,¹¹⁸ making calls,¹¹⁹ giving dinner parties,¹²⁰ dancing,¹²¹ and attending church.¹²² The characters in their calls, visits, and jaunts about the country use barouches,¹²³ carriages,¹²⁴ coaches,¹²⁵ curricles,¹²⁶ gigs¹²⁷ and landaulets.¹²⁸ Following his usual practice of elaborating on his original, Cooper took his characters on even more drives than Jane Austen's were permitted to enjoy, and outfitted them with vehicles that are not mentioned, so far as I have noticed, in *Persuasion*: dickies,¹²⁹ phaetons,¹³⁰ sulkies,¹³¹ and tilburies,¹³² not to mention the humble carts of the poor.¹³³

¹¹⁰ *Persuasion*, iv, 26 ff.; *Precaution*, xli, 400 ff.

¹¹¹ *Precaution*, vii, 96.

¹¹² *Persuasion*, xi, 104; *Precaution*, iii, 63. ¹¹³ *Persuasion*, viii, 77; *Precaution*, i, 53.

¹¹⁴ *Persuasion*, xxiv, 278; *Precaution*, xxv, 247.

¹¹⁵ *Persuasion*, i, 2; *Precaution*, v, 78; xx, 202.

¹¹⁶ *Persuasion*, v, 39; vii, 63; *Precaution*, ii, 60; xviii, 181.

¹¹⁷ *Persuasion*, x, 90; *Precaution*, ix, 108. ¹¹⁸ *Persuasion*, xi, 104; *Precaution*, vii, 93.

¹¹⁹ *Persuasion*, vii, 57; *Precaution*, ii, 59; vi, 83.

¹²⁰ *Persuasion*, vi, 50; ix, 84; *Precaution*, iv, 70; vi, 83.

¹²¹ *Persuasion*, vi, 50-51; *Precaution*, xi, 123.

¹²² *Persuasion*, xi, 102; xiv, 141; *Precaution*, v, 78.

¹²³ *Persuasion*, xix, 192; *Precaution*, xxi, 208.

¹²⁴ *Persuasion*, v, 37; *Precaution*, i, 55.

¹²⁵ *Persuasion*, xi, 104; *Precaution*, iii, 64.

¹²⁶ *Persuasion*, xi, 104; *Precaution*, xlix, 477.

¹²⁷ *Persuasion*, x, 99; *Precaution*, ii, 58.

¹²⁸ *Persuasion*, xxiv, 280; *Precaution*, xx, 198.

¹²⁹ *Precaution*, xl, 393.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, x, 118.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 56.

¹³² *Ibid.*, xx, 202.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, ix, 111.

The home of Lady Russell, where Anne Elliot is often a visitor, is called the Lodge; Emily Moseley's uncle, Mr. Benfield, to whom she pays an annual visit, lives at Benfield Lodge.¹⁸⁴ The Musgrove sisters, Anne Elliot, and Captain Wentworth pay a visit to Lyme, a seaside resort in Dorsetshire; the chief characters in Cooper's story go on a pleasure trip to L——, a bathing resort in Norfolkshire.¹⁸⁵ About half of the incidents narrated by Jane Austen happen at Bath; Cooper also takes his characters to Bath,¹⁸⁶ but here for once he is unable to supply more details than are found in his original because of Jane Austen's intimate first-hand knowledge of the place.

A number of striking resemblances exist between the plots of the two stories. After joining her father and sister at Bath, Anne Elliot meets a former schoolmate named Mrs. Smith, a widow, who is now an invalid living in reduced circumstances. Anne's kindness leads Mrs. Smith to give her information about the true character of William Walter Elliot which completely eliminates him as a matrimonial possibility.¹⁸⁷ During the winter preceding the opening of *Precaution*, Mrs. Wilson and John and Emily Moseley had visited Bath and there had met a Mrs. Fitzgerald, a widow "apparently in low health."¹⁸⁸ Later at L—— they renewed their acquaintance with this lady, and from her acquired some valuable information about the hypocritical Colonel Egerton, who was at that time engaged to Jane Moseley, and about the immaculate Earl of Pendennys, who was later to become the husband of Emily.¹⁸⁹

Charles Hayter, a young curate in love with Henrietta Musgrove, is unexpectedly offered a living, which enables him to marry without further delay. Francis Ives, the young clergyman who is engaged to Clara Moseley, has the same good fortune.¹⁴⁰

After Admiral and Mrs. Croft take possession of Kellynch Hall, Charles and Mary Musgrove call upon them.¹⁴¹ A few days later, after the arrival of Captain Wentworth, Mrs. Croft's brother, Charles's father, also pays his respects and invites his new neighbors to dinner.¹⁴² Many social activities follow; Anne meets her former lover again, and the Musgrove girls both apparently fall in love

¹⁸⁴ *Persuasion*, xiii, 134; *Precaution*, xxi, 207.

¹⁸⁵ *Persuasion*, xi, 103 ff.; *Precaution*, xvii, 177; xx, 203.

¹⁸⁶ *Persuasion*, xv-xxiv; *Precaution*, xxxii-xxxv.

¹⁸⁷ *Persuasion*, xvii, 166 ff.; xxi, 212 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Precaution*, i, 55.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, xxvi, xxx, xlvi, etc.

¹⁴⁰ *Persuasion*, ix, 80; xxii, 241-242; *Precaution*, vii, 93.

¹⁴¹ *Persuasion*, vi, 51.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, vii, 56.

with him.¹⁴³ In the first chapter of *Precaution* the Moseley family and some guests of theirs discuss a family named Jarvis who have rented the Deanery, an estate belonging to their neighbor, Sir William Harris. We learn that Mr. Jarvis is wealthy, and that he has a son who is an army officer, and two handsome daughters—all unmarried. Every one is interested in the newcomers, and Dr. Ives, the rector, announces his intention of calling on them. Two days later he does so, and the younger Moseleys immediately follow his example. Like the Crofts, the Jarvises have a guest, Colonel Eger-ton, who becomes a center of attraction to all the young ladies.¹⁴⁴ Dr. Ives then invites the Moseleys and Jarvises to a dinner party, during which Emily catches her first glimpse of the man she is to marry.¹⁴⁵ Here Cooper uses almost the exact situation employed by Jane Austen, but introduces more characters than she does and involves them in more intricate and romantic complications.

In each of the novels an accident has far-reaching consequences in the development of the plot. While the party from Uppercross are visiting Lyme, Louisa Musgrove, while descending the Cobb, falls from a step, strikes her head, and injures herself so badly that she is obliged to remain at Lyme for more than two months.¹⁴⁶ During this time, the supposed love affair between her and Captain Wentworth evaporates, and she becomes engaged to Captain Benwick. When Anne Elliot learns that Captain Wentworth is still free, her love for him revives.¹⁴⁷ John Moseley accidentally shoots George Denbigh.¹⁴⁸ As a result of this accident Denbigh is obliged to spend a month with the Moseley family, and during that time completely wins the love of Emily.¹⁴⁹

The accounts of the two accidents contain a number of very similar details. Both are the result of too much playfulness. After being "jumped down" a flight of stone steps, Louisa insists upon being "jumped down" again and is so precipitate in her movements that she falls.¹⁵⁰ Denbigh's accident is the result of John Moseley's playful antics with a gun which he supposes not to be loaded.¹⁵¹ When Louisa is hurt, her sister Henrietta faints, but Anne Elliot retains her self-possession and produces the smelling salts needed in

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, viii, 78.

¹⁴⁴ *Precaution*, ii, 58-60.

¹⁴⁵ *Persuasion*, xi, 103; xii, 120 ff.; xviii, 178 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, xviii, 181-182, 184.

¹⁴⁸ *Precaution*, xviii, 183.

¹⁵⁰ *Persuasion*, xii, 121.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 70-77.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, xx, 196 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Precaution*, xviii, 183.

such emergencies. Wentworth supports the injured one; Benwick is sent for a surgeon; Anne takes charge of Henrietta and gives directions to those who are still present and conscious.¹⁵² When Denbigh intercepts the bullet that would have killed his beloved, Emily Moseley sinks "in insensibility by the side of her preserver." Colonel Egerton is the only one who retains sufficient presence of mind to rush immediately to the assistance of the injured man. Captain Jarvis is dispatched for help, and sends for *two* surgeons.¹⁵³ Jane Moseley devotes her "tenderest assiduities" to her unconscious sister.¹⁵⁴ To make the situations absolutely parallel someone should have produced smelling salts, but Cooper overlooked this detail. He need not have done this, however, for he had already told his readers that the Moseley sisters carried a "smelling-bottle" even when they went to church.¹⁵⁵

Persuasion is a short novel. As in Jane Austen's other stories, incidents are comparatively few, and the book derives its charm from the author's skilful delineation of character. *Precaution*, which is nearly twice as long, repeats almost every detail of situation, setting, characterization, and plot used by Jane Austen. Cooper elaborates his material by introducing more characters, more scenes, and more incidents, and he tries to improve on his original by making his plot more complicated and the story in general more romantic.

II

The resemblances between *Persuasion* and *Precaution* that have been cited in the foregoing pages are so numerous that one has difficulty in believing them all to be accidental; indeed, they seem to me to be so numerous as to make *Precaution* "an elaborate imitation in plot and character" of *Persuasion*. Nevertheless, before asking my readers to pass final judgment on the evidence that has been presented, I must deal with the time-honored tradition that one of Mrs. Opie's stories was the source of Cooper's novel, and also with the theory of Professor Scudder and the legend recorded by Professor Spiller. In spite of the assertion of James Fenimore Cooper, Jr., Mrs. Opie's *Tales of the Heart* could not have been the source of *Precaution*. In the first place, *Tales of the Heart* is not a novel but a collection of six stories, varying in length from twenty-nine to

¹⁵² *Persuasion*, xii, 121-123.

¹⁵³ One from town and one from the barracks.

¹⁵⁴ *Precaution*, xviii, 183-184.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, v, 80.

two hundred and fifty-three pages; therefore the book as a whole could not have been Cooper's model. Two editions of the work were published in 1820, one in London and one in New York. The London edition appeared in July,¹⁵⁶ less than two months before the publication of *Precaution*. It is unlikely that the American edition was published before the English one, but in any event, *Precaution* must have been practically completed before Cooper had a chance to see Mrs. Opie's book. Nevertheless, the statement of Cooper's grandson disturbed my repose until I made a study of *Tales of the Heart*.

Of the six stories in the volume there is none of which *Precaution* can, by the most violent stretch of the imagination, be considered an imitation; and in all of them I find only two details that are even faintly echoed in Cooper's novel. "The Opposite Neighbor"¹⁵⁷ contains a character named Captain Denbigh; George Denbigh, Earl of Pendennys is the hero of *Precaution*. In "Love, Mystery, and Superstition"¹⁵⁸ an insane girl, who has run away from home, is discovered and restored to her mother through a significant song that she is heard singing as she wanders through the night.¹⁵⁹ George Denbigh, the father of Cooper's hero, while traveling in the Cumberland lake country, is driven by a storm to seek shelter in a farmhouse. Here he is surprised to hear a familiar voice singing a song full of meaning to him and to discover his lost brother Francis, who, after being disappointed in love, has become insane and has wandered away from home.¹⁶⁰

The use of the name *Denbigh* would not be very significant even if Cooper had read "The Opposite Neighbor" before he started *Precaution*. In Wales there is a county named Denbighshire, of which the chief town is Denbigh, and in England there had been before Cooper's time several Earls of Denbigh, one of whom was an ancestor of Henry Fielding. Still less significant is the use of a "Mad Song" in *Precaution*. We know that Cooper read the Waverley Novels as they appeared, and we find Meg Merrilies, in *Guy Mannering* (1815), and Madge Wildfire, in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), much more impressive singers of mad songs than Mrs. Opie's obscure character.

¹⁵⁶ *English Catalogue of Books, 1801-1925* (London, 1864-1926).

¹⁵⁷ Mrs. [Amelia Alderson] Opie, *Tales of the Heart* (New York: E. Duyckinck, William B. Gilley, L. & F. Lockwood and Elam Bliss, 1820), II, 164-220.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 3-118.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 61-62.

¹⁶⁰ *Precaution*, xiv, 436-438.

The other possible source of *Precaution* mentioned by James Fenimore Cooper, Jr., Mrs. Opie's *New Tales*, published in 1818, must have reached America about the time that Cooper took up the writing of fiction, but it is even a less satisfactory model for a novel than *Tales of the Heart*, because it consists of nine short stories.¹⁶¹ Of these, none resembles *Precaution* in plot or character. A few duplicate names occur. The hero and heroine of "The Welcome Home" are named George and Marian;¹⁶² the hero of *Precaution* is named George, and his mother and sister are both named Marian. Characters named Frederick and Jane appear in both "Mrs. Arlington"¹⁶³ and *Precaution*. None of these names, however, is sufficiently unusual to be very significant, and Frederick is the name of the hero of *Persuasion*. Moreover, the fact that no safe conclusions can be drawn from the occurrence in two stories of duplicate Christian names or even of duplicate surnames is amusingly illustrated by the appearance in "White Lies"¹⁶⁴ of a character bearing the name Clara Delancy, which is a combination of the first name of Sir Edward Moseley's eldest daughter and the family name of Cooper's wife, Susan Augusta DeLancey.

In "A Tale of Trials" a character removes from the country to London for purposes of economy,¹⁶⁵ but the incident has not the importance of the parallel incidents in *Persuasion* and *Precaution*. In "The Ruffian Boy" and "The Welcome Home" balls are the scenes of important and even tragic events,¹⁶⁶ and in Cooper's novel occurs a ball, at which Captain Jarvis becomes so jealous of George Denbigh that he later challenges him to a duel;¹⁶⁷ but informal dances also occur at the Great House at Uppercross,¹⁶⁸ and dances, formal and informal, play a part in nearly all of Jane Austen's plots. In Susan Fenimore Cooper's account of her father's experiments in landscape gardening we are told that he built a "ha-ha fence, then a novelty in this country."¹⁶⁹ In "The Ruffian Boy" occurs this sentence: "A ha-ha separated one part of the park from a hedge."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶¹ Professor Clavel says four; he has evidently overlooked the second volume, which contains five (*op. cit.*, p. 262).

¹⁶² *New Tales*, II, 265-295. *New Tales* and all the other stories by Mrs. Opie discussed in this paper, with the exception of *Tales of the Heart*, mentioned above, and *Dangers of Coquetry*, to be discussed later, I have read in the twelve-volume edition of Mrs. Opie's works published in Boston by S. G. Goodrich in 1827. *Tales of the Heart* and *Dangers of Coquetry* are not included in this edition.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 158-263.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 3-132.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 101.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 203 ff., 246 ff., and 279 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Precaution*, xii, 131 ff.

¹⁶⁸ *Persuasion*, vi, 50. ¹⁶⁹ *Pages and Pictures*, pp. 14-15. ¹⁷⁰ *New Tales*, II, 238.

The resemblances mentioned above are few and slight; therefore we are forced to conclude that although *New Tales* may have been the new book that Cooper threw aside in disgust after reading a few pages, it is certainly not the book that he imitated in *Precaution*.

The clues furnished by James Fenimore Cooper, Jr., having led to no satisfactory solution of my problem, I next decided to read all the other stories published by Mrs. Opie before 1820 and settle finally the question of Cooper's indebtedness to her. Accordingly, I made a study of *Dangers of Coquetry*, two volumes (1790);¹⁷¹ *The Father and Daughter* (1801); *Adeline Mowbray* (1804); *Simple Tales*, two volumes (1806); *Temper*, two volumes (1812) *Tales of Real Life* (1813); and *Valentine's Eve* (1816).

Mrs. Opie's tales are all novels of manners, which aim at a realistic representation of life, though they do not always achieve it, and contain a strong didactic element, which links them rather closely with the novel of purpose. *Adeline Mowbray*, the only one of them that most people know anything about, pictures the sad fate of a conscientious young girl who became a convert to William Godwin's ideas about love and marriage and tried to put them into practice. *Valentine's Eve* portrays the disastrous consequences of jealousy, *Father and Daughter* those of filial disobedience. The lessons taught in *Dangers of Coquetry* and *Temper* are suggested by the titles. *Precaution*, as the title implies, is also to some extent a novel of purpose, but the lessons it teaches are somewhat less obtrusive than those found in the tales of Mrs. Opie.

Since the volumes mentioned above contain twenty-two stories varying in length from seventeen to four hundred and sixty-eight pages,¹⁷² it is not surprising to find in them some of the common Christian names used by Cooper, such as Caroline,¹⁷³ Clara,¹⁷⁴ Edward,¹⁷⁵ Emily,¹⁷⁶ Frederick,¹⁷⁷ George,¹⁷⁸ and Jane.¹⁷⁹ According

¹⁷¹ Published in London by W. Lane.

¹⁷² Mrs. Opie's tales do not lend themselves to classification as novels and short stories. *The Father and Daughter*, published as a separate work, and *Dangers of Coquetry*, are both shorter than many of the stories in the collections of tales. None of these stories, short or long, has the structure of the "well-made novel." ¹⁷³ *Dangers of Coquetry*.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; "The Mother and Son," *Simple Tales*, I, 160-208; *Temper*, I, 69.

¹⁷⁵ *Dangers of Coquetry*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, xiii, 125; "The Mother and Son," *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁷ "The Black Velvet Pelisse," *Simple Tales*, I, 3-20; *Temper*, II, 99.

¹⁷⁸ "The Brother and Sister," *Simple Tales*, II, 41-107; *Temper*, II, 99.

¹⁷⁹ *Dangers of Coquetry*, I, xv, 141 ff.; "Lady Anne and Lady Jane," *Tales of Real Life*, pp. 3-136.

to Professor Pattee, Cooper himself called sentimental tales of the Mrs. Opie variety "old-fashioned Lord Mortimer romances." I have not been able to locate this quotation in Cooper's works, and Professor Pattee is unable to remember where he found it, but Mortimer is certainly one of Mrs. Opie's favorite names: Henry Mortimer is the hero of *Dangers of Coquetry*; Sir Frederic Mortimer the hero of "The Black Velvet Pelisse";¹⁸⁰ Lady Anne Mortimer the heroine of "Lady Anne and Lady Jane";¹⁸¹ and Theodore Mortimer the hero of "The Robber."¹⁸² Finally, the "villain" in *Precaution* is named Egerton, which is the name of an admirable young woman in *Dangers of Coquetry*, and of the preceptor of the hero and heroine of *Temper*.

In the settings of Mrs. Opie's earlier stories I find only one detail that is repeated in *Precaution*, but it is a very suggestive one. In "Lady Anne and Lady Jane" the heroine owns a castle in Caernarvonshire, Wales; Pendennyss Castle is also in Caernarvonshire.¹⁸³ A ha-ha is mentioned in *Temper*.¹⁸⁴

In "Appearance Is Against Her," a sprained ankle forces Mrs. Vane to be for some time a guest in the house of Ella Mordaunt, and Ella to become her nurse. Through this intimate association a serious misunderstanding between Miss Mordaunt and Colonel Vane, Mrs. Vane's son, is happily brought to an end.¹⁸⁵ Colonel Egerton, by spraining his ankle acquires as nurses the Jarvis sisters, one of whom later becomes his wife.

Since Mrs. Opie and Cooper both expressed decided opinions on various subjects, one is curious to learn to what extent they agreed. Both emphasized strongly the proper training of the young. Cooper's whole book exemplifies the pleasant fruits of good training; nearly all of Mrs. Opie's stories discuss training, good and bad,¹⁸⁶ and *Adeline Mowbray* in particular sets forth the tragic consequences of improper training, even though it is given with the best of intentions. It should be remembered, however, that Anne Elliot was superior to her sisters because of the excellent training she had received.

¹⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸¹ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸² *Simple Tales*, I, 119-159.

¹⁸³ *Op. cit.*, p. 73; *Precaution*, xxxi, 295 ff. Mr. Joseph J. Firebaugh, a member of the English staff at the University of Arkansas, has called my attention to the fact that Caernarvonshire is the scene also of Thomas Love Peacock's *Headlong Hall* (1816).

¹⁸⁴ II, 51.

¹⁸⁵ *Tales of Real Life*, pp. 341 ff.

¹⁸⁶ See, for example, "The Death Bed," *Simple Tales*, I, 27, and *Temper*, I, 3 ff.

Mrs. Opie strongly emphasized the influence of books on character. At the tomb of Abélard and Eloisa, Emma Balfour, one of her most important heroines, delivered a prim lecture on the impropriety of poetry dealing with illicit love.¹⁸⁷ The responsibility for Adeline Mowbray's unhappy life and tragic death is placed on the girl's mother, for whom "history, biography, poetry, and the discoveries of natural philosophy had few attractions, while she pored with still unsatisfied delight over abstruse systems of morals and metaphysics, or new theories in politics."¹⁸⁸ Cooper permitted his heroine to read no book "that contained a sentiment or inculcated an opinion improper for her sex or dangerous to her morals" and described the lines of Thomas Moore as "treacherous"; but Jane Austen, too, though less prudish than Mrs. Opie and less dogmatic than Cooper, considered the choice of reading matter to be very important.

Amusingly, Mrs. Opie and Cooper both discuss the propriety of clergymen's attending and taking part in dances. Mr. Egerton, one of Mrs. Opie's best ministers, refuses to attend a masquerade ball, even as a Druid. Dr. Ives, speaking for Cooper, sees no harm in a clergyman's being present at a ball, but thinks that he should abstain from dancing.¹⁸⁹

On one subject Cooper and Mrs. Opie agree most fully. Cooper at considerable length sets forth the idea that the rich should be generous but not indiscriminate in the dispersal of charity, and that the giving of money to the unworthy does more harm than good.¹⁹⁰ These opinions are strongly held and repeatedly expressed by Mrs. Opie.¹⁹¹

Dueling is another subject about which Mrs. Opie held strong convictions that were shared by Cooper. In several stories and in various ways she showed her disapproval of this practice. In "The Revenge," the hero Stainforth, after being grossly mistreated by the man who has been his best friend, refuses on principle to challenge his betrayer.¹⁹² In *Temper*, St. Aubyn, though an army officer and a man of great courage, refuses to accept a challenge.¹⁹³ In like

¹⁸⁷ *Temper*, II, 144.

¹⁸⁸ *Adeline Mowbray*, I, 4.

¹⁸⁹ *Precaution*, ix, 111; xv, 160-xvi, 168.

¹⁸⁹ *Temper*, II, 150; *Precaution*, xi, 124.

¹⁹² See, for example, "The Black Velvet Pelisse," *op. cit.*, I, 7, and "Murder Will Out," *ibid.*, II, 188-189; *Temper*, I, 205; "Lady Anne and Lady Jane," *op. cit.*, p. 35; and "Valentine's Eve," xxii, 298 ff.

¹⁹³ *Simple Tales*, II, 114-115.

¹⁹⁰ II, 96.

manner Cooper's hero refuses to accept a challenge, for the same reason.¹⁹⁴

Although the resemblances between *Precaution* and the tales of Mrs. Opie are comparatively few, the tradition handed down by Cooper's daughter and grandson and the references to Mrs. Opie in Mrs. Cooper's letter to her sisters and in Cooper's review of Lockhart's *Life of Scott* make it extremely probable that his library contained some of her works. If it did, he probably read them and possibly took some suggestions from them. This supposition is strengthened by his use of such names as Egerton and Caernarvonshire, by the fact that certain incidents in his novel resemble incidents in Mrs. Opie's tales, and by certain resemblances between the ideas expressed by the two writers. On the other hand, if one of Mrs. Opie's books was the original source of Cooper's literary career, it is strange, as Professor Clavel suggests,¹⁹⁵ that Mrs. Cooper made no reference to this fact when she told her sisters that she and her husband had met Mrs. Opie and had been entertained by her. In short, Cooper's favorable comment about Mrs. Opie, and her friendly attitude toward him tend to discredit the legend that it was one of her books that he disliked so intensely, and my study has shown that *Precaution* is in no sense an imitation of any of her tales. Therefore the only basis for Susan's confusing statements that can be found in the works of the writers themselves is the short list of resemblances that has been given above.

III

My next task is to examine Professor Harold H. Scudder's paper, which gives his reasons for believing that Cooper was familiar with *Mansfield Park* and that *Pride and Prejudice* is the book that led him to write *Precaution*.

Susan Fenimore Cooper's references to her father's ha-ha fence is a most intriguing one. People are not likely to take up the building of ha-has spontaneously, and Susan makes it clear that he did not get the idea from any of his neighbors. Therefore Cooper most probably acquired his interest in this "somewhat unusual item"¹⁹⁶ from some English source, but whether that source was *Temper* (1812), *Mansfield Park* (1814), *New Tales* (1818), or some other work I should not care to hazard a guess.

¹⁹⁴ *Precaution*, xiii, 142-143.

¹⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹⁹⁶ Scudder, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

The most impressive parts of Professor Scudder's study are those which call attention to resemblances between *Pride and Prejudice* and *Precaution* which have no complete duplicates in *Persuasion*. The most striking of these, in my opinion, is found in the opening chapters of the two books. In each, the members of a household discuss the fact that an estate in the neighborhood has been rented by a wealthy tenant. They are excited by the fact that the daughters of the family are to have the opportunity to meet an eligible young bachelor, and they discuss the propriety of calling upon their new neighbors at once.¹⁹⁷

Between the characters in the two books Professor Scudder finds a number of resemblances. Both stories contain tradesmen who make fortunes, retire to the country, and rise to knighthood.¹⁹⁸ Though far from being a Mr. Bennet, Mr. Jarvis makes sarcastic remarks about his family which may be feeble imitations of the charming irony of Jane Austen's kindly cynic.¹⁹⁹ Egerton and Wickham, the villains of the two stories, are both gamblers;²⁰⁰ between them and the heroes there exist hidden reasons for hostility that are not explained to the reader until the stories are well advanced.²⁰¹ The two heroes have the common endowments of good looks, charm, wealth, generosity, and integrity. Both for a time are sadly misunderstood by the girls whom they eventually marry. Both have great estates with vast parks and grounds and with princely mansions which resemble each other in several particulars: Pendenynss Castle, where George Denbigh lives with his sister Marian, and Pemberly House, the home of Fitzwilliam and Georgiana Darcy.²⁰²

The plots of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Precaution* contain a few similar details that are not found in *Persuasion*. In the former, the officers of a regiment of militia that has gone into barracks at Meryton attend Mrs. Phillip's party and the Netherfield ball; in the latter the officers of a regiment of foot that has just gone into barracks near B—— are invited to a ball given by Mr. Haughton and to a dinner party at Mosely Hall.²⁰³ In each story, the villain, after failing to win the girl he desires, chooses another with whom he elopes.²⁰⁴ In both stories, overheard conversations have important results. Elizabeth Bennet's prejudice against Darcy originates in her

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

overhearing a slighting remark which he makes about her at an assembly dance. Mrs. Wilson's instinctive distrust of Colonel Egerton is much strengthened by a conversation about him that she accidentally overhears at a ball.²⁰⁵

Persuasion contains no details that are exact counterparts of those mentioned above, but it does contain some that are similar to them in certain respects. Although the first two or three pages of *Precaution* resemble the first two or three pages of *Pride and Prejudice* more closely than they do any passages in *Persuasion*, we do not forget that calls on new neighbors who have as a visitor an eligible bachelor are no less important in the last work than they are in the other two. William Walter Elliot has no secret grudge against Captain Wentworth, but he is in general the same sort of villain as Wickham and Egerton, a personable hypocrite, whose true character is revealed by degrees. Most of the other details in *Precaution* that Professor Scudder believes to have been suggested by *Pride and Prejudice* could just as well have been derived from *Persuasion*.

Army officers, as Professor Scudder points out, play an important part in *Pride and Prejudice* and in *Precaution*,²⁰⁶ but naval officers also appear in Cooper's story,²⁰⁷ and the hero of *Persuasion* is a captain in the navy, and his brother-in-law an admiral. Mr. Collins, on receiving a living from his rich patroness, Lady Catherine de Bourgh, at once sets out to look for a wife; Francis Ives receives a living from his patron, the Earl of Bolton, and soon after marries Clara Moseley to whom he has been engaged for some time.²⁰⁸ In *Persuasion*, likewise, Charles Hayter receives from an unnamed benefactor a living which enables him to marry Henrietta Musgrove.

Professor Scudder calls attention to the close similarity of the settings of the two stories: Mosely Hall is near the village of B——, Longbourn, near the village of Meryton;²⁰⁹ but Kellynch Hall is an estate near the village of Uppercross, and the surroundings and atmosphere of the three are very similar. Professor Scudder draws a parallel between the visits to Bath paid by various characters in *Precaution* and Wickham's visits to Bath mentioned near the end of *Pride and Prejudice*,²¹⁰ but a closer parallel can be drawn between *Precaution* and *Persuasion*, since the last ten chapters of the latter have Bath as a setting.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

²⁰⁷ *Precaution*, xxiv, 238.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²⁰⁸ Scudder, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

The accident which made George Denbigh for some time an "interesting invalid" at Moseley Hall may have been suggested by Jane Bennet's illness at Netherfield,²¹¹ but it much more closely resembles the accident in *Persuasion*.

The penalties of extravagance and the problems growing out of entailed estates are pictured vividly in *Pride and Prejudice* and *Precaution*,²¹² but not more so than in *Persuasion*. Jane Austen's agreement with Cooper that intelligence rather than instinct should direct the selection of one's husband or wife is no less evident in *Persuasion* than in *Pride and Prejudice*.²¹³ And finally, although a passage in *Pride and Prejudice* may have suggested Cooper's comments on books and reading,²¹⁴ a more significant passage dealing with the same subject can be found in *Persuasion*.

A few of the parallels detected by Professor Scudder seem to me to be unimpressive. For example, the resemblance he sees between Mr. Collins and Francis Ives²¹⁵ has no basis but the fact that both are clergymen and both have wealthy patrons. Cooper wishes his readers to consider Francis a thoroughly admirable young man; Mr. Collins, as everyone knows, is one of the greatest dunces in literature. Somewhat farfetched too is the comparison between the benevolent Earl of Bolton and the haughty and domineering Lady Catherine de Bourgh.²¹⁶ Finally, the parallel drawn by Professor Scudder between Darcy's rescue of his sister when she was about to elope with Wickham and Denbigh's rescue of Mrs. Fitzgerald when she was brutally attacked by Colonel Egerton²¹⁷ is not close enough to provide very strong evidence that the second incident was suggested by the first. Discussing Professor Scudder's article Professor Clavel objects to the assumption that *Pride and Prejudice* is the book that Cooper threw aside in disgust, first, because it was published in 1813 and therefore was not a new book in 1818; and second, because such lack of appreciation of a great novel would show Cooper to have been a "lamentable Philistine." On the other hand, he admits that resemblances between *Precaution* and *Pride and Prejudice* exist, and suggests that of the four statements made by Susan Cooper about the source of *Precaution* the true one is that in which she says, not that Cooper imitated the rejected English novel,

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

but that he imitated an English novel of the ordinary type, by which she meant the realistic novel of manners developed by Jane Austen and her contemporaries. Taking this view, he finds it quite reasonable to believe that Cooper, trying to write a better novel than one that he did not like, borrowed a few suggestions from one that he admired. Concerning Professor Scudder's article I myself agree with the opinion of Professor Spiller: though "not entirely convincing," it shows that *Precaution*, described by Susan Fenimore Cooper as an imitation of a story by Mrs. Opie or one of her school, "can almost equally well be linked with Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*."²¹⁸

IV

Mary Balfour Brunton's *Discipline* (1814) is a didactic novel of manners built around the central lesson that a devout Christian life is the only source of true happiness. The heroine, Ellen Percy, who begins life as the spoiled child of wealthy parents, learns this lesson only after being disciplined by a long train of harrowing misfortunes.

After the death of her mother, Ellen is provided a companion named Elizabeth Mortimer, who tries to bring the child up properly, but is completely thwarted by her charge's unruly disposition until just before her own untimely death. Hence, we have the godmother-goddaughter relationship again, but practically no details that are similar to those found in the story of Mrs. Wilson and Emily Moseley.

The use in the story of the Christian names Frederick and Charlotte²¹⁹ is probably of no significance, though Frederick is the name of George Denbigh's grandfather, and Charlotte that of Emily Moseley's aunt, Mrs. Wilson.²²⁰ Probably less significant still is the use of the surname Mortimer. On the other hand, the fact that Cooper gave the name Bolton Parsonage to the home of Francis and Clara Ives may have some importance, since a biographical sketch of the author of *Discipline*, written by her husband, the Reverend Alexander Brunton, informs us that she lived for six years in a parsonage at Bolton, in East Anglia.²²¹

²¹⁸ Robert E. Spiller, *James Fenimore Cooper; Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes* (New York, 1936), pp. lxviii-lxix.

²¹⁹ Mary Brunton, *Discipline, A Novel* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), iv, 101 ff.; xxvii, 425 ff.

²²⁰ *Precaution*, vii, 96; xli, 400.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, viii, 100; "Memoir," *Discipline*, pp. 5-6.

Very few resemblances can be found between the plots of the two novels. Ellen Percy attends a masked ball, which Mrs. Brunton describes with the disapproval of a pious dissenter,²²² whereas Cooper and Jane Austen view the dances attended by their heroines through the more tolerant eyes of Anglicans. Mrs. Brunton's characters frequently visit the poor, especially those who are sick; Mrs. Wilson, on at least one occasion, displays a similar benevolence.²²³ Near the end of Mrs. Brunton's story Ellen Percy discovers that the man whom she has long known and loved as the quiet and unassuming Mr. Maitland is really Henry Graham, the son of a Scottish chief.²²⁴ In similar fashion Emily Moseley, near the end of *Precaution*, discovers that George Denbigh is the Earl of Pendennyss.

The author of *Discipline* realizes the importance of good reading: when Ellen Percy, reduced to poverty, went to live with Miss Mortimer, she found in her room "a few volumes of history, and the best works of our British essayists and poets."²²⁵ Both Cooper and Jane Austen, as has already been shown, had definite opinions about what young people should read. Mrs. Brunton emphasized even more strongly than the other two writers the proper observance of Sunday.²²⁶ The seriousness of marriage, which is the central theme of Cooper's novel, is one of the lessons that Miss Mortimer tried most earnestly to impress upon the mind of her young friend. Like Mrs. Wilson, who tried to qualify Emily Moseley for the duties of this life and to fit her for that which is to come, Miss Mortimer urged Ellen Percy to put away childish things and begin her education for eternity.²²⁷

The facts that Mrs. Brunton wrote only two novels, that Cooper is known to have mentioned her work with approval, and that a few slight resemblances can be traced between *Discipline* and *Precaution* make it more than probable that Cooper when he began to write fiction had read the tale of the Scottish novelist, and that he may have been slightly influenced by it. But this influence, if it exists, is practically negligible when compared with that of *Persuasion*.

²²² *Discipline*, ix, 160 ff.

²²³ *Ibid.*, iii, 90-91; xxi, 332; xxx, 474; *Precaution*, ix, 111.

²²⁴ *Discipline*, xxix, 467.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi, 259.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, 137; xii, 103.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, v, 114.

v

"At long last," I come to my final conclusion, which fortunately can be stated very briefly. The confusing accounts given by Susan Fenimore Cooper make it impossible to determine what book it was that Cooper threw down so impatiently after reading a few pages. The arguments advanced by Professor Clavel against the theory that it was *Pride and Prejudice* can be employed with even greater force against the idea that it was *Persuasion*, though the latter was a new book in 1819. Susan says that her father found the title of the English book not to his taste. If this statement is true, one cannot believe that he would give his own book a title that sounds almost like an echo of the one that he so much disliked. Since Susan's statements about the source or sources of *Precaution* are confusing and apparently self-contradictory, we can draw no conclusions from them alone. Nevertheless, her assertions that Cooper was an ardent reader of novels and that *Precaution* was, at least to some extent, an imitation seems worthy of credence, since they are unequivocally repeated several times. Consequently it is possible that the apparently conflicting accounts are all partially true and that Cooper used one novel as a model, but also took some suggestions from other stories that he had been reading. Moreover, this reasonable supposition seems to be supported by the evidence brought to light in the course of this study. Therefore I think it highly probable that Cooper when he wrote *Precaution* had read some of Mrs. Opie's tales, that he was familiar with more than one of Jane Austen's novels, and that he may have known Mrs. Brunton's *Discipline*; but I am firmly convinced that in *Precaution* he attempted "an elaborate imitation in plot and character" of a definite English novel, and that that novel is Jane Austen's *Persuasion*.

THE DEBT OF TWO DYED-IN-THE-WOOL
AMERICANS TO MRS. GRANT'S MEMOIRS:
COOPER'S SATANSTOE AND PAULDING'S
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

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EVERY STUDENT of American literature knows of Cooper's exhortations to Europeans, and similarly every such student is aware of the ardor with which James Kirke Paulding entered into the War of the Reviewers. Yet the fact that these two stalwart proponents of Americanism were deeply indebted to a British gentlewoman (even though she calls herself an American lady) has remained astonishingly obscure, if not completely unknown.

I

Those eminent historians of the novel, Messrs. Quinn and Van Doren, for example, make no mention of Mrs. Grant in connection with Cooper's *Satanstoe*, though both praise highly the material in the book. Even more surprisingly Mr. Spiller edits the novel, ignoring the fact that its events transpired long before the author was born and that the plot cannot be explained on the basis of Cooper's own life and his familiarity with the rent riots, which this editor discusses.

Perusal of Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* (2 vols., American imprint, 1809; English, 1808) makes apparent to even the most casual reader that Cooper's indebtedness to this daughter of a British officer for local color and narrative impetus is both great and unmistakable.

On the other hand, his inclusion of Mrs. Grant's ingredients is by no means slavish or exclusive; Cooper used them rather as the catapult by which the airplane of his fancy was launched into the blue. To customs, places, personages, and events, he adds a pleasant, though to our minds a somewhat overrefined, love story; two of his exasperatingly ladylike females; eccentric creations in the jovial Parson Worden and the Yankee schoolmaster, Jason Newcome; a colorful picture of old New York (the city) and the sub-

stantial estates around it such as *Satanstoe*; effective blending of English and Dutch; the excitement of Indian warfare; and some of his finest male creations—phlegmatic Dirck, love-smitten Corny, handsome, fun-loving, lionhearted Guert. In addition, he laid the groundwork for his Littlepage trilogy with its valuable depiction of the laying out of a patent in the woods, its settlement, and the friction between landlord and tenant culminating in the rent riots that have distinguished New York State.

But to return to the parallelisms. To bring them out the more graphically, these will be placed in balanced columns.

Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs*¹

Cooper's *Satanstoe*²

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Visits of the better families to New York City (Chapter V, p. 23; Chapter XVI, pp. 83-84). | 1. Same custom (Chapter IV). |
| 2. Social popularity of the British officers (Chapter XXXIV, pp. 170 ff.). | 2. Same item (Chapters VI and VII, also Chapters XII, XIV, etc.). |
| 3. Acting of <i>The Beaux' Stratagem</i> by the officers (Chapter XXXV, pp. 175 ff.). | 3. Same placed by Cooper in New York (Chapter VIII). |
| 4. Description of Albany (Chapter VI, pp. 23-24). | 4. Similar description (Chapters X and XI). |
| 5. Winter amusements of the Albanians (Chapter XI, pp. 54 ff.). | 5. Similar materials (Chapters X, XII, XIII, and XV). |
| a. Sleighing on the river (p. 54). | a. Same custom (Chapters X and XV). |
| b. Coasting in town (pp. 54-55). | b. Same sport (Chapters XII). |
| c. Stealing of poultry for festive suppers by young Albanians (p. 56). | c. Custom amusingly used (Chapters XII and XIII). |
| 6. Prominence of Mrs. (Madame, "Aunt") Schuyler (Chapter XXII, pp. 107-108; Chapter XLI, pp. 207-208; Chapter XLVIII, pp. 239 ff.; Chapter L, p. 275). | 6. Same prominence in community mentioned by Cooper (Chapters X, XIV, and XX). |
| 7. Philip Schuyler the younger (Chapter XLIII, p. 214; Chapter LI, pp. 262 ff.). | 7. Brought in Chapter XX. |

¹ Numbering is that of the American edition, which is very inaccurate; consequently, both chapter and page references are given.

² The Mohawk edition of Cooper's *Works* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons).

8. Supplying the army; great preparations against the French (Chapter XXXIII, pp. 165 ff.; Chapter XXXVIII, pp. 192-193).
9. Expedition to Ticonderoga.
 - a. Praise of Lord Howe (Chapter XL, p. 199).
 - b. Size of enterprise and discipline of troops (Chapter XL, p. 203).
 - c. Calamity in death of Lord Howe (Chapter XL, p. 204).
 - d. British defeat at Ticonderoga (Chapter XLI, pp. 204-207).
10. Taking out of a patent by the author's father (Chapter LIII, pp. 268 ff.), also surveying and locating of lands (Chapter LIV, pp. 272 ff.).
11. Disagreeable New England neighbors; their hatred of subordination, greed for, and unfairness about land, trickery, and indulgence in litigation (Chapter LVII, pp. 292 ff.; Chapter LIV, pp. 278 ff.).
12. Vivid description of the breaking up of the ice on the Hudson (Chapter LXI, pp. 311 ff.).
8. Apparently the basis for Dirck's and Corny's sales of supplies and equipment with Guert's help, also of Cooper's account of the provisioning and equipping of an army (Chapter X; latter half of Chapter XI; middle of Chapter XIV).
9. Same (Chapters XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV).
 - a. Similar praise by Cooper (Chapters XX and XXIII).
 - b. Points vividly brought out by Cooper (Chapters XXII and XXIII).
 - c. Same (Chapter XXIII).
 - d. Elaborated by Cooper, who makes his central male characters take part and describe the retreat (Chapters XXIII-XXIV).
10. Mordaunt, Littlepage, and Van Valkenburgh patents—purchase, survey, development (Chapters IV, XX-XXII XXVII XXVIII).
11. Same qualities revealed in Jason Newcome (Chapters XX, XXII, and XXVIII).
12. Used for one of the most dramatic and impressive parts of Cooper's story (Chapters VII and XV).

All but nine of the thirty chapters of Cooper's novel are laid in scenes or contain events for which Mrs. Grant's work may be said to be a basis, this large proportion being probably due to the fact

that the material was congenial to Cooper. The military preparations; surveying and camping in the pathless woods; the thrilling breakup of the ice; the contentiousness, greed, and ill-breeding of the Yankees—all struck responsive chords in him. The result is one of the freshest, most charming and most even of his books.

His skill in construction is revealed by his omissions as well as by his utilizations. The references to Colonel Philip Schuyler, Senior; the too lengthy descriptions of Madame Schuyler, her domestic economy and her adopted children; the description of Cadwallader Colden, Sir William Johnson, the Five Nations, and the methods of retaining them in the English interest; life at Oswego; Lord Jeffrey Amherst and the Pontiac Conspiracy; all these are deftly excised and their place neatly taken by the admirable description of Corny's home life, his schooling, and his visits to New York. Apparently effortless unity is achieved by Cooper in a plot that moves steadily, absorbingly, and effectively forward.

The book is, moreover, valuable as an illustration of the differences between history or biography and fiction and of the method of working of the creative mind. Young writers are too prone to think a novel should be a direct transcript from life. Cooper reveals how it is life individualized, shaped, and illuminated by imagination. Mrs. Grant discusses Indian relations; Cooper gives us in action Trackless and Jumper, the guides, and the insulted and vengeful chief, Jaap's prisoner "Muss," who is an ally of the French. Mrs. Grant tells us of the expedition to Ticonderoga; Cooper makes his heroes participants. Mrs. Grant describes the popularity of sleighing, coasting, and feasting on pilfered game among the Albanians; Cooper makes humorous use of these in the exploits of the "loping dominie," Guert, and Corny. Mrs. Grant gives a fine description of the going-out of the ice; Cooper adds incalculably to its drama by putting his characters in jeopardy in the thrilling scenes on the ice-choked, moon-misted Hudson. Mrs. Grant tells of the scheming, knavery, and quarrelsomeness of the New England immigrants to York; Cooper with acrimony etches in a Jason and paves the way for his later knaveries. Mrs. Grant tells of her father's decision to take up bounty lands; under Cooper's guidance we go to Ravensnest and, with the surveyors, seek out amid the trackless woods the landmarks of Mooseridge. Mrs. Grant tells us of the anxiety the years of Indian warfare brought; Cooper gives the

weird and barbaric torment under which Pete expired, the tense night in the fortress, the tragic death of Guert.

That *Satanstoe* is a faithful depiction of the colonial era of what is now the Empire State is due in large part to Cooper's reliance on Mrs. Grant.

II

But this does not exhaust the borrowings of Knickerbocker authors from Mrs. Grant's book. There is equally definite evidence that James Kirke Paulding, prolific friend of Washington Irving, poet, novelist, satirist, biographer, short-story writer, was similarly inspired by it in *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831).³

His debt, though less concentrated, is very pervasive. Among the details which reveal his reading of Mrs. Grant are the name of his heroine Catalina, his description of the Vancour family and home (pp. 5 ff.), particularly their social position and authority as to Indian relations (pp. 14, 60); the picnic party on one of the islands of the Hudson according to the fashion of the youth of Albany (pp. 30 ff.); possibly the sudden rise of the river, giving the hero an opportunity to rescue the heroine (pp. 53 ff.); the popularity of the British officers and the desire of socially ambitious parents for alliance with them (pp. 58 ff.); Dominie Stettinius's horror at play acting and other dissipations brought in by the soldiers (pp. 63, 147, Chapter XVII); the seduction of a Dutch miss (p. 148); the account of the Ticonderoga expedition and the ill-fated death of Lord Howe (p. 311, Chapter XVII, v. 2); the tribute to Sir William Johnson (p. 311 and elsewhere); the specific mention of old King Hendrick (p. 307).

Most extensive of the relationships are the almost identical accounts of the trading ventures of the young "up-colonists," as we might call them by paraphrasing our modern "up-staters."

In Chapter IX (pp. 37 ff.) Mrs. Grant tells us that when one of the young Albanians was deeply smitten by the tender passion, he asked his father for forty or fifty dollars, a Negro helper, and a canoe; and, thereupon, became a trader. Similarly, when Sybrandt is a tongue-tied admirer of Catalina, he asks his foster father's (Mr. Dennis Vancour's) permission to go on such a venture (Chapter VIII ff.). He also was given a Negro servant as companion. Incidentally, Paulding makes the same point that do Mrs. Grant and

³ Page references following are to the Scribner edition of 1868, ed. William I. Paulding.

Cooper: that the Negro was usually a slave born in the same house and predestined for the youth's personal service. The goods that Sybrandt carries with him are those described by Mrs. Grant, ardent spirits in both cases playing a prominent, and in Paulding's book, a well-nigh disastrous part. In both books the beginning traders endure heavy labor in paddling against the current; in both they have to carry their canoe and goods around impassable waterfalls; in both they must light fires at night to protect them from the brute marauders of the wilderness; for neither do the dangers end with the journey to their destination.

Mrs. Grant states: "When at length, after conquering numberless obstacles, they arrived at the place of their destination, these daring adventurers found occasion for no little address, patience, and indeed courage, before they could dispose of their cargo, and return safely with the profits" (Chapter IX, p. 45). Paulding places his hero's life in peril from the drunken savages and has him wounded by the one-eyed boaster, Paskingoe. Sybrandt's life is saved by Sir William Johnson, but only after his Negro's address in imitating the war whoop of the Adirondacks has repeatedly delayed the attack on his master. In connection with this latter detail, we might mention Mrs. Grant's tribute to the extraordinary proofs of tender and generous friendships between slaves and owners given in the course of hunting or Indian trading, when a young man and his slave have gone to the trackless woods together.

Sir William Johnson, his home and family, his control over the Indians are described in detail by both authors. Both writers stress the influence of such a trading venture in maturing a youth and enabling him to win his love and take his place among men. Mrs. Grant declares: "The successful trader had now laid the foundation of his fortune, and proved himself worthy of her for whose sake he encountered all these dangers. It is utterly inconceivable, how even a single season, spent in this manner, ripened the mind, and changed the whole appearance, nay the very character of the countenance of these demi-savages, for such they seem on returning from among their friends in the forests" (Chapter IX, pp. 45-47), and so on in like vein. Similarly Paulding explains:

In the days of which we are speaking, the young men bordering on the frontiers were accustomed, almost universally, to commence the business of this world with a trading voyage among the savages of the borders.

Previous to assuming the port and character of manhood, it was considered an almost indispensable obligation to undertake and complete some enterprise of this kind, full of privation and danger. The youth went out a boy, and returned a man, qualified to take his place among men, and to aspire to the possession of the object of his early love. It was in this way that the character of the patriarchs of this country was formed; and in consequence of such training that it exhibited a union of homely simplicity, manly frankness, and daring vigor, which at length found their reward in the achievement and possession of liberty. (Chapter VIII, pp. 81-82.)

These parallels make it convincing to the writer that, in the material later winnowed out by Cooper from Mrs. Grant, Paulding had earlier discovered not chaff, but sound productive grain, and that he like the great romancer of the frontier, found inspiration in the informative reminiscences of this daughter of a British officer. Paulding's book is obviously based on literary sources. The time and places in which he spent his life were too civilized for him to have first-hand contacts with genuine "bush-lopers." The present author has read widely in the literature of the frontier, but in no place has she found narratives of that magnet, the fur trade, which bore just the earmarks of these two.

Mrs. Grant's book is a rose-colored tribute to the glamorous days of her childhood; even the excesses and injustices of the Revolution are touched upon by her without bitterness. It is pleasant to be able to conclude, then, that two of our earliest novelists of note borrowed from her in the spirit in which she wrote. Neither the tension of the War of 1812 nor the ardor with which Paulding flung himself into the War of the Reviewers could ruffle or darken his indebtedness to this female offspring of the Mother Country and his depiction of the services of her officials like Johnson on the borders of Old York.

ARCHIBALD ALISON AND WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

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I

BRYANT'S precocity involved far more than the production, at the age of thirteen, of political satire popular enough to warrant two editions: such a performance was most significant as a hint of the key fact in the explanation of his personality and achievement—the fact that he settled early into the intellectual and emotional stride which was to carry him, with fundamentally unaltered rhythm and undeviating direction, through one of the longest literary careers in American history.

This generally recognized peculiarity of Bryant's life-history endows the period of his adolescence and early manhood with even more than the usual significance, and enables the investigator of his youthful experiences and reading to make deductions about Bryant's character and theories which have frequently a validity for the whole of the poet's career. Despite this investigational advantage, however, proportionately small attention has been paid to Bryant's activities between his birth and his reading of *Lyrical Ballads*, about 1811-1812.¹ Only a few scholars have recognized the unnaturalness and factual inadequacy of assuming that Augustan Cullen came to *Lyrical Ballads*, read it, and emerged Romantic Bryant.

In Bryant's pre-Wordsworthian reading what appears to have been the most significant book is Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh, 1790). Of course it is difficult for the advocate of some particular factor in a poet's development to avoid exaggerating the importance of the "discovered" influence;² but whatever the likelihood of this writer's erring in his

¹ Several articles by Tremaine McDowell, to which the following paper is generally and specifically indebted, constitute practically all the recent contributions to knowledge about Bryant's early years.

² The fact of an Alison-Bryant relationship is not new. It has been recognized by William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 96, 203-204; but Mr. Charvat, who deals with Bryant only as one of numerous

evaluation of Alison's relative importance in Bryant's development, it appears indisputable that the *Essays on Taste* exerted a force, of sufficient determining power at least to be worth mentioning, upon three phases of the poet's maturation and later literary activity. First, Alison's treatise prepared Bryant to read Wordsworth's Preface and poetry not only with a fuller understanding, but also in the light of certain esthetic and philosophical preconceptions about those few matters in which the two older men disagreed. Secondly, by making acquaintance with the principles and terminology of the Scotch esthetic school, Bryant was unconsciously undergoing a discipline which would enable him, a few years later, to take his place among American critics, who were, according to Mr. Charvat, at one with British reviewers in accepting the critical foundation of Scotch associationalist esthetics.³ And, finally, the *Essays on Taste* exerted upon Bryant's critical theory an influence which, although difficult to dissociate from the influence of Wordsworth and of the American critical milieu, seems certainly to have been profound.

By Bryant's own testimony, he read Alison at some time during the two years, 1808-1810, in which he prepared for college.⁴ The exact date of this reading, of some importance because of a relationship to "Thanatopsis" which will be pointed out below, seems to have been the winter of 1809-1810, when, after eight months (November, 1808-June, 1809) of Latin with his Uncle Snell, two months of haymaking, and two months of Greek with the Reverend Moses Hallock, he continued by himself his precollege discipline. He went back to Mr. Hallock in the spring of 1810 for two months of mathematics, and he probably worked again on his grandfather's farm during the summer, before taking up residence in Williams-town. Thus it was at the impressionable age of sixteen, and with a very limited experience of esthetics, that Bryant encountered Alison's lucid and persuasive treatise.⁵

American critics of the period, mentions merely the general nature of Alison's impact upon Bryant's poetic theory. The relationship must also be known to Mr. McDowell, in whose "Cullen Bryant Prepares for College," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXX, 131-132 (April, 1931), Alison's book is listed as one of those which Bryant said he had read in his precollege period.

³ Charvat, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴ McDowell, "Cullen Bryant Prepares for College," p. 131.

⁵ Other reading in criticism which appears on the precollege list, as printed by Mr. McDowell, includes Pope's prefaces to Homer and to Shakespeare, Longinus *On the Sublime*, Johnson's preface to Shakespeare, and Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry*, etc. It seems likely that Bryant had at this period already seen Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, the *Spectator*

II

Alison was the esthetic theoretician for the psychology of Hartley⁶ and for the philosophy of the "Scotch 'common sense' school."⁷ The essence of his theory was that esthetic pleasure arises from the combination of "a simple emotion"—suggested, through association, by a beautiful or sublime object—with the exercise of the imagination in associating a train of "ideas of emotion" suggested to the imagination by the original simple emotion. One of the passages in which he defines esthetic pleasure reads thus: "The pleasure, therefore, which accompanies the emotions of taste, may be considered not as a simple, but as a complex pleasure; and as arising not from any separate and peculiar sense, but from the union of the pleasure of SIMPLE EMOTION, with that which is annexed, by the constitution of the human mind, to the exercise of IMAGINATION."⁸ It would be tedious and unprofitable to synopsise Alison's treatise. But, while reserving for subsequent discussion most of the ideas from Alison which Bryant later incorporated into his poetic theory, it is interesting to note certain features of the book which made it peculiarly appealing to the boy Cullen, and to point out certain relations of an accidental rather than substantial nature; and it is important to understand how this experience of esthetic discipline prepared him to receive *Lyrical Ballads* about two years later.

First among the appealing features was Alison's use of nature to supply many of his illustrations. When one remembers that "Thanatopsis" was written in the autumn, and less than two years after Bryant's reading of the book, it is provocative to find on one of its pages the following passage:

The beauty of autumn is accompanied with a similar exercise of thought [the associative process]: The leaves begin then to drop from the trees; the flowers and shrubs, with which the fields were adorned in the summer months, decay; the woods and groves are silent; the sun himself seems gradually to withdraw his light, or to become enfeebled in his power. Who is there, who, at this season, does not feel his mind impressed with a sentiment of melancholy? or who is able to resist the

critical pieces, and perhaps Young's *Conjectures*; but Alison's seems to have been the only formal and definitively ambitious esthetic treatise in his early reading, unless Burke's comparatively crude effort may be called such.

⁶ Willard L. Sperry, *Wordsworth's Anti-Climax* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 129 ff.

⁷ Charvat, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸ Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Boston, 1812), p. 103.

current of thought which, from such appearances of decay, so naturally leads him to the solemn imagination of that inevitable fate, which is to bring on alike the decay of life, of empire, and of nature itself. In such cases of emotion, every man must have felt, that the character of the scene is no sooner impressed upon his mind, than various trains of correspondent imagery arise before his imagination; that whatever may be the nature of the impression, the general tone of his thoughts partakes of this nature or character; and that his delight is proportioned to the degree in which this uniformity of character prevails.⁹

For the boy in whom "the poets fostered . . . a taste" for nature,¹⁰ it must have been exciting and flattering to read this sentence: ". . . most men of education have . . . been conscious of . . . the influence . . . of an acquaintance with poetry in our earlier years in increasing our sensibility to the beauties of nature."¹¹

It must also have been a seductive pleasure to recognize passages in the poetry which Alison used to ornament and illustrate his discussion. The poets from whom the bulk of the verse quotations is taken are Virgil, Homer, Milton, Shakespeare, Akenside, Goldsmith, Thomson, and Beattie—all of whom were represented in the Bryant family library.¹² The prominence of the last four poets—eighteenth-century pre-romantics all—together with the absence, which must have seemed conspicuous to Cullen, of the Augustans, is significant. Godwin conjectures that Bryant's study of Greek literature at Williams in the year 1810-1811 made him revise his poetic judgments and see the Augustans in a new and unflattering light, and that "Cowper, Thompson [*sic*], Burns, and Southey were discovered to be much better guides than his former models, and to them henceforth he devoted his attention."¹³ This statement probably has some truth in it, and is valuable furthermore as it modifies the popular tendency to assign Bryant's break with "the Queen Anne's men" entirely to his reading of *Lyrical Ballads*. But if he was still Augustan in taste when he came to Alison, several months before entering Williams, he must have found, in the pre-romantic preferences of an author with whom he had so many sympathies, cause to begin a critical examination of his own standards. It seems reasonable to push back the beginnings of this conscious examination of standards to a pe-

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰ Bryant's own statement (Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant*, New York, 1883, I, 25).

¹² Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 58.

¹¹ Alison, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 97.

riod at least as early as the winter of 1809-1810, when he was reading Alison.

Three other elements in Alison's theory are significant not only because they must have appealed to Bryant's preconceptions, but also because they prepared him to read Wordsworth, two years later, in the light of certain emphases which he eventually incorporated into his own poetic theory. The firmness of the knot with which Alison ties together beauty and morality is the first of these elements: "It is far more important to observe that it is by means of this constitution of our nature [that it perceives objects to be beautiful or sublime only as they suggest qualities of mind], that the emotions of taste are blended with MORAL sentiment; and that one of the greatest pleasures of which we are susceptible, is made finally subservient to moral improvement."¹⁴

Elaborating this statement, he writes a paragraph which sounds like the program for Bryant's own poetic career:

... wander where we will, trees wave, rivers flow, mountains ascend, clouds darken, or winds animate the face of heaven; and over the whole scenery, the sun sheds the cheerfulness of his morning, the splendor of his noon-day, or the tenderness of his evening light. There is not one of these features of scenery which is not fitted to awaken us to moral emotion; to lead us, when once the key of our imagination is struck, to trains of fascinating and of endless imagery; and in the indulgence of them to make our bosoms either glow with conceptions of mental excellence, or melt in the dreams of moral good.¹⁵

The principle of nature as a healing power—a concept common to both Bryant and Wordsworth, among other romantics—and the suggestion of a theme which entered into the poems (never published) written under Byron's influence in the years 1811-1816¹⁶ are also in Alison: "... I believe that there is no man of genuine taste, who has not often felt, in the lone majesty of nature, some unseen spirit to dwell, which in his happier hours, touched, as if with magic hand, all the springs of his moral sensibility, and rekindled in his heart those original conceptions of the moral or intellectual excel-

¹⁴ Alison, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

¹⁶ Tremaine McDowell discusses this group of poems on pp. xxxiii and xl-xlii of his introduction to *William Cullen Bryant: Representative Selections* (New York, 1935). The theme mentioned is that of nature repelled by the spots and stains and "the signet of care" on the brow of her lover, who has unfaithfully left her and mingled with the sully-ing crowds and pursuits of society. Cf. also "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood" and "I Cannot Forget with What Fervid Devotion," both composed in 1815.

lence of his nature, which it is the melancholy tendency of the vulgar pursuits of life to diminish, if not altogether to destroy."¹⁷

These parallels are not educed to prove that Alison provided original sources for particular poems by Bryant: although this may be a tenable supposition in one or two cases, most of the ideas involved in the parallels were doubtless romantic commonplaces by the time Bryant wrote poems around them; and it is his manner of treatment, rather than the ideas themselves, which constitutes his distinction as a romantic poet. The point is that these elements in Alison stirred the sympathy of his preconceptions about nature, prepared him for a clearer understanding¹⁸ and a deeper appreciation of Wordsworth, and eventually entered into his poetic theory and practice.

The third element in this list is the absence of pantheism from Alison's attitude toward nature. In complete agreement with the stand which Bryant had probably already taken and which he continued to hold throughout his life, the Scotch clergyman looked on nature merely as the beautiful and sublime handiwork of God, suggesting, but not incorporating within itself, qualities of mind:

Had organic enjoyment been the only object of our formation, it would have been sufficient to establish senses for the reception of these enjoyments. But if the promises of our nature are greater; if it is destined to a nobler conclusion; if it is enabled to look to the Author of Being himself, and to feel its proud relation to HIM; then nature, in all its aspects around us, ought only to be felt as signs of his providence, and as conducting us, by the universal language of these signs, to the throne of DEITY.¹⁹

The obviously pantheistic portions of *Lyrical Ballads* are limited to a few scattered lines in "Tintern Abbey" and one or two other poems. It seems likely that Bryant, coming to the poetic product of Alison's esthetic²⁰ with the latter's unpantheistic nature-attitude fresh in a sympathetic memory, was unaware of, or discounted, the full import of these few passages.

¹⁷ Alison, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-429.

¹⁸ Within the limits imposed by a certain emphasis to be considered in the following paragraph.

¹⁹ Alison, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-431.

²⁰ So Dean Sperry demonstrates *Lyrical Ballads* to be: "Alison's *Essay on Taste* . . . with Priestley's edition of Hartley . . . was the source-book for the most important of all Wordsworth's prose apparatus, the preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*" (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

III

Having disposed of what might be called the accidental elements in the Alison-Bryant relationship, we can now consider the substantial elements—that is, the impact of Alison's theory upon Bryant's poetics.

Despite the fact that Bryant's critical theory is illustrated, and must have been ultimately confirmed for him, by his own poetic practice, it has important roots in other sources than his own personality and creative experience. Primarily these sources are Alison's esthetic and Wordsworth's amplification and illustrative practice of Alison's theory. Every major tenet in Bryant's conception of the nature of poetry *can* be traced back as a restatement or a logical derivative from one of these sources; and in other matters of theory, such as the subjects of poetry, Alison is reflected along with Wordsworth. It is useless to talk about the originality or lack of it in various portions of Bryant's theory which most obviously agree with corresponding principles in these sources—useless to attempt a determination of exactly how much of what Bryant found and accepted in Alison and Wordsworth was new to him and how much had been often thought by him independently, "but ne'er so well express'd." His originality consisted in recognizing when he met it a poetics congenial with his own temperament and experience, and sticking by it consistently when he found that his practice confirmed it and the corollaries he had drawn from it. Most "influences," it would seem, operate in this fashion.

Poetry, as Bryant defined it in the 1826 *Lectures*, is an art of suggestion rather than a strictly imitative art, like sculpture and painting. Through its medium of words it appeals directly to the imagination, the emotions, and the reason, rather than indirectly, through the senses, as the literally imitative arts do. This distinction is probably evidence of a small debt to Burke's treatise on *The Sublime and Beautiful*,²¹ which he had read as a boy;²² but a suggestion of it is also in Alison: ". . . whatever may be the superiority of painting to the originals from which it is copied, it is still limited, in comparison with that which poetry enjoys. The painter addresses himself to the eye. The poet speaks to the imagination."²³

²¹ This is pointed out by Mr. Charvat, *op. cit.*, p. 204. For the germinal passages in Burke, see *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke* (revised ed., Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1865), I, 246-262, especially pp. 257-258.

²² McDowell, "Cullen Bryant Prepares for College," p. 131.

²³ Alison, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

Alison's influence is next apparent in Bryant's emphasis on the active participation of the reader's imagination. Alison had said that esthetic delight consisted in the combination of the simple emotion suggested by a beautiful or sublime object with the train of "ideas of emotion" (imagery with an emotional reference) set up, through association, in the imagination. Bryant follows him closely:

Poetry is that art which selects and arranges the symbols of thought in such a manner as to excite it [the imagination] most powerfully and delightfully.²⁴ The imagination of the reader is guided, it is true, by the poet, and it is his business to guide it skillfully and agreeably; but the imagination in the meantime is by no means passive. It pursues the path which the poet only points out, and shapes its visions from the scenes and allusions which he gives. It fills up his sketches of beauty with what suits its own highest conceptions of the beautiful, and completes his outline of grandeur with the noblest images its own stores can furnish.²⁵

This statement supplies only one term—the train of imagery—in Alison's definition of esthetic delight. But the other term—emotion—follows quickly:

The most beautiful poetry is that which takes the strongest hold of the feelings. . . . The truth is, that poetry which does not find its way to the heart is scarcely deserving of the name; it may be brilliant and ingenious, but it soon wearies the attention. The feelings and the imagination, when skillfully touched, act reciprocally on each other.²⁶

Bryant then goes on to explain the necessity of creating a simple emotion—of appealing to the heart—in order that the imagination may be set at work:

Important . . . as may be the office of the imagination in poetry, the great spring of poetry is emotion. It is this power that holds the key of the storehouse where the mind has laid up its images, and that alone can open it without violence. . . . [A lack of emotion in the poet himself] is the origin of cold conceits, of prosing reflections, of the minute painting of uninteresting circumstances, and of the opposite extremes of

²⁴ Bryant's use, throughout the "Lectures" and elsewhere, of the word *delight* and its derivatives may be a sort of recognition of his indebtedness to Alison, who had announced in his treatise that he was employing the term *delight* to distinguish between the "peculiar pleasure which attends the emotions of taste" and the simple pleasure of appetite gratified, etc. For the Alison passage, see *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

²⁵ *Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant*, ed. Parke Godwin (New York, 1884), I, 6-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

tameness and extravagance. On the other hand, strong feeling is always a sure guide.²⁷

Compare with this Alison's statement to similar effect:

If it is true that the ideas which compose that train of thought, which attends the emotions of taste, are uniformly ideas of emotion, then it ought in fact to be found that no objects or qualities are experienced to be beautiful or sublime, but such as are productive of some simple emotion.²⁸

Upon Bryant's ideas about the subjects of poetry, as well as its nature, Alison's influence is also seen to have exerted itself. First, the subjects must be capable of humanistic reference, as Bryant himself demonstrated nature to be in almost every poem where he treated her. This necessity follows not only from his ethical bias and his eighteenth-century heritage, but also from the very esthetics which he accepted from Alison. The Scotch thinker had declared that nature was only beautiful or sublime as she suggested human qualities.²⁹ Further, only by some ultimate sympathy can the simple emotion so necessary to the process of esthetic delight be awakened. Bryant makes this point clearly in defending modern man against mythological creatures as subjects for poetry:

[The mythological] system gave us the story of a superior and celestial race of beings, to whom human passions were attributed, and who were, like ourselves, susceptible of suffering; but it elevated them so far above the creatures of earth in power, in knowledge, and in security from the calamities of our condition, that they could be the subjects of little sympathy. Therefore it is that the mythological poetry of the ancients is as cold as it is beautiful, as unaffecting as it is faultless.³⁰

Secondly, the subjects of poetry must involve only simple ideas and emotions. This point, made most explicitly in the Introduction to *A New Library of Poetry and Song*,³¹ derives partly from Bryant's own nature and experience as a poet and partly from principles in Alison and Wordsworth. Alison had stated that attention to particular details of an esthetic object blocked the exercise of imagination in its associative train.³² Both he and Wordsworth had

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.

³¹ See *ibid.*, I, 157-158.

²⁹ Alison, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁰ *Prose Writings*, I, 28-29.

³² Alison, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 27.

insisted upon the necessity of effortless spontaneity in association, a "wise passiveness," as Wordsworth called it.³³

IV

The ideas mentioned in the above section will be recognized by students of Bryant as central to the poet's critical theory and poetic practice: that Alison's influence in presenting these ideas to Bryant was important, although probably not by itself decisive, must surely be admitted when it is remembered that Bryant first encountered them in the *Essays on Taste*. An attempt has also been made in this paper to show that Bryant's reading of Alison was probably a factor in his turning away from the neoclassicism of his *Embargo* days and in preparing him for *Lyrical Ballads*. The importance of the third suggestion tendered at the beginning of this article—that by reading the Scotch esthetician Bryant was learning the terminology and principles which dominated American criticism before Poe and the transcendentalists—is apt to be underestimated, unless the value of the numerous reviews and critical articles turned out by Bryant during a busy editorial life-time is recognized. Such recognition is not yet general, but it is growing; and from his own study of Bryant's criticism the writer feels confident that some day it will be general.³⁴

³³ For Alison's statement of the principle, see *ibid.*, pp. 20 ff.

³⁴ Writing for *C.H.A.L.* twenty years ago, William Ellery Leonard spoke of Bryant's value as a critic. Recent scholarship by Allan Nevins, Charvat, McDowell, and Charles I. Glicksberg is evidence of an increasing interest in Bryant's critical career.

NOTES AND QUERIES

JOHN TRUMBULL GLANCES AT FICTION

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JOHN TRUMBULL the poet had a critical rather than a creative temperament. Even in his best productions, his underlying aims were largely intellectual and analytical—to expound, to evaluate, to render judgment. In *M'Fingal* and *The Progress of Dulness* the exposition wears a jacket of satire. Elsewhere, in his literary essays especially, the author is more detached. Had the times been more propitious, Trumbull would undoubtedly have perfected and published certain examples of literary criticism which now remain in manuscript. In the criticism of poetry (his major interest in belles-lettres) he was generally sensible and often acute.¹ The Addisonian essay he admired and constantly practiced.² His criticism of the novel, represented below by a brief essay now first published, betrays some lack of perspective; but it is an interesting and indicative example of early American criticism of fiction. The manuscript is dated June, 1779.³

Prose narrative, one guesses, was not a particularly congenial form to the author of *M'Fingal*. Of the novel as such he wrote but little. Conservative blood in him naturally reacted against this upstart form (new in England, nonexistent in America) with its tendencies toward the eccentric, the obscene, the extravagant, and the prolix. Fiction writers were but loosely federated; they had no critical constitution, no supreme bench of opinion. To Trumbull, who valued the standardized, the authoritative, novelists were a race to be viewed with skepticism.

The grounds of his skepticism were moral and artistic. Himself at times a purveyor of petty bawdry, Trumbull was no mere prude. Yet he objected to extreme smut and he recognized that even decorous writing might have an unfortunate moral influence. Sterne he regarded as trivial, sentimental, and obscene.⁴ Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*, a work with which he was apparently quite familiar, he looked upon as a potentially dangerous book. In one of his earliest essays he wrote:

¹ See Alexander Cowie, "John Trumbull as a Critic of Poetry," *New England Quarterly*, XI, 773-793 (Dec., 1938).

² See Alexander Cowie, *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 54-56 *et passim*.

³ The manuscript is in the possession of the Cornell University Library, where for some years it was not available for unrestricted use. Permission to publish it has now been given by Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, Librarian.

⁴ *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit*, pp. 47-48.

The Spectator ends his 423d paper with this note: "I have, says he, many other secrets that concern the empire of love; but I consider that while I alarm my women, I instruct my men." I never look in Richardson's novel of *Clarissa*, without reflecting on this memorable observation. If any lady is desirous to know how to avoid the delusive snares of man, let her attend to the story and imitate the character of *Clarissa*; and if any man is desirous of learning how to deceive innocence, and betray unguarded female virtue, and in a word to become an incarnate devil, let him attend to the observations and imitate the character of *Lovelace*.⁵

But Trumbull's principal complaint against fiction was not its possible threat to morality but its violation of literary or esthetic principles. His quiet questioning of the moral effect of *Clarissa* is no more noteworthy than his failure to praise Richardson's skill in psychological analysis. Yet the reason for this omission is not far to seek. As a neoclassicist Trumbull favored a generalized approach to literature. He sought the representative rather than the specific, the typical rather than the particular; and he feared the shoals of the subjective. In his observations on both poetry and fiction he deprecated excessive introspection. It is not surprising that the critic who was later to object to the messy emotionalism of Tom Moore and even to the tranquil self-examinations of Wordsworth⁶ should find no words of praise for Richardson's airless analyses of morbid case histories. Here was not only questionable morality but also bad art.

A second objection to fiction, whether in the novel or in romance, was its gross want of proportion and probability. Trumbull recognized, of course, that going beyond "nature" might subtend the purposes of art. Shakespeare's feigning begot great poetry; Spenser's fables were full of beauty; incomparable humor arose out of Rabelais's prodigious fabrications. Nay, Trumbull himself employed burlesque. He objects, not to the impossible per se, but rather to those writers whose chief stock in trade it was. His application of this principle was obviously not without error, witness his condemnation of *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *Tom Jones*. Yet he was not far from the truth in his disposition of Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*; and his broadly humorous treatment of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* (a treatment worthy of Mark Twain, another arch-foe of extreme romanticism) hit the mark squarely. If published, his observations on *Grandison* might have helped to laugh out of fashion a meretricious novel which remained a popular favorite in America for nearly a century. Yes, America needed criticism of Trumbull's

⁵ *Boston Chronicle*, III, 25, Jan. 18-22, 1770, "The Meddler," No. X. There are brief references to *Lovelace*, as well as to *Sir Charles Grandison* and *Pamela*, in *The Progress of Dulness*, Part III, *Poetical Works* (Hartford, 1820), II, 77.

⁶ *New England Quarterly*, XI, 791.

sort. If he seems to have been a trifle uncharitable toward the infant institution of the novel, he also showed a great deal of common sense; and even in his errors he revealed the high ideals he cherished for the art of writing.

ON ROMANCES & NOVELS

Is there in Human Nature an invincible Fondness for extravagance & improbability? Else how comes it to pass that the taste of every age produces so many Histories of Impossibilities, which however various in style & manner, equally abound with incredible adventures? Or that those Writings, among all the productions addressed to the Imagination & whose principal design is Entertainment, have gained the greatest Applause in their own Age, & stood the Admiration of succeeding times, which have most abounded with the marvellous & incredible?

Do we fancy that the Ancients seriously believed the Fictitious & ridiculous Theology of Homer, or credited his fabulous Stories of the Intervention of his Deities at the Siege of Troy? They believed them no more than we. Yet these Parts of the Poem take the strongest hold on the Reader's Attention & most command the Applauses of the Critics.—

Is there a Man, who in reading the *Paradise Lost*, believes one word of his Account of the Battle of the Angels, of which every Page is replete with Absurdity, or of any transactions he describes, which lie out of the Regions of Nature—yet his Poem would not be worth a sixpence without them?—For their absurdity I would only notice his descriptions of the Angels being clothed in armour, bleeding on receiving wounds, being crushed with mountains, knocked down with Cannonballs, or above all that very pretty fancy of his "*fiery foaming Steeds*" in Heaven, which the Angels made use of to draw their Chariots.

What has the Immortal Shakespeare done in his most celebrated works, but described in exquisite Poetry the most ridiculous nursery tales & old wives' fables about Ghosts, Fairies & Witchcraft?

Spenser's *Fairy Queen* considered merely as an Allegory is a poor, threadbare performance & inferior to Bunyan.—Its merit consists in his fanciful descriptions of Scenes that have no foundation in Nature or Possibility.—

He who reads it merely with a View to the Allegory loses all its beauty?—

But the Prose talemakers have in this respect far outgone the Poets. For as they could have no assistance from the Charms of Verse to enchant the Imagination of their readers, they found it necessary to supply that defect by greater degrees of extravagance & improbability.—

The antient Romances were a mere circle of Giants, Magicians, chaste Virgins, & constant Lovers, with other imaginary Beings of the same sort, whose adventures the Writer, who could weave together with the most surprizing improbability, was thought to succeed best in that species of Composition.

These were laughed out of fashion by Cervantes: A Style of writing then succeeded, & has ever since continued in Novels & Romances, in which the Author, without being indulged in the use of Giants or Witchcrafts, is obliged to have recourse to extraordinary Accidents, or improbable bravery, for that extravagance & impossibility, which seems the life & soul of these performances.—

Now I think this Style of writing more ridiculous than the other. If an Author be obliged to furnish us with a due proportion of the marvellous & incredible, I think it a little unconscionable that we should deprive him of the means of doing it with facility; especially when those means are so obvious & simple. A brace of Giants, an Enchanted Castle, & a single Magician to carry the Knight thro' the air on occasion, with now & then a dragon to embellish the scenery, are sufficient to furnish the Writer with as many improbabilities as are requisite in the Conduct of the most Elaborate Performance—But the taste of the Age is changed & our Novelists are reduced, like the Israelites, to make brick without straw.

I once attempted to read over the famous old Romance of Cassandra. By the end of the first Volume, we had dispatched three fourths of our Heroes, & thrown our two chief Heroines into a Well, with five hundred loads of stone piled on the top of them. I for my part was much elated at the Success . . .⁷ when at the beginning of the second Volume started up alive one of the Heroes, whom we had consigned over to dust & ashes an hundred pages before. I did not much fancy his appearance, as it was easy to see we had the whole Process to perform with him a second time. However, as I judged from our former exploits, that the next battle would easily put him out of the way, I ventured to read on. I had

⁷ After "Success" three or four words are indecipherable.

not proceeded far before another Hero whom we had left dead on the field of Battle, (pierced thro' with above a dozen wounds,) had the impudence to make his appearance. I began to be sick of these nine lived Heroes, & foresaw no end to a work in which even Death could not make people lie quiet. But upon reading on a few Chapters farther & finding our two Heroines rise up suddenly out of the well before my face, I gave over the attempt as desperate, & could never prevail with myself to read another page.—

Richardson's *Grandison* is such another tissue of Improbabilities of a different sort. During the whole of that work, Grandison acts the Part of one of Homer's Gods, in succouring all people in danger. No Lady could be in danger of a Rape, no Gentleman of murder or mutilation, in any Part of England, France or Italy, but Grandison flew on the wings of the wind to their relief. The same was the good Fortune of Fielding's Tom Jones—In short, improbable meetings, impossible bravery, & unaccountable accidents make up the whole circle of the modern Novellist's invention. Witness the Vicar of Wakefield, The Fool of Quality, &c—

Every Reader of Novels is pleased with these extravagancies with which every Critic will tell him he ought to be disgusted. To which shall we trust, Fancy or Reason, Nature or Criticism. The Writer, who should follow these Critical Rules, would fare like Tasso in his second Epic of Jerusalem Conquered. He could not satisfy his Critics; he lost his Readers.

GLEANINGS FROM JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY

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JUDITH (SARGENT) MURRAY¹ had the heart of a Richardson and Sterne but the head of a Winthrop and John Adams.

¹ She was born on May 1, 1751, in Gloucester, Mass. As a child she was tutored by the Reverend John Rogers, a Harvard graduate and minister of Gloucester's Fourth Parish Church. In 1769 she married Captain John Stevens who in 1786 sailed for the West Indies to escape his creditors. He died on the Island of St. Eustache shortly after his arrival. In 1778, Judith Stevens, along with her family, was suspended from Gloucester's First Parish Church for Universalist heresies (John Murray, pioneer Universalist in America, had as early as 1774 visited the Sargent and Stevens homes). Two years after her husband's demise, Judith Stevens married the Reverend John Murray. From February, 1792, to August, 1794, she contributed the *Gleaner* essays to the *Massachusetts Magazine or Monthly Museum* (collected with her two plays in *The Gleaner*, 3 vols., Boston, 1798). Her two plays, *The Medium, or Virtue Triumphant* and *The Traveller Returned*, were played at

She was quick to honor Sterne as "that exquisite sentimentalist"² and Richardson as one who abounds "with the purest morals."³ Sentimentality and the seduction theme characterize Mrs. Murray's story of Sinisterus Courtland's pursuit of Margaretta Melworth, who threads her way through most of the *Gleaner* essays. It is little wonder that she imitated the pathos and machinery of English sentimental novels and odes to sensibility. Greater wonder it is that she devoted many of her *Gleaner* papers to discussions of ideas not normally found in the American magazine literature written by blue-stockinged females during our early national period. Judith Murray's mind was as catholic and resilient as her heart was exquisite and tender. Her interest in masculine ideas is suggested most boldly in essays on nationalism, the battle between ancients and moderns, and liberty in a federal republic.

Although she was covetous of fame as an author of belles-lettres, she attempted no definition of her esthetic. Scattered allusions, however, imply that it was consonant with fundamental ideals of neo-classicism. She longed for, but hardly dared hope to achieve, "the smoothness of Addison's page, the purity, strength and correctness of Swift, [and] the magic numbers of Pope. . . ."⁴ In the best neo-classical tradition, Judith Murray demanded of a poet that he be rich in glowing fancy, as rich as in restraining judgment.⁵ She honored Margaretta Melworth for balancing sensibility and imagination "by reason and by judgment. . . ."⁶ To achieve the equilibrium which fathers poetic excellence, the poet must master the "fever of the imagination, the delirium of fancy" with sober truth (variously

the Federal Street Theatre, the first on March 2, 1795, the second on March 9, 1796. In 1812-1813 she edited her husband's *Letters and Sketches of Sermons* and in 1816 edited and wrote *The Life of John Murray, Written by Himself, With a Continuation by Mrs. Judith Sargent Murray*. On July 6, 1820, Mrs. Murray died at Natchez, where, following her husband's death, she had gone to live with her daughter Julia Maria Bingham. For a biographical and bibliographical survey see Vena B. Field's *Constantia: A Study of the Life and Works of Judith Sargent Murray 1751-1820* ("University of Maine Studies," 2d Ser., No. 17, Orono, Maine, 1931), an indispensable but uncritical study.

² *The Gleaner: A Miscellaneous Production* (Boston, 1798), I, 44. For the vogue of Sterne and Richardson in the magazine to which Judith Murray contributed her *Gleaner* essays, see Herbert R. Brown's "Elements of Sensibility in *The Massachusetts Magazine*," *American Literature*, I, 286-296 (Nov., 1929).

³ *The Gleaner*, I, 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 14. Also see I, 55; II, 63, for references to these Augustan models and to Americans who successfully embodied—so she thought—the ideals of their English models.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 135.

called reason or judgment).⁷ Although hers was no servile dedication to the ancient past, she gave high praise to Plutarch's Greeks and Romans,⁸ assuring that "It is by the careful investigation of proper, great and virtuous actions, as performed by others, that the glow of emulation is enkindled in our bosoms."⁹ Judith Murray was not smitten by a romantic faith in original genius. She accepted the neoclassical imitation of models as well as the classical idea of imitation of that part of the past which can take new life in the present. Briefly, then, she was neoclassical when she paused to acknowledge esthetic ideas.

More significant than these cursory allusions is her *Gleaner*, No. IV ("But let us give the present times their due") in which she improvises on the theme of the Battle of the Books. She is annoyed by those who exalt the ancients with the same gesture that they lower the moderns.¹⁰ She is inclined to feel that the Golden Age existed only in deluded fancy. She is dismayed by the ancients whose life was primarily military and whose boasts were those of barbarous warriors. True, they made many discoveries, but Judith Murray observes that they *should* have!¹¹ They lived when everything remained to be discovered. She regards ancient religions as a mass of absurdities—absurdities which countenanced the fierce barbarisms of a warrior-people!¹² When this essay was written,¹³ she (in company with most Americans) regarded the French Revolution as a righteous quest to re-establish the rights of man. When she reprinted it in 1798, she dropped a footnote in which she confessed that "the ferocity of the present times"¹⁴ was no improvement over ancient cruelty and bloodshed. Her battle of the books thus becomes a battle between forms of government and her touchstone, the American federal union, republican in its nature.

Though she flirted with the ideals of "the rights of man," her views were not those of a doctrinaire republican whose faith in "liberty, fraternity, and equality" leads him to declare the birth of

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 91. Also see III, 92, 182. See Donald F. Bond's "'Distrust' of Imagination in English Neo-Classicism," *Philological Quarterly*, XIV, 54-69 (Oct., 1935); and Ronald Crane's comment (*ibid.*, XI, 189, April, 1932) on A. S. P. Woodhouse's "Collins and the Creative Imagination. . .," in *Studies in English by Members of University College Toronto*, collected by Principal Malcolm W. Wallace (Toronto, 1931), pp. 59-130.

⁸ For example, see *ibid.*, II, 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 108.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 35.

¹² Most likely in 1791 or 1792.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 33.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 36.

¹⁴ *Gleaner*, I, 39 n.

a new world of love and peace. Judith Murray was a zealous nationalist who urged her countrymen to throw off foreign yokes at a time when everyone was either pro-French or pro-British.¹⁵ Be American, counseled the zealous *Gleaner*.¹⁶ Be neither English nor French. Supply the American stage with American scenes. Read the American plays of Royall Tyler and Mercy Warren.¹⁷ One aspect of her literary and political nationalism is her use of dialect in the "Captain Seafort" letters and in her plays. This, however, does not mean that she was a militant neologist. Like Franklin, Hopkinson, Jefferson, and Webster she observed that Americans must learn to talk and write their English language. To achieve this means more training in the native tongue at the expense of training in Latin and Greek. She never made a contrast between "English" and "American" as did Noah Webster, nor was she a purist as was Franklin. She is content to remember that neither the Greeks nor the Romans learned a variety of tongues.¹⁸ Let Americans be as proud of their language as these ancients were of theirs. That Americans should maintain a standard of correctness equal to that of Augustan England seems to be implied in her statement that "National attachment should . . . dictate the studious cultivation of a national language; and it may be worthy the exertions of an enlightened legislature, to erect a standard, to raise, to dignify, to perfect and to polish a common tongue."¹⁹ And judging by her own language and style, she was not satisfied with any standards below those maintained by Addison, Pope, and Swift.

The quality of Judith Murray's mind is, I feel, best revealed in her concept of liberty, a concept as far removed from libertarianism as John Adams is removed from Thomas Paine. Be it remembered that she was an ardent patriot, an American who on the eve of the French Revolution had faith in the good that revolution might effect. But when Madame Guillotin became the bawd of Reason, Judith Murray looked upon France as the temple of blasphemy, of anarchy, and of atheism.²⁰ Her attitude toward the French Revolution was conditioned by her idea (shared with John Adams) that neither the poor nor the rich enjoy a monopoly of Virtue.²¹ Cove-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 260.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 186. See, for example, the warm patriotism of "The Traveller Returned" printed in the *Gleaner*, Vol. III.

¹⁷ See especially *Gleaner*, XCVI, III, 260-266.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 311.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 253.

tous as she was of Liberty, she was cold toward a romantic and doctrinaire equalitarianism which wants to destroy authority and subordination. Her concept of liberty included systems, laws, a "regular chain of subordination."²² Mrs. Murray's motto was, that

Necessity her various grades designs,
And with subordination *peace* combines.²³

There is no equality in Nature. There is no equality even among the angels in Heaven nor the fallen angels in Hell. She is delighted by Dr. Johnson's solid opinion that everyone is willing to have everybody else leveled down but unwilling to have anybody leveled up to his station. Judith Murray asserted that she was "not ignorant, that *licentiousness* too often assumes the sacred name of liberty: *Licentiousness*, engendered by darkness, nursed by ignorance, and led forth by impudence; murder and devastation are her ministers; hell-born ambition is her incentive; and the most confirmed and rigorous despotism remaineth her invariable object."²⁴ Her Eliza Clairville (in *Virtue Triumphant*), who admires virtue even to the degree of enthusiasm, explains that "Subordination, rank and degree, are of divine original. . . ."²⁵ Thus, it is not strange that the *Gleaner's* contemporary idol was John Adams. Her historic idol was Governor John Winthrop whose "*civism was the growth of reason*."²⁶ Her heroes were those who based their concept of a liberty in restraint of authority on the assumption that "the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." Judith Murray was of Milton's mind when he wrote,

Licence they mean when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that must first be wise and good:

Hence, her devotion to an ideal of government in which the good, the well-born, and the able are to legislate—not toward tyranny but toward a greater liberty than that achieved through an active equalitarianism.

The *Gleaner* may be important for her defense of Universalism, even for the fact that she was the Reverend John Murray's wife. She may be important for her defense of the rights of women to be acknowledged equal to men in intellectual capabilities.²⁷ She may

²² *Ibid.*, I, 261.

²³ See *Gleaner*, XXVI and XXVII.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 260.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 203.

²⁷ Especially see the *Gleaner*, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC, and XCI.

be mildly important for her belletristic grace and for her role in the cult of sensibility in America. But it is more likely that she deserves chief recognition as the first American woman to write articulate defenses of the American federal idea. If not monumental, neither is the *Gleaner* the least important tribute to the federalistic attitude which, according to Henry S. Canby, has "kept ideals high in a constantly vulgarizing republic."²⁸

A NOTE ON CHARLES MATHEWS'S USE OF AMERICAN HUMOR

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IN HIS STUDY of native American humor Professor Walter Blair suggests that some attention might be given to oral lore as source material, and goes on to cite the use of American stories by the English actor, Charles Mathews, particularly certain yarns told by the artist, John Wesley Jarvis.¹ By drawing from several sources, including writings of William Dunlap, John Neal, and the *Memoirs* of Mathews himself, it is possible to identify these borrowings from Jarvis, and in so doing to round out a documented instance of the use of popular stories in the theater of the early nineteenth century.

At that time Jarvis was one of the most successful and prolific of the country's portrait painters.² Though born in England, a grandnephew of the Reverend John Wesley, his painting career began in New York and his rise was precisely timed with that of the Knickerbocker group of writers,³ some of whom, including Irving, Paulding, Halleck, and Cooper, are known through his portraits. Jarvis was perhaps the first Bohemian among American artists. As his professional reputation advanced he became equally famous for various exploits and unconventional behavior, and, above all, for

²⁸ *Classic Americans* (New York, 1931), p. xiii.

¹ Walter Blair, *Native American Humor* (New York, 1937), p. 27 n.

² Theodore Bolton and Dr. George C. Groce, Jr., in the *Art Quarterly*, I, 299-321 (Autumn, 1938), have given "an account of his life and the first catalogue of his work." For his early years see the present writer's "Day vs. Jarvis," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIII, 169-188 (April, 1939).

³ When the *Salmagundi* papers were appearing, Jarvis was beginning to have "the run" as a painter, and his well-known portrait of Washington Irving dates from 1809, the year in which *Knickerbocker's History of New York* was published.

his irrepressible drollery. "A rare wag and most brilliant wit," he was voted by the gentlemen of Baltimore, where Washington Irving described him as the rage of the town in 1811.⁴ His presence could quicken almost any company with an anticipation of fun, and he was so remarkably effective as a raconteur that the stalest yarns took on new zest in his telling.⁵ Dunlap found it difficult to describe his peculiar manner of delivery but did labor out his own overworded versions of a dozen or so of Jarvis's stories.⁶ Plodding as they seem in that form, persons who heard them from Jarvis were prone to regard him a "master of anecdote," as did Dr. Francis.⁷

It was almost inevitable, considering the propensities and reputation of Jarvis, that his career should be linked in various and constant associations with the world of the theater. From the earliest years when he and Joseph Wood shared a studio in Park Row, between the theater and Beekman Street, he seems always to have known the stage and its people. One of his first portraits, the earliest anywhere recorded,⁸ was of John Hogg, the comedian. When Mervin Hallam, seeking like many a fellow-thespian to bolster his uncertain income, in 1809 opened an oyster and porter house called "The Red Cow," Jarvis adorned the exterior with "the perfect and striking likeness of the original *Mr. Brulgruddery*."⁹ Late in life, in 1834, during the last of many winters spent in New Orleans, Jarvis roomed with the actor, G. H. ("Yankee") Hill, and wrote to Dunlap, "I used to go to the theatre every night through the mud."¹⁰

As a member of the famous "Bread and Cheese Lunch," founded possibly in the fall of 1822,¹¹ Jarvis may well have entertained its gatherings with his stories during the time of Charles Mathews's first visit to this country. The latter arrived in New York harbor

⁴ Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1862), I, 274.

⁵ See John Neal's description of Jarvis and his recital of the story of the Kilkenny cats at a meeting of the Baltimore Delphian Club (*Atlantic Monthly*, XXII, 649, Dec., 1868).

⁶ William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), II, 72-96. The editors of the recent (Boston, 1918) edition of this work omitted nine pages contained in the original essay on Jarvis, thus reducing the number of stories.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 96.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 76.

⁹ G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), II, 320. The subject was taken from the younger Colman's then popular comedy, *John Bull, or, an Englishman's Fireside*, in which Dennis Brulgruddery was proprietor of another "Red Cow."

¹⁰ Dunlap, *op. cit.*, II, 82.

¹¹ Albert H. Marckwardt, "The Chronology and Personnel of the Bread and Cheese Club," *American Literature*, VI, 391 (Jan., 1935).

early in September of that year, within the month made his debut in Baltimore, and on the seventh of November appeared at the Park Theater in New York. Mathews was regarded as the best comedian of the English stage and his American tour was the outstanding feature of the theatrical season. In addition to filling his pockets, the visit also afforded the actor a new field and opportunities for collecting the materials out of which he concocted his famous evenings "At Home," a type of monologue entertainment which he had made inimitably his own, and on which rested much of his English reputation. In his search for American humor and character, Mathews was handicapped by the British visitor's common abhorrence of what seemed to him the sullen, rude-mannered insolence of *hoi polloi*. To James Smith, one of his script writers, he complained of the difficulty of finding humorous material, but admitted, "I can't come at Americans without I go to porter-houses, and that I cannot condescend to do."¹² His aversions, however, applied only to the lower orders: he was widely entertained by the better people, and probably was thus enabled to appropriate some of the repertoire with which Jarvis was wont to amuse his friends and set the most elegant tables in a roar. Whether or not Mathews met Jarvis cannot be determined. Only once is he mentioned by Mathews in the *Memoirs*, and then simply to state that among American artists, "Stewart, Jarvis and Sully, are the most celebrated."¹³

The new "At Home," called "Trip to America," with which Mathews delighted London audiences in the spring of 1824, almost a year after his return, drew anticipated flurries of indignation from Americans, who bristled at the first suggestion of ridicule on the part of an Englishman. But John Neal, who had just arrived in London and was able to observe the performance at first hand, objected chiefly to the "tameness" of the caricatures. "Very feeble, cockney kind of stuff," he called it, and felt certain that Americans themselves would appreciate a more forthright belaboring of their absurdities.¹⁴ But, said he,

there are two fine exceptions in the entertainment of Mr. Mathews. The story of "Uncle Ben" is inimitable—and the sketch of the Kentuckian is

¹² Mrs. Mathews, *Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian* (London, 1839), III, 383.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 436.

¹⁴ He objected to Mathews's characterization of a Dutch magistrate: "Why give us a mere magistrate—why the deuce not give us the spirited thing—a real, proper, right-down, whiskey-drinking, duelling, tobacco-chewing, hog-stealing, American judge?" (*Blackwood's*, XV, 426, April, 1824).

masterly. They are two of the most legitimate pieces of sober humor in the world, for one who knows the American character. But then the first—the story about “that are trifle,” is an American Joe Miller. Mr. Jarvis, a portrait painter of New York—a man of remarkable power and drollery—is the person of whom Mr. Matthews had it—as well as that story of Jackson.¹⁵

There were, in all, three episodes in *Trip to America* which, on the evidence of Neal and Dunlap, were “had” from Jarvis: to those of “Uncle Ben” and “that story of Jackson,” may be added the scene of “Monsieur Mallet” at the Boston post-office. Of these, the Jackson story was a minor episode and may be passed by for the sake of brevity, although James Smith had remarked while preparing the material, “I think ‘General Jackson’ will be a hit,” and Neal considered it so. But the other two were evidently mainstays to the performance.¹⁶

In the story of Uncle Ben, Mathews, as the “Real Yankee,” Jonathan W. Doubikin, told a series of astonishing yarns about his Uncle Ben, most of them comically pointless. In particular, there was the incident of Uncle Ben’s shooting a squirrel, which failed to drop out of the tree; he offered Jonathan a shilling to climb for it, but backed down when it came to paying, and throughout the rest of the performance kept countering Jonathan’s reminders with evasive references to “that ’are trifle.” A fragment written down by Mathews himself gives the flavor of the talk: “When my Uncle Ben lived to Boston, he called on me one day, and he says, says he, Jonathan, says he,— for he always called me Jonathan, though I was baptized Jonathan W. down to Newhaven I believe. . . .”¹⁷ The Real Yankee was so popular that a play was written around him for Mathews, called *Jonathan in England*, in which the absurdity of the caricature stirred up more American resentment than *Trip to America*. In replying to a slashing criticism which appeared in the *European Magazine*, Mathews attested the American source of his material: . . . if the “Native” means to assert that the squirrel story is not *genuine*, and that the phraseology is not pure and correct, I assert that *it is*. . . . I will back my ear, and observations of pronunciation against his. . . .

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 92 (July, 1824).

¹⁶ Mathews himself knew the ephemeral character of his material, and never countenanced any publication of the entertainments in their entirety, though descriptions were published in England and America. In addition to material in the *Memoirs*, the writer has used a copy of “Robinson’s Fourth Edition” of *Trip to America* (Baltimore, 1824), generously loaned by Magill James.

¹⁷ *Memoirs*, III, 537.

I introduce *Jonathan W. Doubikins*, for the purpose of telling the story of the squirrel, which was furnished by Americans as an eastern story, knowing full well that I intended to make use of it in England.¹⁸

But the most admired bit in *Trip to America* was the tender sketch of the French refugee, Monsieur Mallet. Here the incident was simple and the effect was given by deft performance. Monsieur Mallet, who had fled to America during the Terror, was deeply concerned over the safety of a daughter who had remained in France. Day after day he appeared at the post-office to beg for mail, always in vain. After weeks of mounting despair, he found his letter listed under unclaimed mail, and discovered that the clerk at the window had all the while misunderstood his pronunciation of "Mallay." In a paroxysm of mixed joy and mounting rage at the "dam post of-feece" he unwittingly tore up the unopened letter.

However it sounds in the telling, Monsieur Mallet quite touched the heart of every audience. Said a contemporary description, . . . this is certainly the best picture in the whole performance, and was acted well by Mr. M. Indeed it was at once complete, masterly, and truly affecting, and deserving the thunders of applause with which it was received.¹⁹

It stuck to the memories of those who saw it, and after the death of Mathews, in the numerous obituary tributes included in the *Memoirs*, no achievement was singled out so frequently to recall his greatness as the acting of Monsieur Mallet. The story itself was immensely popular and, as with *Jonathan in England*, it was manipulated by W. T. Moncrieff into a play, entitled *Monsieur Mallet, or, My Daughter's Letter*, which received its first American performance in the autumn of 1833 with a cast of no less than twelve, headed by J. H. Hackett in the title role.²⁰ Mathews himself returned to America in 1834, and in the latter part of October gave several performances of *Trip to America* to show that it was harmless as satire.²¹ A few weeks later the *New York Mirror*,²² printing excerpts from Dunlap's newly-published *Arts of Design*, expressed regret that its length forbade the inclusion of Monsieur Mallet, "as originally told by Jarvis, and since so familiar upon the stage by the acting of Mathews and Hackett."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Trip to America*, p. 14. ²⁰ Odell, *op. cit.*, III, 659.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 9. Earlier in this year Jarvis had been stricken with partial paralysis, and at the time of Mathews's appearance was living in New York at the boardinghouse of his widowed sister (*Diary of William Dunlap*, New York, 1930, III, 805).

²² XII, 150 (Nov. 8, 1834).

Dunlap claimed that another of the painter's skits had been "dressed up for John Bull" by Mathews.²³ It portrayed a voluble little Frenchman, given to making dramatic recitations, who declaimed familiar passages from Racine and Corneille, from *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, struggling through barriers of linguistic entanglements into a jargon of dramatic criticism and a refutation of Voltaire. As a climax, there was a rendition of the witches' scene from *Macbeth*, embellished, no doubt, with a full set of Gothic shudders, to illustrate "The true and sublime in tragedy." Theater addicts of Jarvis's time were equipped to appreciate this.

At least one other anecdote by Jarvis found its way to the stage, this time in an American opus by William Dunlap. The story again dealt with a "sprightly little French gentleman," here journeying from New York to Boston in a company which also included a dignified and unapproachable American general. So arrogant were the latter's rebuffs to every friendly approach from others in the party that the Frenchman took revenge by mimicking his manners and actions, thus ridiculing him into leaving them. Given modern characters and a setting in a cross-country bus, the story could easily be brought to life again. Dunlap heard it from Jarvis when he visited Boston in 1822, and it may be noted in passing that its characters and situation are curiously like parts of J. K. Paulding's burlesque on English travelers, *John Bull in America*, which appeared three years later. "I dramatized this story," said Dunlap, "in a farce called 'A Trip to Niagara,' and with effect."²⁴ He should have said "with effects," for the play, presented for the first time on November 28, 1828, at the Bowery Theater, was merely a vehicle for the display of an elaborate diorama of moving scenery meant to give the illusion of an actual journey. Nevertheless, its novelty and immediate success saved the season at the Bowery, and Odell²⁵ proclaims its interest to the student of the American theater.

²³ Dunlap, *op. cit.*, II, 89.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 92.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, III, 407. There may have been some connection here with the "piece" referred to by J. K. Paulding when on Oct. 21, 1826, he wrote to Jarvis: "I suppose you begin to think I have forgotten you and our concerns, which is not exactly the case. The truth is that we have had the Intermittent [?] Fever in the family, almost ever since you were here, and my [illegible] & indisposition together have prevented me until now from revising the little piece you left with me. It is now ready however and you may come on as soon as you please. Gilfert's Theatre is just about opening and as you and he are old friends, I think it would probably be best to let him bring it out" (original letter in the possession of Mrs. Charles Swigert of Baltimore, Md.). Charles Gilfert was at this time manager of the Bowery Theatre.

A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR POE'S "THE TELL-TALE HEART"
AND "THE BLACK CAT"

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EDGAR ALLAN POE met Charles Dickens on the latter's first trip to America. He is definitely known to have been familiar with Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*; and he probably knew several others of the English novelist's great novels and stories, widely popular as they were in this country. What has never been noted thus far is a striking similarity in the plots of two of Poe's most celebrated short stories, "The Black Cat" and "The Tell-Tale Heart," and that of Dickens's story entitled "The Clock-Case: A Confession Found in a Prison in the Time of Charles the Second," published by him in *Master Humphrey's Clock* in April, 1840.¹

A brief résumé of the latter will help to make clear the points of resemblance:

A retired army officer, on the eve of execution, makes full confession of a murder. Always of a sullen and distrustful nature from childhood, he was the opposite in temperament of his brother. Married to two sisters, the brothers always presented a striking contrast, and marriage ties estranged them further. The brother's wife knew him well, and the officer felt her knowledge of his every emotion and knew her eyes were upon him; her fixed look always haunted him. She and her husband died, leaving their four-year-old son to the care of the officer and his wife. The child, who resembled his mother, always mistrusted his uncle, who soon began to feel uneasy whenever the child was by, conscious of being closely and purposefully watched by him, as previously by his mother. He could never look the child down. Very gradually came the idea of causing the boy's death, and the officer felt a fascination which drew him to watch the childish figure and ponder how easily murder might be done. He would steal upstairs and watch him sleeping; or hover near him in the garden. Finally he whittled out a toy boat, dropping it in the child's way and waiting for him to sail it on a sheet of water nearby. After three days the child finally ran down to the stream. The officer stole after, and, coming up behind him, sank upon his knee to thrust him in. The child saw the shadow in the water and turned around, his mother's ghost looking from his eyes. The sun burst forth and all the world had eyes to see the murder done. The child ran toward

¹ Charles Dickens, *Master Humphrey's Clock* (London, 1840-1841), I, 32-36.

the house, crying out that he would try to love his uncle, but the officer struck him down with his sword. Then he laid the body in a thicket and planned to bury it that night in the garden. In his absorption in hiding the deed, he forgot all else. At the news that the boy was missing, he sent servants to search, trembling at each man's return. That night he secretly buried the corpse in the garden and saw a glowworm gleaming on its breast, like the visible spirit of God, an eye of fire looking up to Heaven. Then he later broke the news to his wife and himself sat always at the window, watching the spot which hid the dreadful secret. This was in a piece of ground newly dug up and about to be turfed; and as the men worked there, he would urge them to hurry, frantically treading down the turf himself, till the men thought he must be mad. That night he dreamed of parts of the body sticking up through the plot of grass; the awakening from still another dream that the child was yet alive was an even worse horror. Thus for three days the officer continuously watched the burial spot. On the fourth came several fellow officers to call. Even then he could not bear to lose sight of the place; therefore he invited the guests to have their wine in the garden and sat down with his chair exactly over the grave, trying to drink and converse. Haltingly relating the loss of the child, he became terrified at the idea of the possible suspicions of his guests and even asked if they suspected murder. Suddenly two great bloodhounds leaped into the garden. The officer felt for what reason they had come and grasped firmly the arms of his chair. The dogs circled nearer and nearer, finally tearing at the wooden rails of the chair that prevented their reaching the ground. The faces of the visitors reflected their realization of some horror. When the murderer boldly refused to leave the spot, they seized him and forced him away, struggling and biting, after which the dogs tore up the earth, tossing it into the air. The officer fell upon his knees and confessed, and after his trial wrote this memoir while awaiting execution.

A consideration of the close similarities between the three stories, both in idea and in wording, will perhaps fall readily under the following general headings:

(1) Inception of the idea of the murder. All three murderers find it impossible to say how or when the idea originated, but admit it to have been haunting and irresistible.

(2) Motivation of the deed by the *eye*. The murderer in Dickens's story is haunted by the eye and look, first of the mother and then of the child; in "The Tell-Tale Heart," by the vulture eye, the "Evil Eye"; in "The Black Cat" by the empty socket of the eye cut out by the penknife. It is interesting to note the suggestion of the evil eye in these tales. Poe

actually employs the terms, and Dickens uses the verb "overlook," which the *New English Dictionary* defines as "to look upon with the 'evil eye,' to bewitch. (The most common word for this in the popular sense.)" Dickens also speaks of the *bright* eyes of the child.

(3) Aspects leading up to or following the murder. (a) Each victim is soothed, and an attempt is made to allay his fears, in Dickens's story by the toy boat; in "The Tell-Tale Heart" by daily inquiries after the old man's health, a cheery morning's greeting, etc. (b) The bodies of the victims are disposed of artfully, the child being buried in ground newly dug up, and the cat with the corpse in a wall newly plastered. (c) Each murderer acts with zeal to find who actually did the deed and thus to draw suspicion from himself. Dickens's officer sends servants in all directions; the husband in "The Black Cat" greets the police cordially and tells them to search well, taking them from corner to corner in the house; the slayer in "The Tell-Tale Heart" leads them likewise through his rooms in a friendly way. (d) Interpretation of the deed by outsiders. The army officer in Dickens's story helps tread down the turf so eagerly that the men must have thought him mad. Poe keeps repeating: ". . . why will you say I am mad? . . . How, then, that I am mad. . . ."

(4) Dramatic disclosure of the real murderer. The officer (Dickens's), after a three-day state of fear, greets his visitors on the fourth day; Poe's character in "The Tell-Tale Heart" is disturbed at four A.M., and in "The Black Cat" on the fourth day by police. Most significant is the fact that Dickens's murderer invites his guests to the garden to the very burial spot and there places his chair *upon the grave*; just as Poe's, in "The Tell-Tale Heart," placed his, likewise, directly over the spot under which the corpse lay; all three men exhibit the same air of bravado, the one in "The Black Cat" striking on the wall covering his victim, to his final undoing. In Dickens's story, when the officer is finally forced from his chair, the dogs tear up the earth beneath, just as the officers in "The Black Cat" tear down the bricks.

Perhaps the quotation of a few striking parallel passages may make the above suggestions even more emphatic. Readers will note that similarity in phrasing is indicated by quotation marks; in idea, by brackets.

DICKENS	"THE TELL-TALE HEART"	"THE BLACK CAT"
CONFESSION ON EVE OF EXECUTION	CONFESSION	CONFESSION ON EVE OF EXECUTION
1. "I can scarcely fix the date when the feeling first came upon me . . . but I do not	"It is impossible to say how first the idea entered my brain; but once con-	

think that when this began I meditated to do him any wrong. . . . Neither did the idea come upon me at once, but by very slow degrees . . . then coming to be part and parcel . . . of my daily thoughts. . . ."

"... a question of means and safety. . . ."

2. "... a fascination . . . to contemplate his . . . figure. . . . Sometimes I would steal up-stairs and watch him as he slept. . . ."

"... I never raised my eyes at such times but I found hers [mother's] fixed upon me. . . . I felt that she overlooked me always. . . . she haunted me; her fixed and steady look comes back upon me now like the memory of a dark dream and makes my blood run cold."

"... I soon began to be uneasy when this child was by. I never roused myself . . . but I marked him looking at me: not with mere childish wonder, but with something of the purpose and meaning that I had so often noted in his mother. . . . I never could look the boy down. . . . he would keep his bright eyes on me still."

3. [Orders search made for the child.]

[Puts body in thicket and then buries it at night.]

[Chooses newly-dug-up ground.]

"The men who laid down the grass must have thought me mad."

4. [In state of fear for three days. On fourth day fellow officers come to call.]

[Friendly manner. Takes chair and wine into garden.]

"Then I sat down *with my chair upon the grave*. . . ."2

ceived, it haunted me day and night."

"... how wisely I proceeded—with what caution—with what foresight . . . I went to work!"

"... every night, just at twelve, I looked in upon him while he slept."

"I think it was his eye!"
"... to take the life of the old man, and thus rid myself of the eye forever."
"Whenever it fell on me, my blood ran cold. . . ."

[Could not commit the murder till the eye was open] "... for it was not the old man who vexed me, but his Evil Eye."

[Leads visitors in search through house.]

[Buries dismembered corpse under planks at night.]

"... why *will* you say say that I am mad. . . . You fancy me mad."2

[Police arrive at 4:00 A.M.]

[Ease of manner. Smiles. Bids them search well. Offers chairs and bids them rest.]

"... while I myself . . . placed my own seat upon

"I took . . . a pen knife . . . and deliberately cut one of its eyes from the socket!"

[Socket of lost eye was frightful to look at, but dread kept man from killing the cat.]

[Helps searchers in cellar. Tries to allay suspicions.]
[Walls up body.]

[Chooses newly plastered wall.]

[Fearful for three days. Officers arrive on fourth day.]

[Is confident in his security and walks about easily.]

[Goes to very spot and raps on wall.]

the very spot beneath
which reposed the corpse
of the victim."

[Dogs tear up earth beneath
chair and toss it in air.]

[Officers tear down brick
wall.]

It may be observed, perhaps, that although premeditation, murder, and disposal of the body are frequent accompaniments in real life to a crime, it is the actual parallel in the sequence of events and circumstances in the three stories that is of significance here. A direct borrowing on the part of Poe would therefore constitute a plausible explanation for this far-reaching resemblance.

On the other hand, if this assumption be granted, it will furnish us a *terminus post quem* for the two American stories. They cannot have been written prior to April, 1840, the date of the publication of Dickens's story. The known chronology of Poe's works would seem to be in accord with the solution suggested above.³

One point more should deserve mention. *Barnaby Rudge*, which Poe is known to have read and appreciated, also appeared in *Master Humphrey's Clock*. Possibly Poe obtained the periodical from England. At all events, neither O. A. Roobach's *Bibliotheca Americana* 1820-52 nor F. L. Mott's *History of American Magazines* 1741-1850 mentions an American reprint of the periodical.

THE DEATH'S-HEAD ON THE GOLD-BUG

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IN 1910, Ellison A. Smyth, Jr., published his article "Poe's *Gold Bug* from the Standpoint of an Entomologist,"¹ in which he asserted that the gold-bug was but "the blending of several beetles into the one composite insect deemed necessary for the purposes of the tale."² According to Professor Smyth's article, the beetles blended into the one composite were only insects which Poe supposedly saw during his stay at Fort Moultrie, near Sullivan's Island. Ever since that article, scholars in American literature have generally accepted the entomologist's supposition and apparently have given the inter-

³ Italics are in the text.

³ Cf. Hervey Allen, *Israel* (New York, 1926), II, 567.

¹ *Sewanee Review*, XVIII, 67-72 (Jan., 1910).

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

esting insect little further attention. Somewhat typical of their attitude is that of Hervey Allen, who largely repeats Professor Smyth's conclusions as to the character of the unique beetle.³ But, knowing that Poe was a constant reader in the periodical and the scientific literature of his own day, the literary scholar might well add to Professor Smyth's hypothesis one element which explains two facts seemingly attributed by the entomologist's theory to "the writer's fertile imagination."⁴ This additional element, which comes from Poe's reading and not from his wanderings, can be proved—not merely supposed—to have come into Poe's realm of knowledge. Professor Smyth's conclusions are, after all, based on a supposition, albeit a very plausible one for the most part—the supposition that Poe did carefully observe the beetles in the region of Sullivan's Island.

The element that the scholar in literature can add comes from Poe's own writings, although it can also be supplied from at least one periodical of his time. In "The Sphinx," one of Poe's less well-known stories, the author describes a moth—the *Sphinx*—which has a death's-head as its distinctive marking. The story asserts of the insect:

But the chief peculiarity of this horrible thing, was the representation of a *Death's Head*, which covered nearly the whole surface of its breast. . . . I regarded this terrific animal, and more especially the appearance on its breast, with a feeling of horror and awe—with a sentiment of forthcoming evil, which I found it impossible to quell by any effort of the reason. . . .⁵

Near the close of the same story is quoted a passage from "one of the ordinary synopses of Natural History."⁶ In part it states: "The Death's-headed Sphinx has occasioned much terror among the vulgar, at times, by the melancholy kind of cry which it utters, and the insignia of death which it wears upon its corslet."⁷ This description, Poe himself declares, comes from a book of natural history. Here, it seems, is a better explanation of the death's-head markings on the back of the gold-bug than that offered by Professor Smyth. Better than a beetle which Poe *may* have seen in his wan-

³ *Israel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1926), I, 214-218.

⁴ Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁵ *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), VI (*Tales*—Vol. V), 241.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 243.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 243.

derings in the vicinity of Sullivan's Island is a death's-head moth which he is known to have described in one of his stories. Possibly, however, reading about and seeing pictures of a death's-head moth merely opened his eyes to the usefulness of the beetles he may have seen. In any event, his reading of the death's-head moth may have been an important factor in the preparation for the synthesis which resulted in the gold-bug.

If it be objected that "The Sphinx" was published three years after "The Gold-Bug," two answers may be advanced. First, it is highly probable that Poe knew about the death's-head moth when he wrote the latter story, for it refers to "the Natural Histories,"⁸ a fact itself indicating them as a source. Second, if he had not yet discovered this skull-marked insect in some natural history, he might well have found a picture of it with the subjoined cut-line "Death's head Moth" in the *Saturday Magazine* of August 25, 1832,⁹ a time not too far removed from his stay at Fort Moultrie to prevent his remembering the beetles he had seen there; and Poe is known to have been a voracious reader of English and American periodicals.

This theory, that one of the elements going into the gold-bug was the death's-head moth of which Poe had read, explains two facts that Professor Smyth's hypothesis does not explain. First, it explains Poe's quite frequent use in "The Gold-Bug" of the term *death's-head* often in preference to the commoner *skull*. Poe emphasizes the former term. Commenting on it, the narrator of the story says that he

"... never saw anything like it before—unless it was a skull, or a death's-head—which it more nearly resembles than anything else that has come under my observation."

"A death's-head!" echoed Legrand.¹⁰

Of course, as a matter of literary technique alone, Poe may have preferred the rarer expression; but the fact that an insect existed whose common epithet was "death's-head" must have influenced him in using that term, for the use of it would give a verisimilitude and seeming scientific accuracy that the employment of *skull* would not afford.

⁸ *Ibid.*, "The Gold-Bug," V (*Tales*—Vol. IV), 99-100.

⁹ I, 69.

¹⁰ *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, "The Gold-Bug," p. 99.

Second, with the death's-head moth were associated superstitions of terror and awe—a motif that Poe uses in presenting Jupiter's fear of the gold-bug and in making somewhat more plausible Legrand's peculiar conduct under the influence of the beetle. Poe's quotation in "The Sphinx" mentions the fact that "The Death's-headed Sphinx has occasioned much terror among the vulgar. . . ." ¹¹ Jupiter is certainly "among the vulgar." Furthermore, in "The Gold-Bug" the narrator remarks: "Why, we may get up a very thrilling bit of superstition upon this hint." ¹² This casual observation would thus be a master stroke by Poe, who knew that superstitions did exist in fact concerning the death's-head insect. The article in the *Saturday Magazine* already mentioned discusses these superstitions at greater length than does the quotation in "The Sphinx."

In conclusion, the facts that Poe describes in some detail a death's-head moth in "The Sphinx" and that there and in "The Gold-Bug" he mentions natural histories make it seem very probable that a death's-head moth about which he had read and pictures of which he had seen was one of the elements that were synthesized into the gold-bug—the factor that Professor Smyth's article does not take into account. Furthermore, Poe's having read of such an insect may well have first opened his eyes to the possibility of using as the material for literature some of the beetles he had observed—such ones as Professor Smyth describes. It does seem likely that the golden color of the bug was provided for Poe by his own observation, as Professor Smyth suggests, and by its fittingness to the story.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE TYPHOON SCENES IN MOBY DICK

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AT THE TIME *Moby Dick* was written the reading public was much more sophisticated in matters pertaining to sailing vessels than readers are today. Maritime shipping, both British and American, was at a height never before reached. Sharing with Great Britain the bulk of the world's merchant marine, America in

¹¹ See note 7.

¹² "The Gold-Bug," p. 99.

1850 was not far behind Great Britain in tonnage; and most of the shipping moved under sail.¹ With sailing vessels figuring so prominently in the national economy, readers could be counted on to supply much information about ships from their own knowledge; and ordinary nautical facts and maneuvers were commonplaces which the alert might prefer to gather from implication rather than from direct explanation. Melville, writing for this public, could and generally did refrain from explicit nautical detail. Now, however, when the era of sail is past, most readers are in danger of missing the nautical implications, behind which may lie essential dramatic passages.

Such a passage is that imbedded in the typhoon scenes of *Moby Dick*,² and it is the business of this paper to make explicit for the reader unacquainted with nautical matters the drama involved there. It is particularly important to explain these scenes: first, because they indicate what in one sense is the climax of the book; and second, because one of the few sailor critics of Melville, using them as his chief evidence in a general indictment of Melville's seamanship, has described them as being incomprehensible and unrelated to the book.³

¹ A. W. Kirkaldy states that the total world tonnage for 1850 was 9,032,291 tons, of which 8,300,378 tons represented sailing vessels, and that British vessels made up 46.86 per cent and American vessels 38.58 per cent of the total (*British Shipping*, London, 1914, Appendix XVII).

² Chaps. cxviii-cxxv.

³ Lincoln Colcord, "Notes on *Moby Dick*," *Freeman*, V, 559-562 (Aug. 23, 1922). In all the years since it was expressed, Colcord's view seems to have gone unchallenged, and Willard Thorp cites it approvingly in his *Herman Melville: Representative Selections* (New York, 1938), Introduction, p. xviii, and Bibliography, pp. cxlix, cl. Besides the general charge (of somewhat dubious weight) that Melville uses too little nautical detail and is limited in the variety of nautical commands, Mr. Colcord rests his case against Melville on the ineptitude of Melville's handling of the storm scenes. Here is what he says of them:

"To cite a major instance, the account of the typhoon off the coast of Japan is a sad failure; it might have been written by one of your Parisian arm-chair romanticists, with a knowledge of the sea derived from a bathing-beach experience. The ship is an imaginary piece of mechanism; no coherent sense of the storm itself is created; no realization of the behaviour of a vessel in a typhoon runs behind the pen. Ahab's battered quadrant, thrown on the deck and trampled on the day before, is allowed to come through the storm reposing as it fell, so that his eye may be caught by it there when the weather has cleared. In fact, both as a piece of writing and as an essential of the tale, the scene wholly fails to justify itself. It serves no apparent purpose; it seems to have been lugged in by the ears.

"How a man with an experience of some years on the sea, a man who could write the superlative chapter on the whiteness of the whale, should fail so completely to present an adequate or even an understanding picture of a ship beset by a heavy circular storm—here is a mystery not so easy of solution. It would seem to be plainly evident that

Assuming for the moment the comprehensibility of the scenes, let us see how events during the twenty-four-hour period in which the storm occurs might be related to the book. The day is that on which "the season for the Line at length drew near."⁴ The conflict which at this particular part of the book is dominant is that involved in the opposition of Starbuck, the first mate, to Ahab's monomaniac hunt for Moby Dick—an opposition which has been becoming increasingly important. Not many days back Starbuck had forced Ahab to stop for repairs to the leaking oil casks; forced him, in other words, to preserve the appearance, at least, of the voyage's original commercial nature.⁵ The voyage, which up to the day of the storm seemed a general, miscellaneous hunt, now has become terribly specific. We know that the White Whale will be met at a certain place and time, "at-the-Season-on-the-Line,"⁶ and the time has come for Ahab to put the *Pequod* upon the last leg of her journey there, to the southeastward.⁷ Starbuck's opposition has,

Melville had never passed through a typhoon, and never, probably, had been on the Japan whaling-grounds" (p. 561).

Since in one way or another I question in the body of this paper all of the evidence which Mr. Colcord presents against Melville except that which involves the quadrant, I wish for the sake of completeness to call attention here to the fact that the *Pequod* had bulwarks, and that unless she capsized, a heavy metal object like a quadrant might very well go through a severe storm resting on deck.

⁴ Chap. cxviii. The "season for the Line" is of course the season for hunting whales along the equator.

⁵ Chap. cix. See also note 6, below.

⁶ In chap. xlv occur the most specific statements of this. One of them is the following: "And when Ahab's chances of accomplishing his object have been hitherto spoken of, allusion has only been made to whatever wayside, antecedent, extra prospects were his, ere a particular set time or place were attained, when all possibilities would become probabilities, and, as Ahab fondly thought, every possibility the next thing to a certainty. That particular set time and place were conjoined in the one technical phrase—the Season-on-the-Line."

The interesting possibility should not be ignored, that the *Pequod*, from the time she left the Crozet Islands, off the Cape of Good Hope, sailed the most direct course possible to the Season-on-the-Line in the Pacific. The most dependable sailing winds are the trades. From the Crozets to the Sundra Straits the *Pequod* would have used the southeast trades. To get from the Sundra Straits to the open equatorial water to the east she would work her way through the doldrums about the equator to the region of the northeast trades, with which she would make two tacks, one northerly to the Japan grounds, where the typhoon hit her, and the other southeasterly, to the Season-on-the-Line, where she met Moby Dick. Thus, all the while that the *Pequod* seemed to be engaged in a miscellaneous hunt, she may have been about Ahab's business of getting to the Line at the required time. And thus, therefore, Ahab's otherwise unaccountably fierce resistance to Starbuck's proposal to stop for repairing the broken oil casks might be explained.

⁷ We do not discover the direction for certain till chap. cxxiii, where Melville describes the *Pequod* on the way to the Season-on-the-Line as sailing an east-south-east course.

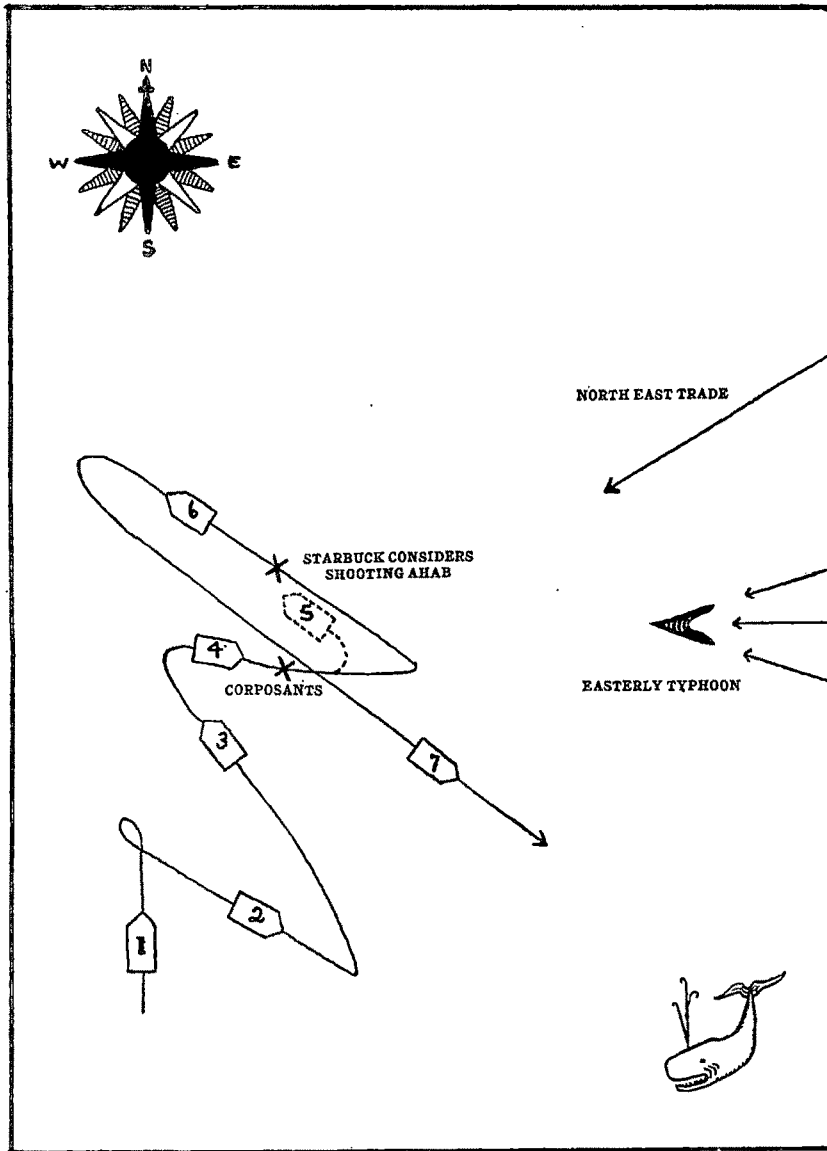
therefore, become concentrated into an attempt to keep Ahab from that one direction. The approach of the crisis is first indicated by Ahab, who at noon of the day of the storm, after carefully taking the ship's position, smashes his quadrant and puts the ship on her southeasterly course.⁸ Several hours after this change of direction the storm hits, and in it the *Pequod* is put through a complicated series of movements, alternately turning away from and towards the Season-on-the-Line. These reversals of the *Pequod's* course may be read as indicating the alternating ascendancies of Ahab and Starbuck; and so read, they make exciting drama, remarkably suggestive of the quick progressions and reversals which occur near the climaxes of many classical tragedies. Nature allies herself with Starbuck in placing every conceivable hindrance short of shipwreck in Ahab's way, the *Pequod* turning at each obstacle to the westward or northward, only to be brought back by Ahab to his southeasterly heading. In the morning after the storm Ahab, triumphant, puts the *Pequod* back on her course for the last time, and from that point on he sails her, without opposition, to the fatal rendezvous with Moby Dick. Thus, the typhoon scenes represent a climax of the action involving Starbuck's opposition to Ahab's private hunt, and as thus interpreted, are structurally important to the book.

There remains the question of the comprehensibility of the scenes. Since this has been questioned by a nautical expert as discerning as Mr. Lincoln Colcord, many readers not so well informed in nautical matters may find the scenes puzzling.⁹ It seems worth our while, then, to follow in detail the movements of the *Pequod* on the day of the storm. By tracing the *Pequod's* actions we can, while incidentally exonerating Melville of a charge made against him, bring out the nautical and dramatic implications of the scenes we are considering.

The *Pequod's* movements, as we can gather them from the actions on board her, were as follows (see accompanying diagram):

⁸ Chap. cxviii. Whether Ahab was conscious of it or not, the reader should realize that the smashing of the quadrant puts an end to hope of any further navigating other than that involved in such a simple sailing as that of a straight course to the equator. Dead reckoning is still possible, but the errors of this sort of navigating are such as in complicated sailings or long distances would mount to dangerous proportions.

⁹ *Who's Who in America* for 1938-1939 (Vol. XX) describes Mr. Colcord as an author who was born at sea, who was brought up at sea till he was fourteen, and whose family extended back through five generations of seafarers.



Position 1. "It was hard upon high noon" on the day when the "season for the Line at length drew near," the *Pequod* sailing a northerly course off Japan. Ahab took his position, smashed his quadrant, and ordered, "Up helm!—square in!"; and the *Pequod*,

swinging around to the southeasterly course, made her first change of directions of the day.¹⁰

Position 2. Sailing southeasterly, "towards evening of that day, the *Pequod* was torn of her canvas, and bare-poled was left to fight a Typhoon which had struck her directly ahead."¹¹ In the dark the *Pequod* slewed around and reversed her heading, making the second change of the day. This time it was to a northerly direction, as is indicated by the statement: "the windward quarter boat (Ahab's) did not escape. A great rolling sea, dashing high up against the reeling ship's high tetering side, stove in the boat's bottom at the stern."¹²

Position 3. The northerly heading did not continue; for we know from the fact that Starbuck indicated the easterly gale by pointing to the ship's bow that the *Pequod* must have reversed herself a third time and come back to an easterly heading.¹³ This easterly heading was the result, not of accident, but of Ahab's management. As we learn in Chapter CXXIII, the *Pequod's* tiller was being used, presumably to keep the ship lying to the wind.

Position 4. While continuing the easterly heading, the ship was beset by lightning and corposants, which, in spite of, or perhaps because of, Ahab's histrionics, frightened the crew into momentary alliance with Starbuck. When Starbuck demanded of Ahab, "let me square the yards, while we may, old man, and make a fair wind of it homewards," the crew rushed to carry out Starbuck's request.¹⁴ With no sails left aloft, however, squaring the yards would have no effect on the vessel, and Ahab soon regained his mastery. Thus, the compliance of the crew with Starbuck here, though representing Starbuck's temporary ascendancy over Ahab, only hypothetically is reflected in a change in the *Pequod's* heading.

Position 5. Only momentarily, in the minds of the crew, did this position exist as different from that in *Position 4*, and it was from the same easterly heading as that in *Position 4* that the next ma-

¹⁰ Chap. cxviii.

¹¹ Chap. cxix.

¹² *Ibid.* A "quarter boat" is one of the two aftermost boats carried on a ship. Since the captain's boat, as a matter of ancient tradition, is carried on the starboard side, the ship, to present Ahab's boat to the easterly storm, i.e., to make it the "windward" boat, must have been headed northerly.

¹³ *Ibid.* Starbuck, while "pointing his hand towards the weather bow," cried out, "markest thou not that the gale comes from the eastward, the very course Ahab is to run for Moby Dick?"

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

never started. "Some hours after midnight," the storm having abated, Ahab ordered new canvas bent on and put the *Pequod* upon her east-south-east compass course, with an apparently fair wind.¹⁵ The storm had, however, reversed all the *Pequod's* compasses, so that while sailing Ahab's southeasterly compass course, the ship, having reversed her heading a fourth time, sailed a true west-north-west course.¹⁶

Position 6. This false course, away from Moby Dick, could not, of course, have gone long undiscovered; for the rising sun astern would have shown to all the *Pequod's* people that they were not sailing easterly. However, when Starbuck brought himself to the verge of shooting the sleeping Ahab, the possibility of continuing the course was enhanced. Starbuck got, before his strength failed, to the point of leveling a loaded musket at his captain.¹⁷ The possibility was enhanced again at dawn, when the sailors took the reversed polarity of the compass needles as a portent that the hunt for Moby Dick should be given up; but Ahab, gaining back his control by magnetizing a sail needle, put the *Pequod* back upon her true southeasterly course.¹⁸

Position 7. This southeasterly course was the final one. There was no longer any significant opposition either from Starbuck or from the elements, and the *Pequod* followed the course undeviatingly to the Season-on-the-Line, "sidewise impelled by the unvarying trade winds."¹⁹ So certain is it that the storm marked a crisis for the *Pequod* that she is next called as she sails southeasterly "the fated *Pequod*."²⁰ Starbuck, not seen again till the ship was "on the White Whale's own peculiar ground," is next presented in the gloomy hopeless act of ordering the replacement of the lost life-buoy with Queequeg's coffin.²¹ Ahab was so sure of him that, "freely giving his whole life into such an otherwise distrusted person's hands," he trusted to Starbuck's keeping the lines which held him aloft as he looked for Moby Dick.²² The opposition of Starbuck, of "the one only man who had ever ventured to oppose him with anything in the slightest degree approaching to decision,"²³ was at rest. Even in Chapter CXXXII ("The Symphony"), where

¹⁵ Chap. cxxiii.

¹⁶ Chap. cxxiv.

¹⁸ Chap. cxxiv.

²⁰ Chap. cxxv. The italics are mine.

²² Chap. cxxx.

¹⁷ Chap. cxxiii.

¹⁹ Chap. cxxvi.

²¹ Chap. cxxvi.

²³ *Ibid.*

Ahab by calling up thoughts of home wrung from him a cry of protest, Starbuck was sympathetically affectionate; and, hopeless of dissuading Ahab, he stole away from the discussion with him, "blanched to a corpse's hue with despair."

Thus in the scenes of the typhoon the conflict between Starbuck and Ahab became resolved. After being several times abortively successful, Starbuck's cause, as represented by movement of the *Pequod* away from the Season-on-the-Line, was defeated. Though it is apparent only through implication, when the implications are regarded the series of Starbuck's abortive successes has intrinsic narrative interest and is of value in that it calls attention to the resolution which the series of movements preceded.

MELVILLE'S USE OF SENECA

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IN 1854 Herman Melville gave to his brother Thomas his own old marked copy of Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Seneca's Morals by Way of Abstract*.¹ The inscription in the volume reads: "My Dear Tom, This is a round-of-beef where all hands may cut & come again."² How Melville himself had cut from this round-of-beef is revealed in some of his books.

References in *Redburn* and *Moby Dick* show that the fortitude of "Seneca and the Stoics" was something of a byword with Melville.³ He was sufficiently impressed by the manner of Seneca's death, as described in a foreword to the *Morals*,⁴ to refer to it in both *Redburn* and *White Jacket*.⁵ Recalling that Seneca was said

¹ *Seneca's Morals by Way of Abstract. To Which Is Added, A Discourse under the Title of An Afterthought. By Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knt.* (15th ed.; London, 1746). This volume is one of several once owned by the Melville family which Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits has recently added to the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, in the New York Public Library. I am indebted to Dr. Paltsits for enabling me to use the volume.

² Preceding the words quoted is, "Thomas Melville from Herman Melville," and following them, "Jan: 26th 1854. Pittsfield, Mass.:"

³ *Redburn*, p. 156, and *Moby Dick*, I, 5. All references to Melville's works are to the Constable ed.; London, 1922-1924.

⁴ The account in "Seneca's Life and Death" is quoted from Tacitus (*Annals*, XV, lx-lxiv). The comment on Seneca's death in *Redburn* is immediately followed by a comment on the circumstances of Petronius's death as related by Tacitus (*Annals*, XVI, xix), a fact which makes one suspect that Melville had read not only the quotation from Tacitus in the *Morals* but also the *Annals*.

⁵ *Redburn*, p. 377, and *White Jacket*, p. 87. The second reference is humorous.

once to have had great sums of money out at interest, Melville caused a shrewd, practical philosopher in *The Confidence-Man* to speak of Seneca as "a usurer."⁶ In the same novel another character condemns Seneca as gloomy,⁷ a fact suggesting that Melville had not forgotten passages on the evil of human nature that he had marked in the *Morals*.⁸

But in *Mardi* (1849), the book in which Melville paid Seneca the highest honor, he did not mention the author's name. The reason for this is clear when one sees how skilfully Melville wove Seneca's words into the narrative.

When Oh-Oh, the antiquary, is showing his collection of manuscripts to the group of travelers in *Mardi*, Babbalanja, the philosopher, comes upon a few crumbling sheets written by his beloved Bardianna and beseeches the antiquary to let him have "one leaf, one shred of those most precious pages." Being denied this, he sadly examines another stack of worm-eaten documents.

Turning over this pile, Babbalanja lighted upon something that restored his good-humour. Long he looked it over delighted; but bethinking him that he must have dragged to day some lost work of the collection, and much desirous of possessing it, he made bold again to ply Oh-Oh; offering a tempting price for his discovery.

Glancing at the title—"A Happy Life"—the old man cried—"Oh, rubbish! rubbish! take it for nothing."

And Babbalanja placed it in his vestment.⁹

When, after leaving Oh-Oh, the travelers stop for lunch, Babbalanja goes apart from the others and soon becomes absorbed in his highly prized book. Media, the king; Mohi, the historian; and Yoomy, the poet, call to him to come and eat, but he pays no attention until Mohi raps him on the head. Then he starts up in a way that causes Media to exclaim:

"In Oro's [God's] name, what ails you, philosopher? See you Paradise, that you look so wildly?"

"A Happy Life! a Happy Life!" cried Babbalanja, in an ecstasy. "My

⁶ *The Confidence-Man*, p. 264. And see Herman Melville, *Journal up the Straits*, ed. Raymond Weaver (New York, 1935), p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸ See the marked passages in *Seneca's Morals*, pp. 251, 311, 324, 344. Since I suspect some of the marks toward the end of the volume of having been made by another hand, I have referred only to those which my experience with other volumes Melville marked leads me to believe are his.

⁹ *Mardi*, II, 76.

lord, I am lost in the dream of it, as here recorded. Marvellous book! its goodness transports me. Let me read:—"

The passage that Babbalanja now reads Melville borrowed, with some revision, from the section in the *Morals* entitled "Seneca of a Happy Life." The chapter of *Mardi* in which this occurs is appropriately headed: "Babbalanja quotes from an Antique Pagan; and Earnestly Presses It upon the Company that What He Recites Is Not His, but Another's." A comparison of the text in *Mardi* with the text of the original makes obvious the means, especially the condensation, by which Melville improved the excerpts for his own purpose. In revising, he lined out in his copy of the *Morals* the words he wished to omit and wrote "anything," "Oro," and "Oro" in the margin near where they were to be inserted:

Mardi

I would bear the same mind, whether I be rich or poor, whether I get or lose in the world. I will reckon benefits well placed as the fairest part of my possession, not valuing them by number or weight, but by the profit and esteem of the receiver; accounting myself never the poorer for anything I give. What I do shall be done for conscience, not ostentation. I will eat and drink, not to gratify my palate, but to satisfy nature. I will be cheerful to my friends, mild and placable to my enemies. I will prevent an honest request, if I can foresee it; and I will grant it, without asking. I will look upon the whole world as my country; and upon Oro [God], both as the witness and the judge of my words and my deeds. I will live and die with this testimony: that I loved a good conscience; that I never invaded another man's liberty; and that I preserved my own. I will

Seneca's Morals

I would bear the same Mind, whether I be Rich or Poor, whether I get or lose in the World; what I have, I will not either sordidly spare, or prodigally squander away; and, I will reckon upon Benefits well placed, as the fairest part of my Possession: Not valuing them by Number, or Weight, but by the Profit and Esteem of the Receiver; accounting myself never the Poorer for that which I give to a worthy person. What I do, shall be done for Conscience, not Ostentation. I will Eat and Drink, not to gratify my Palate, or only to fill and empty, but to satisfy Nature: I will be Cheerful to my Friends, Mild and Placable to my Enemies: I will prevent an honest Request, if I can foresee it, and I will grant it without asking: I will look upon the whole World as my Country, and upon the Gods, both as the Witnesses and the Judges of my Words and Deeds. I will live and die with

govern my life and my thoughts, as if the whole world were to see the one, and to read the other; for what does it signify, to make anything a secret to my neighbour, when to Oro all our privacies are open.¹⁰

this Testimony, That I lov'd good Studies, and a good Conscience; That I never invaded another Man's Liberty, and that I preserv'd my own. I will govern my Life, and my Thoughts, as if the whole World were to see the one, and to read the other; for, *What does it signify, to make any thing a Secret to my Neighbour, when to God (who is the Searcher of our Hearts) all our Privacies are open?*¹¹

Notable among the delighted comments that this reading evokes is the reference to Alma, who in *Mardi* symbolizes Christ:

"Very fine," said Media.

"The very spirit of the first followers of Alma, as recorded in the legends," said Mohi.

"Inimitable," said Yoomy.

Said Babbalanja: "Listen again:—"

In quoting the following sentences as though he chose them at random, Babbalanja indicates the method which Melville apparently used in selecting them; for they are scattered over a good many pages in the *Morals*, and only one has a mark by it. Again one can observe the freedom with which Melville adapted borrowed material to his own taste:

Mardi

"Righteousness is sociable and gentle; free, steady, and fearless; full of inexhaustible delights." And here again, and here, and here:—"The true felicity of life is to understand our duty to Oro."—"True joy is a serene and sober motion." And here, and here,—my lord, 'tis hard quoting from this book;—but listen

Seneca's Morals

It [virtue] is Sociable, and Gentle: Free, Steady, and Fearless; Content within itself; full of inexhaustible Delights; and it is valued for itself.

The true Felicity of *Life*, is to be free from Perturbations; to understand our Duties toward God and Man. . . .

¹⁰ *Mardi*, II, 78. All the material that Babbalanja quotes from Seneca is in Vol. II, chap. xx, of *Mardi*.

¹¹ *Seneca's Morals*, pp. 87-88 (chap. iii in "Seneca of a Happy Life").

—"A peaceful conscience, honest thoughts, and righteous actions are blessings without end, satiety, or measure. The poor man wants many things; the covetous man, all. It is not enough to know Oro, unless we obey him."¹²

True Joy is a serene, and sober Motion; and they are miserably out, that take Laughing for Rejoicing.

. . . a Peaceful Conscience, Honest Thoughts, Virtuous Actions, and an Indifference for Casual Events, are Blessings without End, Satiety, or Measure.

The Poor Man wants many things, but the Covetous Man wants all.

. . . it is not enough to know God, unless we obey him.¹²

Since the travelers had earlier visited Maramma, in which Melville satirized many undesirable aspects of Christianity, and since they had already talked a good deal about such matters as the teachings of Alma and the worship of Oro, the conversation that follows is quite significant:

"Alma all over," cried Mohi; "sure, you read from his sayings?"

"I read but odd sentences from one, who though he lived ages ago, never saw, scarcely heard of Alma. And mark me, my lord, this time I improvise nothing. What I have recited, is here. Mohi, this book is more marvellous than the prophecies. My lord, that a mere man, and a heathen, in that most heathenish time, should give utterance to such heavenly wisdom, seems more wonderful than that an inspired prophet should reveal it. And is it not more divine in this philosopher, to love righteousness for its own sake, and in view of annihilation, than for pious sages to extol it as the means of everlasting felicity?"

"Alas," sighed Yoomy, "and does he not promise us any good thing when we are dead?"

"He speaks not by authority. He but woos us to goodness and happiness here."

It might be noted at this point that although the anonymous pagan author is represented as looking forward to annihilation, Melville drew a line in the *Morals* at the side of a passage in which Seneca expressed belief in immortality.¹³ Like some other readers, Mel-

¹² The sentences from *Seneca's Morals* are, respectively, from pp. 84, 77, 78-79, 79, 296, and 81 (in chaps. i, ii, and iii of "Seneca of a Happy Life" and epist. ii).

¹³ The line in the margin extends by the first three clauses: "I am strangely transported with the Thoughts of Eternity; Nay, with the Belief of it; for I have a profound Veneration

ville perhaps was not impressed by Seneca's occasional professions of belief in a future existence;¹⁴ or maybe in this instance he simply chose to ignore them. Certainly Seneca "speaks not by authority" on the matter of eternity, and he is quite properly represented as urging men to love goodness for the happiness it brings on earth.

Media, however, asserts that morality taught by a merely human being is not enough:

"Without authority, and a full right hand, Righteousness [had] better be silent. Mardi's religion must seem to come direct from Oro, and the mass of you mortals endeavor it not except for a consideration, present or to come."

"And call you that righteousness, my lord, which is but the price paid down for something else?"

"I called it not righteousness; it is religion so called. . . ."

"My lord! my lord! out of itself, Religion has nothing to bestow. Nor will she save us from aught, but from the evil in ourselves. Her one grand end is to make us wise; her only manifestations are reverence to Oro and love to man; her only, but ample reward, herself. He who has this, has all. He who has this, whether he kneel to an image of wood, calling it Oro; or to an image of air, calling it the same; whether he fasts or feasts; laughs or weeps;—that man can be no richer. And this religion, faith, virtue, righteousness, good, whate'er you will, I find in this book I hold. No written page can teach me more."

"Have you that, then, of which you speak, Babbalanja? Are you content, there where you stand?"

for the Opinions of Great Men, especially when they promise Things so much to my Satisfaction: for they do Promise them, though they do not Prove them. In the Question of the Immortality of the Soul, it goes very far with me, a General Consent to the Opinion of a Future Reward, and Punishment; which Meditation raises me to the Contempt of this Life, in hopes of a Better. But still, though we know that we have a Soul; yet, What the Soul is, How, and from Whence, we are utterly ignorant: This only we understand, that all the Good and Ill we do, is under the Dominion of the Mind; that a Clear Conscience states us in an inviolable Peace; And that the greatest Blessing in Nature, is that, which every honest Man may bestow upon himself" (*Seneca's Morals*, p. 109).

Melville also marked the following passages: "Whosoever he that lent me myself, and what I have, shall call for all back again, 'tis not a Loss, but a Restitution; and I must willingly deliver up what most undeservedly was bestow'd upon me" (p. 114); and: ". . . Death is no Evil in itself, but only the End of man" (p. 108).

¹⁴In regard to this matter, E. Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 268, remarks on Seneca's being "criticized on the ground that he affects at times a belief which he does not sincerely entertain, partly in order to make his teaching more popular, partly to console his friends in times of mourning." Arnold argues, in some detail, that Seneca very definitely had Stoic views on immortality. Of course Melville could hardly be expected to have a special student's knowledge of Seneca.

"My lord, you drive me home. I am not content. The mystery of mysteries is still a mystery. How this author came to be so wise, perplexes me. How he led the life he did, confounds me. . . . And after all, excellent as it is, I can be no gainer by this book. . . . I may have come to the Penultimate, but where . . . is the Ultimate?"

Babbalanja's inability at this time to find contentment within the bounds of human reason does not detract from his praise of the unnamed Seneca as a guide to a happy life. Eventually, Babbalanja, Media, Mohi, and Yoomy, all except Taji, become converts to the religion of Serenia, in which Melville depicts his ideal Christianity. Taji's continued pursuit of the unattainable Yillah may be interpreted in part as showing that Melville himself, for all his love of Christian ideals, could not subdue his reason to the point of abiding peacefully in the Christian faith.

Since numerous parallels have been pointed out in Seneca's writings and the New Testament (legend makes him a secret convert to Christianity),¹⁵ it is not surprising that many of the religious views held by the people of Serenia can be found in *Seneca's Morals*.¹⁶ Like Seneca, these people advocate love of God and one's fellow men; they practice religious tolerance; they have no use for magnificent temples;¹⁷ they set good deeds above words; they maintain that the guide to virtuous living is within oneself. Their belief in immortality is scarcely mentioned; they live to be happy here. In short, except for their faith in Christ, or Alma, their religion is virtually Seneca's.

This is not to say, of course, that Melville's reading of Seneca was responsible for his presentation of certain religious ideals in the chapters on Serenia. As an inhabitant of Serenia says: "All that is vital in the Master's faith, lived here in Mardi and in humble dells, was practised long previous to the Master's coming."¹⁸ But there can be no doubt that reading Seneca confirmed Melville's admiration for these principles.¹⁹ The use he made of the material he borrowed from the *Morals* is testimony enough on this point.

¹⁵ See Charles Aubertin, *Sénèque et Saint Paul* (Paris, 1869), and "Seneca," chaps. xiv-xv, in F. W. Farrar, *Seekers after God* (London, 1877).

¹⁶ On the religion of Serenia, see *Mardi*, Vol. II, chap. lxxxiii.

¹⁷ In the prefatory "To the Reader" in the *Morals*, Melville marked the sentence: "His [God's] Pleasure lies not in the Magnificence of Temples, made with Stone, but in the Piety and Devotion of Consecrated Hearts."

¹⁸ *Mardi*, II, 365-366.

¹⁹ Melville's marking of the *Morals* shows that he was interested in Seneca's views on a number of matters besides those discussed in this article, as, for instance, speech

THOREAU'S BURIALS

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THE MOST RECENT biographer of Thoreau concludes his account of the mortal existence of the man with a two-sentence paragraph: "That day they buried him in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery on those woody knolls which were his pleasure in Concord. He lies near Emerson and Lidian, and Cynthia and Sophia, and John the father and his beloved brother, John."¹

It is a very trivial detail, but they did not bury him in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery that day. Later they buried Hawthorne, Emerson, and Alcott in Sleepy Hollow; but in 1862 they buried Thoreau in what was called "The New Burying Ground," or "The New Hill Burying Ground." This cemetery, the third in Concord's history, had been opened in 1823; and the Thoreaus and Dunbars (Mrs. Thoreau's sisters and brothers) had purchased the second lot from the street along the west edge of the cemetery. This lot is still labeled "Thoreau" on the map of the cemetery in Concord Town Hall. It was in this plot that Henry Thoreau's brother John, his sister Helen, and his father were buried and where the Dunbar uncles and aunts are still buried. This New Burying Ground was in 1862 quite distinct from the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery which had been consecrated with an address by Emerson on September 29, 1855. Between the two cemeteries lay the old fairground of the Middlesex Agricultural Society until 1869, when it was purchased by the town and the two cemeteries thrown into one and the whole called Sleepy Hollow. Just when Thoreau's remains were moved from the Thoreau-Dunbar lot to the present Thoreau lot on the ridge in the original Sleepy Hollow Cemetery is uncertain. The town books do not present a record of the removal, nor do the books of the local undertaker of the years 1862 to 1874. Certainly the removal had taken place by 1874, and one may guess that Sophia Thoreau, the last survivor of the family, effected the move in 1872

(p. 293), style (p. 295), traveling (p. 127), the credulousness of the mob (p. 77), and fate. In regard to the last point, students of the background of Melville's thought may do well to consider his marking such a Stoic tenet as this: "Our Fate is Decreed, and Things do not so much Happen, as in their due time proceed, and every Man's Portion of Joy, and Sorrow, is Predetermined" (p. 122; and see also p. 111).

¹ Henry Seidel Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston, 1939), p. 440.

when the mother died, or in 1873 just before she moved from Concord to Bangor, Maine, at the end of May.

There are in print a dozen pages from the diary of Calvin H. Greene of Michigan, Thoreau's last correspondent.² Greene first visited Concord September 1 to 6, 1863, and returned eleven years later for a second Thoreau pilgrimage, August 27 to 31, 1874. On September 2, 1863, Greene wrote:

After breakfast went into the "old" and also the "new" burying ground; then to the new cemetery—"Sleepy Hollow." The ground is rolling and finely shaded with pines and oaks. Did not find what I was in pursuit of. Enquired of a man at work there where the Thoreaus' burying place was. He said, "At the new grounds." I also asked if I pronounced the name *Thoreau* right. Went to the place specified and found one grave with headstone marked "John Thoreau, Jr.," and another near by newer and unmarked.

Eleven years later, on August 27, 1874, Greene arrived again in Concord and wrote in his diary: ". . . Went around west and north to the village, and then to *Sleepy Hollow* cemetery. I found all the Thoreau graves (the remains having been removed thither since my visit, eleven years ago) up back on a little, shaded hill, and having neat plain brown headstones."³

There is one other mention in print of the moving of Thoreau's body. It is in the May 9, 1862, entry of Bronson Alcott's journal.⁴ After a description of Thoreau's funeral at the church, his friend writes:

. . . He is laid in the burying ground back of the meeting house, near the North Primary School House.⁵

Afterwards interred in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, next to my lot and opposite Hawthorne's.

² "Two Visits to Concord Massachusetts," pp. 73-85 of *Some Unpublished Letters of Henry D. and Sophia E. Thoreau: A Chapter in the History of a Still-born Book*, ed. Samuel Arthur Jones (Jamaica, Queensborough, N. Y.: The Marion Press, 1899).

³ The Dunbar graves in the Thoreau-Dunbar lot still have brown headstones. The Thoreau graves are now marked with small white marble headstones and a large grey granite monument containing full names and dates for all six members of the family.

⁴ *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston, 1938), p. 348.

⁵ Alcott's manuscript journal says "north of the meeting house" rather than "back of the meeting house" as Shepard prints it. The New Burying Ground was exactly north of the First Parish Church in Concord and cannot be said to be *back* of the meeting house. The North Primary School House still stands alongside the Thoreau-Dunbar lot; but it is no longer a schoolhouse, having been converted into a cemetery chapel.

One cannot be sure just when Alcott wrote that sentence telling that Thoreau's body had been moved. As Professor Shepard indicates in a note on that sentence, it is an addition to the original May 9, 1862, entry, in a different hand and a different ink. But one can be sure from Calvin H. Greene's diary that the shift to Sleepy Hollow had been made before 1874.

A NOTE ON JOSEPH KIRKLAND

JOHN T. FLANAGAN
University of Minnesota

PROFESSOR Thomas Ollive Mabbott has called my attention to a minor error in my recent article on Joseph Kirkland.¹ Following the assertion of F. W. Scott in his study of Illinois journalism,² I stated that there was no extant file of the *Prairie Chicken* (the journal which Kirkland edited at Tilton, Illinois, from October 1, 1864, to September 1, 1865). On the contrary, a complete file of the magazine exists in the New York Public Library and has already been the subject of a short article.³ It is of interest to note that Kirkland not only edited this periodical for a year but also contributed several unsigned items to it. Among them is one entitled "Mr. Lincoln," in which the author tells the story of how Lincoln overheard him jesting in one of the secretarial offices of the White House and demanded that he be allowed to share the fun. It is noteworthy that in this earlier version Lincoln's words are not in dialect. The same article reveals that Kirkland had met Lincoln several times: at either Tilton or Danville, Illinois; at Springfield about the time of Lincoln's nomination; and at Washington after Antietam. None of the other Kirkland contributions is of great importance, although there are three papers on coal.

¹ John T. Flanagan, "Joseph Kirkland, Pioneer Realist," *American Literature*, XI, 273-284 (Nov., 1939).

² F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois* (Springfield, 1910), p. 361 b.

³ Thomas O. Mabbott and Philip D. Jordan, "The *Prairie Chicken*," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXV, 154-166 (Oct., 1932).

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES
Harvard University

I WAS SOMEWHAT startled to read on the first page of the January number of *American Literature*, in Mr. Frederic I. Carpenter's article on Robinson Jeffers, this sentence: "Many critics and most readers, to whom morality looms larger than poetry, have simply dismissed Jeffers with an epithet: 'Dull naughtiness,' wrote Howard Mumford Jones, etc." I hastily looked up the Alberts bibliography of Jeffers, to which reference is made, to discover the sources of Mr. Carpenter's innocent misrepresentation. This contains on page 200: "Dull Naughtiness, by H. M. Jones; review of *The Women at Point Sur* in *Chicago Daily News*, etc." It is also stated that the same review appears in the *Columbus (Ohio) State Journal*, a fact which gives an erroneous impression that I was hunting down Mr. Jeffers.

The facts are that I never knew of the reprint of this review; I did not entitle it "Dull Naughtiness," this headline being supplied in the *Chicago Daily News* office; I do not dismiss Jeffers with an epithet; I do not, I hope, make morality loom larger than poetry in my critical judgment; and the fact that one finds a particular book by a given author inferior in the moment of reviewing it does not mean that one finds all the works of an author inferior.

In justice to me, in view of the unexpected prominence given a forgotten newspaper review, may I ask you to publish this statement?

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1940, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Literary Life of John Quincy Adams. R. L. Goodfellow (Harvard).
The Life and Works of John Fox, Jr. Arthur N. Kruger (Louisiana).
Helen Hunt Jackson, Poet and Propagandist. Minerva Martin (Louisiana).
Satire and Irony in the Works of Henry James. Viola Dunbar (Northwestern).
Henry Thoreau as a Poet, with a Critical Edition of His Poems. Carl Bode (Northwestern).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Concepts of America and Americans by the British Poets of the Romantic Movement. W. Alton Bryant (Vanderbilt).
A Cultural History of Cincinnati, Especially from 1819 to 1838. Daniel Aaron (Harvard).
Florida in American Fiction. Walter Scott Mason, Jr. (Peabody).
Foreign Elements in the Speech of the Southwest. James E. Seay (Louisiana).
The Genesis of the Idea of the Far West. Henry Nash Smith (Harvard).
Gothic Trends in American Literature. William S. Dix (Chicago).
The Growth of Criticism of Prose Fiction from 1800 to 1832. Pauline Smith (Louisiana).
The Intellectual History of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century. Courtlandt Canby (Harvard).
An Interpretation of Regionalism, Especially as Manifested in American Literature. Edward Day Stewart (Louisiana).
The Literary Culture of the Philadelphia Quakers. F. L. Tolles (Harvard).
A Phonetic Study of the Bilingualism of the Pennsylvania Germans of Best Station, Lehigh County. Victor A. Oswald, Jr. (Columbia).

Speech of the Great Smoky Mountains. Joseph S. Hall (Columbia).

Vermont in Letters, 1830-1930. Laura Johnson (Radcliffe).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

A Critical Study of the Works of Harriet B. Stowe. John R. Adams (Southern California).

Emerson's Theory of Poetry. Charles Howell Foster (Iowa).

A History of American Dictionaries. Eva M. Burkett (George Peabody).

An Investigation of Historical Vehicles of Free Oral Discussion in the United States. Baxter M. Geeting (Southern California, Speech, 1938).

Mark Twain in Germany. Edgar H. Hemminghaus (Columbia, German).

The Mind and Art of George Bancroft. Russel Nye (Wisconsin).

Representative American Criticism of Shakespeare, 1830-1885. Robert Falk (Wisconsin).

Richard Malcolm Johnston. Lessie B. Brinson (George Peabody).

The Rise of the Concept of Hostile Nature in Novelists of the American Frontier. Carlton Fordis Culmsee (Iowa).

Seargent Smith Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South. Dallas Claude Dickey (Louisiana, Speech, 1938).

Topographic Terms in Virginia. George Davis McJimsey (Columbia).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPIC DROPPED:

The Life and Works of Octavia Walton LeVert. Richard C. Peck (George Peabody).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

"America's Lost Plays" is a Princeton University Press project under the general editorship of Barrett H. Clark, looking toward the publication of one hundred plays which were popular in their day but never printed. The editorial board is composed of scholars from various universities as follows: Robert Hamilton Ball (Queens College), Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton), Glenn Hughes (University of Washington),

Garrett H. Leverton, E. C. Mabie (Iowa), Allardyce Nicoll (Yale), Arthur Hobson Quinn (Pennsylvania), and Napier Wilt (Chicago).

Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. (Teachers College, Columbia) is engaged in editing the original records of Brook Farm and related documents. The related documents include letters and diaries written at Brook Farm. Persons knowing of such material are invited to communicate with Professor Bestor.

Charles Nowell Foster (Iowa) is making a study of Hawthorne's theory of art.

Eldon C. Hill (Miami University) is at work on a biography of Hamlin Garland.

Rollo G. Silver (Brockton, Mass.) is engaged on "A Bibliography of Jacob Abbott (1803-1879)."

Anyone possessing manuscript letters written by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow will confer a great favor by communicating with his grandson, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

BOOK REVIEWS

THOREAU. By Henry Seidel Canby. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. xx, 508 pp. \$3.75.

Since Thoreau's centenary in 1917, no one of the major New England authors has presented to the biographer as great an invitation or as many problems and dangers of misinterpretation as has Thoreau. In 1917 there were still living enough people who had known the man and who had grown old in the poet-naturalist appraisal of him to fill the periodicals of that year with essays which have tended to perpetuate that interpretation in America in the face of better interpretations from abroad. Thoreau's contemporaries and those of a younger generation who knew him virtually conspired to build for him a reputation of mildness and whimsicality. Of course, one must except those who had a natural dislike for him and sought to picture him as a misanthrope. In 1917 Franklin B. Sanborn published a long book about Thoreau, which he hoped would be the definitive biography. Sanborn had known Thoreau during the last seven years of his life and had set himself up as the last transcendentalist and the Boswell of Concord. Actually, Sanborn's book perpetuated a lot of Concord gossip; but it had so much information in it along with its misinformation that no biographer of Thoreau has dared since to overlook it. In the meantime, new and better interpretations of Thoreau have been presented, sometimes in the wake of biographies of other New England authors, sometimes in the light of a book like Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's *The Flowering of New England*. All of these things, together with the amount of research devoted to American literature in the last twenty years, have made the writing of a new life of Thoreau a most involved and a most inviting enterprise. Henry Seidel Canby undertook the job.

Mr. Canby's book, excellent in large part, suffers from certain handicaps and shortcomings. His interest in Thoreau came too late for him to talk with the people of Concord who, a very few years ago, could have told him things which would have helped greatly toward an understanding of Concord life in Thoreau's time. For example, Sanborn had a pique against Henry Thoreau's mother and sister and wrote of Mrs. Thoreau in a most disparaging way. Mr. Canby has accepted Sanborn's word and throughout the book suggests that Thoreau was always subject to petticoat government at home and that the tongue of his mother "certainly helped drive Henry Thoreau to his Walden hermitage" (p. 19). I think that would be hard to prove, and that recourse to other estimates of the

lady to be found in somewhat obscure books and papers or once available from the lips of those who had known her (for she lived long in Concord) would have pretty well disproved it. She did keep boarders; but she was certainly not a boardinghouse keeper in the ordinary sense of that phrase. I feel sure that Thoreau's preference for bachelor's hall in hell to boarding in heaven was not, as Mr. Canby suggests (p. 176) a jibe at his mother; moreover, I feel that the quotation about houses from the 1841 journal with which the author clinches this theory (p. 176) is more to be compared with Whitman's "Houses and rooms are full of perfumes" than to be regarded as a comment on the ills of living in a boardinghouse. As I read it with the omitted sentence restored, Thoreau is referring to the artificiality which houses represent, not to any particular household. Thus through this book runs Sanborn's ill will toward a lady who, like her neighbors the Emersons, had told Frank Sanborn what she thought of him.

The Sanborn influence on this latest biography may be illustrated in certain hearsay matters. Thus Mr. Canby perpetuates the delightful but apocryphal story that Thoreau refused his diploma at college. A little investigation would have found the actual diploma still in existence and carefully framed. A more important problem about Thoreau's going to college is not mentioned. Why did he go to college at all? John was older and more promising. If the family were going to have to sacrifice the very food from its table to put one boy through college, why should it have been Henry, who neither then nor later seems to have had any particular object in going? Otherwise, the relationship of Henry and John Thoreau is very well handled in the book. But here again secondary sources are too often resorted to. For example, Mr. Canby is not quite accurate in his account of John's death and not specific in his telling of Henry's amazing case of sympathetic lockjaw after John's death—and yet he had access to a letter which Henry wrote within a month of the event in which the whole story is recounted in every detail.

The second part of the book, the story of Thoreau between the time of John's death and his sojourn at Walden, seems too much concerned with Thoreau's love of women. The Ellen Sewall story is true enough and based on sufficient evidence. Mr. Canby's theory about Thoreau and Lidian Emerson is, I fear, exaggerated beyond the evidence offered to prove a romantic interest between them. It is doubtful that there was coldness between Emerson and his second wife that would send her to the awkward boy who lived in the household. The letters which Thoreau wrote to her from Staten Island during her invalidism and which are quoted in part in the present biography (pp. 157 and 159) when read in their entirety and in juxtaposition with the other letters which Thoreau

wrote during the summer of 1843 seem not to be quite as significant or as amatory as Mr. Canby suggests. For example, the letter to Emerson on July 8 sounds almost as extravagant as those to Emerson's wife. If Thoreau hides something by calling Mrs. Emerson "sister," what is he hiding when he calls Mr. Emerson "brother"? Young Thoreau's memories of Concord seem to be running away with him there on Staten Island; he indulges in other flights of fancy in letters to his mother and sisters during that summer. He was trying just at that time to get his bearings after the great bereavement of his life; he was trying to develop himself as a poet and a transcendentalist (he sent hundreds of lines of poetry to Margaret Fuller because he wanted her critical opinion of them, not because he loved her); he was homesick. I think Mr. Canby shows that there was a slight mother-fixation about the Thoreau-Lidian Emerson relationship, but nothing more. The essay on "A Sister" from which Mr. Canby quotes I am willing to accept as an essay about an idealized sister, knowing Thoreau's attitude toward his own sisters, and knowing something of the sister-fixations of the early half of the nineteenth century. Thoreau was a perfect New England uncle except for the lack of nephews and nieces. Such men (Whittier's uncle was one, and Thoreau's own uncle Charles Dunbar was another) seem to have found their need of feminine society satisfied in being brothers either to their own sisters or to the ladies of some household to which they attached themselves. This may be sublimated sex; but it is a far different thing from falling in love with another man's wife. The Thoreau kind of person was common in New England, I think, and is still so common there that no one with a wide acquaintance in that region has failed to meet some of these bachelor uncles about whom it would be unreasonable to postulate a theory of Freudian sublimation. And what point is there in proving all this about an author if you admit that it had no effect on his books?

The third part of this study seems to me the best, for once having brought Thoreau to authorship, and once being able to exchange the shaky biographical ground of Sanborn and secondary sources for the firm ground of Thoreau's own journal, Mr. Canby is able to make biographical fact and literary productivity keep step. Now the facts of his subject's life are ready at hand and the product of that life is at hand also in Thoreau's books. Now, too, Mr. Canby's long training as a literary critic serves him in good stead, and he writes better prose. It may be that the philosophy in *Walden* is given short shrift; it may be that the social doctrines of the political essays is distorted by being projected against our national situation instead of Thoreau's; but in general one will feel satisfied that the biographer is unfolding the mind of Thoreau very much as that mind unfolded itself. One feels the confusion which Tho-

reau felt as he became more and more an observer of nature and found himself unable to use his observations; for they were too scientific for the old kind of book, and he was not scientific enough for a new kind. Overwhelmed with data, Thoreau lacked architectonic ability to produce books. He lacked the health out of which had come *A Week* and *Walden*. Only twice—at the time of the Anthony Burns affair and at the time of John Brown's arrest—did he rise to his full height again. In recounting this last third of Thoreau's life, Mr. Canby seems to me to be a real biographer. His criticisms of the writings may fall short because his book is already growing toward the limits of a one-volume biography; but the reader feels that he knows how Thoreau arrived at those writings and how he arrived at the end of his life with satisfaction. That, at least, is good biography.

The University of North Carolina.

RAYMOND ADAMS.

OLE EDVART RÖLVAAG: *A Biography*. By Theodore Jorgenson and Nora O. Solum. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. 1939. vii, 446 pp. \$4.00.

To the average reader who followed American literary currents in the late twenties the name O. E. Rølvaag today suggests the title *Giants in the Earth* together with vague reminiscences of the romantic story of a Norwegian fisherlad who became a world-famous novelist in America. The romance of his life, familiar enough because it conformed to the pattern of our typical *poor boy-president* legend, made the author interesting at once. His novels made a sensational appearance on the horizon. There was something cometlike in the way his epic *Giants* struck the reading public in 1927 without warning or preparation. Four years later he died, cut off in the very *Blütezeit* of his literary success, or so it may have seemed to those who did not know the story behind his books.

Now, less than a decade after his passing, appears the chronicle of his days and labors. In a substantial volume Dr. Jorgenson and Professor Solum, each of them pupil, friend, and colleague of the novelist, reveal the full fabric of his background, the long years of hard apprenticeship, and the heartbreaking discouragements and obstacles which retarded the breaking-through of a master writer until after he had passed fifty and was broken in health. Yet, reading this account of a man's heroic struggle (it was nothing less than heroic) to attain his objective, the reader will be surprised to learn that Rølvaag's apparently instantaneous success was actually less instantaneous than apparent, for he had achieved maturity and attained the sureness of the artist's hand many years before he was acclaimed by American critics.

Why then did his name mean nothing to the average American reader before 1927? The answer is simple enough: his novels were all originally written in the Norwegian language and, until 1924 at least, were published on a small scale for a necessarily restricted public. Yet it should be noticed that his first published novel appeared in 1912, fully fifteen years before America heard of *Giants in the Earth*. I have a special memory of this event since this was the first foreign language novel which I attempted to review during the program of a college literary society. Rølvaag happened to appear at the program as faculty critic, and no doubt enjoyed moments of inward laughter over the critical pronouncements he heard that evening.

The present biography reveals that the years from 1912 to 1924 were a period of rich and wholehearted activity in Rølvaag's life. Despite the full-time demands of his professorship, his pen hand was tireless. He turned out essays, texts, anthologies, sketches, short stories, poems, and several novels. His energies were spent in a great many endeavors not strictly belletristic but important in themselves, since thereby he made himself a cultural leader and became the storm petrel of many a battle.

Then in 1924-1925 came his first literary success, the publication abroad of the novel that was to appear in America three years later as *Giants*. The inside story of how the novel was brought to nation-wide fame is one of the most fascinating revelations of this biography.

In a sense the book is more than a biography since it presents a comprehensive and detailed study of each of Rølvaag's major novels, with critical analysis as well as an account of the genesis and formation of each work. In this task the biographers have drawn upon the novelist's voluminous correspondence (both to and from him) to disclose the process of production from the author's first jottings to the finished manuscript. The result is convincingly authentic. Readers who are curious to know the process of literary creation from the germ stage on will find fascinating reading here. Those who marvel at the miracle of spontaneous literary success will come away disillusioned of their belief in miracles. Here was an artist who achieved his mastery at the cost of a bitter price. I recall a midnight hour in his study twenty years ago, when he spoke of the terrific price he must pay. "I am doing my teaching honestly and fairly. My creative writing I take out of my own life expectancy. It's a reasonably sure form of suicide for me."

In addition to the light which this biography throws upon Rølvaag's life and work it presents a searching and sympathetic analysis of the social and cultural milieu in which he worked, the prejudices and taboos which would have trammled a less courageous spirit. Equally absorb-

ing is the series of portraits of important personages with whom Rølvaag had personal contacts.

The most interesting contribution of this volume in the way of posthumous material is found in the fragments from the novelist's unfinished autobiography, *The Romance of a Life*, with which the book opens. Here are pages of haunting beauty, dark introspection, and romantic yearning, unsurpassed in vigor, sincerity, or moving drama by anything Rølvaag ever wrote.

Dr. Jorgenson and Miss Solum have sifted their material with a coarse sieve so that no kernel of grain be lost. No doubt they discarded a small mountain of chaff in the winnowing process. Those who knew Rølvaag personally will be aware of minor omissions which might well have filled out their portrait, lifelike though it is. Among such omissions are Rølvaag's work as a poet (metrical). I have no recent knowledge of the bulk or quality of his work in this medium, but I know that it existed. Whether it measured up to standard or not, some discussion of it was indicated in a comprehensive study such as this. The author of *The Boat of Longing* was a prose poet of high gifts, a fact which cannot have escaped the sensitive reader of this strange novel.

Time and again the biographers have referred to their subject's cultural contributions and leadership. It cannot be denied that his contributions were significant, his leadership vigorous, even though strong voices were raised against his program and ideas. Yet the most lasting and fruitful impress of his personality upon American life must be reckoned in the work done by the small cluster of disciples whom he inspired as a teacher. On this phase of the novelist-professor's career this biography is also silent—for good and obvious reasons, for both collaborators are distinguished products of his classroom: Miss Solum as a sensitive and competent translator of his novels; Dr. Jorgenson as a critic and thinker of mature attainments. The work here reviewed reflects their talents in fine proportion and must be counted a genuine contribution to the critical literature, not merely of the Middle Border, but of American life and culture during the first quarter of the present century.

Duke University.

OLAV K. LUNDEBERG.

GEORGE SANTAYANA. By George W. Howgate. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. viii, 363 pp. \$3.50.

This study aims at an inclusive central picture of Santayana's personal history and literary achievement rather than at revelations of hitherto unknown facts or exhaustive scholarship at some single point. "Many persons know a few things about Santayana, not many persons know many things about him" (p. vi). To furnish a "central vision" of the

many things seemed, therefore, to Mr. Howgate a timely task. He has interwoven easily and gracefully an objective account of Santayana's many opinions and activities with critical opinion—his own and many others'. The work of survey may seem less ambitious than that of discovery or invention. But Mr. Howgate not only lists but appraises fifty-six writings on Santayana, these bearing in their turn on the one-hundred-eighty-three items of Santayana's own productions (as listed in *Obiter Scripta*), this body of production, moreover, being of the most varied character, from lacy verse on the one hand to abstruse metaphysics on the other. To integrate this mass, to bend to it and yet to judge it, was perhaps more difficult than to discover novelties or refine on a problem. Furthermore, Mr. Howgate has not left us without proof of special research on Santayana. An appendix contains a series of studies of Santayana's verse-forms and of his relation to the tradition of Platonic love.

The scientific accuracy of the study is such that the reader often forgets that the whole is inevitably done within a private perspective. One feels oneself following the actual order of events of Santayana's life and the sequences of his thoughts as they were in themselves. Mr. Howgate repeatedly tells us that he wished to start with his author's own assumptions. He has deliberately submitted himself to his material, and the impression of truth and fairness which the book makes is his reward.

The story begins with Santayana's "Early Years." Mr. Howgate is here concerned not so much with quickly transcended juvenilia as with the first evidences of typical energies and relations: a Castilian's reactions to American social schemes. Two suggestions stand out. First: the source of Santayana's most striking mental characteristic—his ironic detachment—may have been the inworking of his childish environment around Madrid and Ávila: windy moors, gaunt uplands, brooding expanses. Second: Santayana's dualistic philosophy, his clean separation of nature from ideals, may have been fostered by the long slow recoil of his Latin blood and Catholic Scholasticism from the vague compromises of the philosophy department at Harvard in his day. His instinctive demand for clear outline and firm form, whether in plastic and poetical art or in theory of values or nature, made him scorn as weak and ugly Royce's all-synthesizing transcendentalism, James's combination of physiology and will-to-believe, Cambridge's gentility mixed with barbarism. The writing of poetry Mr. Howgate presents in Chapter II as an early and secondary phase of Santayana's genius. During the last thirty-nine years Santayana has published only nine poems. His "spring," as his biographer puts it, has seemed "to dry up . . . under the breath of philosophy and criticism" (p. 45), or has been diverted into the creation of an imaginative metaphysics. Such a reincarnation of his poetic genius was normal,

as his poems were "his philosophy in the making." Their content is now the passage of his personal loyalty from Catholicism to Naturalism, now Platonic Idealism, now a meditative and pessimistic Materialism. The third phase (Chapter III) is moral philosophy, as expressed chiefly in the five volumes of *The Life of Reason*. "The Life of Reason," says Santayana, "is the happy marriage of two elements—impulse and ideation—which if wholly divorced would reduce man to a brute or to a maniac" (p. 109). Mr. Howgate traces the various ways in which, for Santayana, consciousness gives value to nature and supplements and orders the vital flux. It is the esthetic sphere which furnishes the happiest exemplifications of the perfecting of matter by mind. Poetry, for instance, appears on various levels of the moral life, but in its highest form it coincides with religion; for religion is the widest and richest symbol man's idealizing capacity can shape. The ethical does not disappear in the esthetic for Santayana, however. As sprung from Mother-Church he draws an infinite and absolute distinction between right and wrong—good and evil. The Greek in Santayana shows in his greater interest in individual perfection than in humanitarianism. Mr. Howgate devotes more space to the Critic and Essayist than to any other manifestation. The essays dealing with literary figures, national peculiarities and cultural aims, general philosophy and nature, he follows through, interrelates, and deliberately weighs. He shows that the essays on Browning, Whitman, Shelley, Emerson, Shakespeare, Lucretius, Goethe, and Dante, all express from different angles the belief in the ideal of totality, and are all a challenge to the romantic point of view. The essays on national cultures also reveal a scale of values. Germany stands low because of her fanatical egotism, England relatively high because of her rudimentary sweetness and justice, America in a complex swaying middle area because of a combination of a hollow old gentility with youthful vividness and energy. The phase of Santayana as metaphysician (Chapter V) is traced from its foundation in materialism to its culmination in floating essences. The first is a relatively simple notion familiar to common sense and philosophy, and is easily reported; the second is as elusive as the first is tangible. However, Mr. Howgate skilfully draws "essence" out of Santayana's original contribution to American Critical Realism. An adequate theory of cognition required a third category between the independent object and the psyche: the quality sensed; and Santayana's insight discovered the third thing. Skepticism drove Santayana, also, to this last stronghold of pure being, when the conditions of animal existence had been stripped from what eternally is. As a last phase Mr. Howgate discusses Santayana's relation to America, centering the treatment around the novel, *The Last Puritan*. He shows the shrewdness

of Santayana's portrayals and the many-sidedness of his sympathies and approaches. He concludes the chapter by pointing out the influence, philosophical and literary, exerted in America and in England, on D. W. Prall, Irwin Edman, Walter Lippmann, Robert Bridges.

Throughout his account Mr. Howgate has taken pains not to intrude himself upon his material, but the interpreter cannot blot himself out entirely. Even though no moments of actual disagreement occurred during the description, emphases and selections would reveal Mr. Howgate as much as Santayana. Without doing violence to the variety of form and matter, Mr. Howgate somehow keeps certain pedal points sounding through the whole, so that typical positions and preferences seem old familiar matter in the final chapters. These are roughly three: Santayana's detachment, figuring now as irony, now as contemplation, now as concern for form, and again as playfulness; second, his faith in reason, which appears in his classicism and his pervasive love of order; third, his fundamental postulate of abundant, varied nature as the ground of all things. In the first chapter we read of his participation in the "radical irony" of the Spaniard (p. 19), and in the last chapter of the detachment and irony that have alienated Santayana from moderates, liberals, and radicals (p. 292). As for the second characteristic, the reader is well-prepared for Mr. Howgate's appraisal of Santayana among the critics: that he is "the most uncompromisingly logical in his classical position" (p. 210). And Mr. Howgate hardly needed to say in so many words that Santayana has not once swerved from his lifelong conviction of the truth of naturalism (p. 111), so constant are the references to it.

Though believing in the lasting importance of Santayana's philosophy and in a higher value in the poetry than most critics admit, and though sympathizing in large measure with his moral and totalitarian canons of literary criticism, Mr. Howgate does not altogether abstain from direct adverse criticism of Santayana. He takes issue with Santayana in his interpretation both of Germany and of America. Of Santayana's condemnation of German egotism, Mr. Howgate says that Santayana offers a show of logical reasoning but fails to do justice to the complexity of the facts. Of Santayana's varied judgments on America Mr. Howgate says: "He is more aware of our contradictions and illogicalities than most Americans would be, but he somehow misses a certain unity which absorbs these contrarieties; dilemmas which seem so sharp to his Latin eyes somehow resolve themselves in that very hearty pragmatism which Santayana recognizes but is really a stranger to" (p. 272). The present reviewer finds this an astute criticism, but a criticism which Mr. Howgate might well have generalized. To be more specific: In his maturest metaphysics Santayana produces an extreme dualism of airy essences

(rational, ideal, but incredibly "pure") on the one hand, and brute animal and vegetable existence (casual, fat, spontaneous) on the other. It is not possible within the limits of a review to develop the way in which Santayana somehow here also misses a certain unity, is the dupe of his own sharp Latin eyes, and is a stranger to that very hearty pragmatism, partly American, partly also outlined by that very Spinoza whom, at other points, Santayana recognizes as master, which might resolve the opposition. Mr. Howgate seems less at home, less free in his ranging and sure in his judgments, when reporting Santayana's philosophy than when reporting his literary and cultural phases. But he ventures, again, the reviewer feels, rightly, on philosophical criticism with reference to *The Last Puritan*. He objects to taking the "fluttering, bird-like existence of Vanny" as higher in the moral scale than the moral earnestness of the Puritan. The logical postulate supporting Mr. Howgate's reaction is surely something superior to "animal faith," viz., rational realism. There is not only, the reviewer feels, a "frank enthronement of the personal equation" in Santayana's denial of reason's power to break through to reality, but also an indication of what Mr. Howgate himself many times suggests: that Santayana's genius is poetical and imaginative rather than logical and abstract.

The reviewer found almost no errors or slips in this interesting and painstaking work. It does, however, hardly seem justifiable to call the Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam a "German" (p. 283); and Professor Montague is of Columbia and not of Michigan (p. 283). And is there not the danger of dogmatism in saying (p. 244) that the scholastics generally mistook essence for existence?

Duke University

KATHARINE GILBERT.

THE SMALL TOWN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Ima Honaker Herron. Durham: Duke University Press. 1939. xvii, 477 pp. \$4.00.

This volume is an able study of the literary pattern of American small-town life. Based upon a thoroughgoing survey of the large body of literature devoted to small-town themes, Dr. Herron's book traces the progression of the small town and its prototype, the village, through our imaginative literature from the third quarter of the eighteenth century to the present time. The book also seeks to show that the village had its critics and apologists long before the publication of *Spoon River Anthology* and *Main Street*. These objectives have been achieved by the author with an amplitude of evidence and a wealth of bibliographical aids which at times seem in excess of the significance of the subject.

Dr. Herron has traced the literary evolution of the village and small town through three stages: (1) eighteenth-century imitations of the Eng-

lish village tradition, notably in the literature of New England and the middle colonies; (2) the varying village patterns conditioned by the westward movement; and (3) the growing standardization induced by the development of the urban spirit. Thus, in its general scope and purpose, if not in its importance, this useful book deserves a place beside the earlier studies of frontier and prairie in the reinterpretation of American literature.

The author spread a wide and patient net in her effort to assemble material for her estimate of the part played by the small town. Although she found fiction to be her richest quarry for detailed portrayals of village ways and people, her investigation also included poetry, drama, history, biography, and autobiography, as well as essays, diaries, and notebooks. This welter of material presented difficulties of organization and presentation which were not always met successfully. The most serious defect is Dr. Herron's failure to draw a clear line between the realistic and purely imaginative portrayals of the small town. Moreover, certain characteristic weaknesses of the monograph method have not been entirely avoided. The author's compelling absorption in her theme has led her to devote too much attention to works which reflect small-town life but incidentally. She has also occasionally overemphasized the element of setting or background in authors whose concern for environment was exceedingly casual. A considerable amount of repetition was made inevitable by her "historical-geographical approach" to the subject. The general reader is likely to find somewhat tiresome the many excerpts of illustrative material which have the monotony of the frontier communities described in Wister's *The Virginian*: "Each was similar to the next, as one five spot of clubs resembles another."

The author's zeal and the richness of her material have moved her to consider so many literary records of small-town customs that some of the chapters approach the form of annotated bibliographies. Pages 426-427, for example, contain the titles of thirty-six works. Inclusiveness of this sort has reduced the space given to interpretative commentary. Although errors of omission are few, the book would have greater value for social historians had Dr. Herron included in her investigation a wider selection of the popular, domestic fiction of the 1850's. These novels offer a wealth of evidence upon the attitude of the small-town mind to such topics as mesmerism, feminism, abolition, temperance, and other seething "movements." The author has considered the important humorous treatments of provincial towns in the nineteenth century, but she has neglected such piquant commentators upon contemporary life as Frank Kinney Hubbard's "Abe Martin."

The few inaccuracies are very minor ones and do not mar the general

excellence of the study. Dr. Herron has excusably attributed *The Asylum; or, Alonzo and Melissa* to Daniel Jackson (p. 164). Actually this curious novel was the work of Isaac Mitchell, who was the victim of a notorious "literary steal." It appeared in 1811, not in 1824 (p. 164). Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency occurred in 1828, not a year later (p. 147). Philadelphia, not New York (p. 465), was the place of publication of Simms's *Beauchampe* and *Border Beagles*. These slips are of small importance. Dr. Herron's study is a sound contribution to American literary history.

Bowdoin College.

HERBERT BROWN.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. Vol. XI. By George C. D. Odell. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xviii, 758 pp. \$8.75.

There are only three years, 1879 to 1882, covered in this latest volume of Dr. Odell's great work. Dr. Odell, who has recently become Brander Matthews Professor Emeritus of Dramatic Literature at Columbia, will remain in residence and continue the annals. This is good news for all lovers of the theater in America. For Dr. Odell is beginning to say, "How well I remember" in speaking of the plays, and his comments are all the more lively now that he is recording the productions he saw, even if he was a youngster!

This volume begins with the description of the opening night of Wallack's Theatre on August 19, 1879, when John T. Raymond appeared in an adaptation by George Fawcett Rowe of two of Irving's stories, under the title of *Wolfert's Roost; or, A Legend of Sleepy Hollow*. The cast indicates a curious mixture of the two tales. Raymond played "Ichabod Crane." The play was fairly successful, and is of interest because it is only one more proof of the inherent dramatic quality of Irving's work. If there had been any theater for which he could have worked with sufficient return not only in money, but also in reputation, Irving might have been one of our leading playwrights. As it was, he had to content himself with helping his friend, Payne, and in creating in Rip van Winkle the character longest to live in other hands upon the American stage.

Fashion was moving up town in New York, and the season of 1880-1881 was the last of the "old Wallack's" on Thirteenth Street. Next year saw the new Wallack's at the corner of Thirtieth Street and Broadway, just across from Augustin Daly's new theater. Daly was writing his clever adaptations from French and German, so thoroughly changing his models that no one could tell that *The Passing Regiment*, for example, was laid originally in Germany. The American playwright had not yet come into his own. Bronson Howard produced none of his important plays during these three years. William Gillette was only beginning with

The Professor and *Esmeralda*, both, however, successes. Edward Harri-
gan was establishing the Mulligan cycle at his own playhouse, the "The-
atre Comique," and breaking into new fields with *The Major*, his
amusing play of a genial adventurer. Bartley Campbell brought on his
"Galley Slave," a powerful melodrama. What strikes the student of our
drama at once is "How few of these plays have been published!" Lack
of proper copyright protection was still keeping them in manuscript.
Lawrence Barrett, however, was bringing out Howells's adaptation of
Un Drama Nuevo by Tamago y Baus under the title of *Yorick's Love*,
and proving that Howells, like Irving, might have made a fine play-
wright if opportunity had not been lacking. For Howells succeeded in
his adaptation of the Spanish play where Daly had failed, and there is
some excellent verse in *Yorick's Love*. John McCullough was still keep-
ing Bird's *Gladiator* and Payne's *Brutus* alive, but he was soon to meet
his tragic ending.

Tragedy, indeed, peeps out constantly in this record. When I see
Rose Coghlan as the frontispiece of this volume, and read the glowing
description of her acting then at the height of its power, I remember
how she was found almost starving in New York City in 1924, and how
David Belasco gave her a part in one of his plays. I heard her speak
that year at a dinner given in Belasco's honor, of *La Belle Russe*, one of
Belasco's adaptations in which she played May 8, 1882, at Wallack's! In
1924 she was still, apparently, a vigorous woman, but she had been un-
able to obtain a part.

It is because of the many human dramas that lurk behind the records
of the theater that Dr. Odell's volumes are so fascinating. He has gleaned
everything concerning entertainment in New York City from the original
playbills and newspapers, and if at times the result seems overwhelming,
one will find, perhaps, on the next page, an item in which he has special
interest, and which would have been lost if Dr. Odell had not been so
inclusive.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR H. QUINN.

EMILY DICKINSON. Di Emilio e Giuditta Cecchi. Brescia: Morcelliana.
1939. 152 pp. Lire 10.

This monograph by a distinguished Italian critic and his daughter
is the first book on Emily Dickinson by European authors. It was
begun by Miss Judith Cecchi as a thesis at Barnard College and con-
tinued in collaboration with her father. They have worked with genu-
ine sincerity and have produced an interesting and original appraisal
of Miss Dickinson's poetry as seen through Italian eyes. The biographi-

cal and historical chapters, however, leave something to be desired, since the authors have not sifted the information at their disposal with a sufficiently resolute critical sense. Though they estimate shrewdly the relative accuracy of the various books about Emily Dickinson, their method in practice has been to strike a balance between conflicting views. When one view happens to be based on documentary evidence and the other on guesswork, the result of averaging them is still somewhat wide of the truth.

Among errors and inaccuracies that should not be perpetuated are: the impossible derivation of the name Dickinson from "de Caen's son" (p. 11); the badly distorted story of Emily's "rebellion" at Mount Holyoke (p. 26); the absurd supposition that Leonard Humphrey predicted his own death from congestion of the brain a week before it occurred (p. 29); the information taken from a notoriously unreliable source that Emily spent the winter of 1853 in Washington (p. 35); and the discredited notion that Lavinia Dickinson "withheld" *Further Poems* from publication (p. 58). Dates wrongly given are: those of Ben Newton's residence in Amherst (p. 29); of Edward Dickinson's death (p. 54); and of the publication of *A Masque of Poets* (p. 56). A novel contribution to inaccuracy is the statement that after Emily's death Lavinia lived in the same house with her brother's family.

American readers will find nothing new or enlightening in the chapter on Emily Dickinson's literary background, which resolves itself into a very general survey of the period, largely under the guidance of Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn and consequently somewhat lacking in understanding of the Puritan tradition. Altogether the best section of the book is that on the poetry of Emily Dickinson, which happily displays the independence of judgment and the fine literary taste of the two critics. To assimilate the highly individual idiom of Miss Dickinson is not always easy for English-speaking readers, and it is greatly to the credit of the Cecchis that their meticulous reading seldom misinterprets a word. "Zero at the bone" is not perfectly rendered by "la spina dorsale gelata," and the translation of "sequence ravelled out of reach like balls upon a floor" as "ma il rapporto fra i due non potevo afferrarlo, come palle che si sparpagliano sull' impiantito" does not keep the specific reference to balls of worsted that we feel in the original. But on the whole the translations are brilliantly executed.

A final chapter deals adequately with the history of Emily Dickinson's reputation and discusses briefly the chief biographies and critical studies of her work. The bibliography, based on the short-title list published in 1930 by the Hampshire Bookshop, includes among additional

items six references to Italian anthologies, critical articles, or translations of small groups of poems.

Amherst College.

GEORGE F. WHICHER.

JACK LONDON AND HIS TIMES: *An Unconventional Biography*. By Joan London. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1939. 387 pp. \$3.00.

Of the three biographies which have Jack London as their subject, this volume by Joan London is by all odds the best. Mrs. Charmian Kittredge London's two huge tomes will always be valuable because of the letters and other source material they provide but will be consulted by the general reader less and less. Mr. Irving Stone's *Sailor on Horseback*, published in 1938, was a work of another kind. Where Mrs. London's production was sprawling, replete with fact, and devoid of an interpretation, Mr. Stone turned out a book that wove fact and interpretation into seeming unity. His attempt fell short of success, however, and his book records the trial of a writer to penetrate the secrets of a baffling and complex personality which refused to yield to anything but the most arduous attack. Mr. Stone blazed a trail for others to follow, and introduced some new biographical detail of more than casual interest. He enjoyed the advantage, moreover, in discussing the career of a writer who for some years professed devotion to Marxism, of sharing that point of view with the subject of his book.

In this regard, *Jack London and His Times* follows Mr. Stone's lead. Miss Joan London has sufficient sympathy with the Marxian outlook to interpret her father's activities in the early Socialist movement at the turn of the century, and sufficient scholarship to chronicle the rise of socialism as a political force, in relation to her father and his Leftist books. This part of her task she does much better than Mr. Stone, and she makes a point of capital importance when she proves that London was a careful student of the once-prominent Nordic theorist, Benjamin Kidd. The fusion of the ideas of international socialism and Teutonic supremacy made a strange compound, and many a reader of London's has been puzzled by this tissue of contradictions. Miss London has now supplied a clear answer to this puzzle.

Miss London well understands the California scene, political and geographical, of half a century ago, and this special local knowledge contributes to her understanding of her father's career. Furthermore, she has taken great pains to ferret out the personal psychology of Jack London, and with complete detachment and scientific objectivity shows him as she thinks he really was at any given season of his career. Her

psychological analysis is based upon family tradition and an ample acquaintance with her father's friends who have helped her. Her findings may not be always pleasant, but the candor with which she has investigated and set down the truth as she sees it must be respected.

Psychological analysis is richly, perhaps too richly, supplemented by sociological and historical analysis. Miss London has the annoying habit of breaking her narrative to furnish some needed historical facts for the next stage of her father's career. For example, London's relations with Mexico lead to a rapid survey of political conditions in that country from 1877 to 1914, about ten pages long. A longer chapter discusses the effect of the Russian Revolution of 1905 on the writer, and does so with such thoroughness that Miss London fails to grasp the fact that the American election of November, 1904, was the more important of the two events in pushing London still further to the Left, though not for long.

Miss London missed an interesting though not significant point when she failed to record the fact that Ina Coolbrith, last of the old-time Californian writers, knew and encouraged London in his youth. She has elsewhere given good measure of novel facts concerning her father. The full truth concerning Flora Wellman, Jack's mother, has not yet been brought out, however, and the family of John London deserves somewhat more attention than it received. The index is disappointingly brief, and the book is quite without footnotes or bibliography. As it is, the reviewer is unable to determine if the author did or did not use the London materials at the Huntington Library, a consideration of some importance. Who were the friends of her father's that prepared memoirs for her aid? The careful student of American literature will regret that the sources of her data were not indicated. This is an error of omission that the publishers ought to rectify if a second edition of this useful and interesting work should be called for.

University of Redlands.

FULMER MOOD.

JEDIDIAH MORSE: *A Champion of New England Orthodoxy*. Columbia Studies in American Culture, Number Two. By James King Morse. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. ix, 180 pp. \$2.50.

Probably no leader was more prominent than Jedidiah Morse on the conservative side of the controversy which split the New England Congregational Church into Unitarian and Trinitarian sects in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In fact, he was more responsible than any other man for bringing about the schism when it came. Zealous, humorless, clear-sighted, learned, and unyielding, except by way of driving

a good bargain for the Lord, he exhibited in his dealings many of the dominant traits of the Puritans of the seventeenth century.

The liberal spirit in religion to which its opponents attached the epithet "Unitarian" was already a challenge to orthodoxy in eastern Massachusetts when Morse, a Connecticut and Yale man, recognized and accepted it in entering upon his Charlestown pastorate in 1789. For the time, both sides avoided coming to an issue, but this quiescence worked to the advantage of the spreading liberalism. Morse realized this, and after the election of a Unitarian as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805, he worked indefatigably for separation, in the pulpit, in his magazine, *The Panoplist*, and in his epistolary and personal exhortations to his fellow orthodox preachers. His chief achievement was the masterpiece of negotiation, not without its Jesuitical features, by which he induced the fundamentalist Hopkinsian faction of the Congregationalists to relinquish the project of a theological seminary of their own and join plans with the Orthodox party, as is well described by Dr. Morse in his chapter on the founding of Andover Seminary.

To his own time, Jedidiah Morse first became known as the chief American geographer, and scientific and theological skirmishing became sadly mixed in the lifelong warfare which he waged. Dr. Morse, in his book, disavows any attempt at biography. "Only his participation in the [religious] controversies of his day is described, the aim of this study being to clarify the general issues at stake." The resulting book is both interesting and enlightening, though complete clarification is not achieved or, perhaps, to be expected. The attacks upon the geographer as theologian and upon the theologian as geographer are too complicated to take either separately; lack of biographical details surprises the reader who has not been told how Morse became an Overseer of Harvard College or how the damaging controversy with Hannah Adams came about; there is a disconcerting dearth of dates; and the abandonment of a chronological development, for separate chapters on Morse's several religious activities, is not a wholly happy method. The writer contributes some confusions of his own by occasional misdirecting conjunctions and prepositions, loose diction, and use of parentheses for brackets in quotations. In a few cases, passages quoted from letters are rendered obscure by apparent faulty transcription or failure to indicate obscurities or omissions in the letters themselves. Thus in the quotation on page 144, "Minister" appears to be erroneously written for "Ministers," "occupied" for "occasioned," and "exciting" for "existing."

The book serves to call attention to a considerable body of hitherto unused correspondence, of which a selected list is given in the bibliography. It also gives vividly the tone and flavor of the political-religious

controversy of the day. Nothing, perhaps, better illustrates its bitterness and mutual distrust than a vituperative sentence of Morse's in which the denunciation is concealed from modern readers by the strange alterations which time works in our vocabulary (reviewer's italics): "I consider *Unitarianism* as the *democracy* of Christianity."

The University of Maine.

MILTON ELLIS.

FRANCES WRIGHT, FREE ENQUIRER: *The Study of a Temperament*. By A. J. G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1939. 393 pp. \$3.50.

Frances Wright's contribution to American literature, even when broadly defined, was at best a minor one. *Altdorf, a Tragedy* (1819) figured as only a fairly successful piece on the Philadelphia and New York stage; and *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821) was only a little better than many another travel book. With the possible exception of Whitman, American men and women of letters owed her little, at least directly. Even so liberal a contemporary as Bryant, in referring to her zeal for free inquiry as an antidote for religion, resorted to sarcasm:

Thou wonder of the age, for whom
Religion waits her final doom,
Her quiet death, her euthanasia,
Thou in whose eloquence and bloom
The age beholds a new Aspasia!

Yet in a very genuine sense American letters owed a good deal to this "Priestess of Beelzebub," this "Red Harlot of Infidelity." With a mere handful of others she insisted on the importance of the values of the Enlightenment. Before religious and literary men took up cudgels in the 1830's for the cause of the underdog, Frances Wright was in the first line of battle. Through her lectures and writings, through the *Free Enquirer* and other journals which she edited, through the Hall of Science, which for a time proved to be a vigorous center of liberal adult education in New York City, Frances Wright helped break the ice for such pioneers in education as Josiah Holbrook and such crusaders for feminism as Margaret Fuller. In refusing to accept as the proper role of the intellectual a divorce between writing and action, she discovered paths by which others might throw themselves into the crusade for the abolition of capital punishment, imprisonment for debt, into the labor movement, and, in short, into the great conflicts of the time. And if the Civil War now seems to many inevitable, it was inevitable only because few really deep-cutting efforts were made to solve the problem of slavery in an intelligent way: Frances Wright's *Nashoba* experiment,

however fantastic it was from some points of view, nevertheless was such an effort.

This life of Frances Wright will be compared to William Randall Waterman's doctoral dissertation. It is richer in detail, but the main outlines which Dr. Waterman established have not been modified. The Waterman study used much of the same material but was somewhat more topical in organization; and it is to be regretted that the chronological treatment in the biography of Miss Perkins and Miss Wolfson is not always as clear and satisfactory as it might be. Scholars may also be critical of the somewhat incomplete form of the bibliography and of other points in apparatus. But in spite of such minor defects, and notwithstanding the more important failure to relate with entire adequacy Frances Wright's ideas to the Enlightenment, to Benthamism, and to other patterns of thought, the book succeeds in making her a more sympathetic, a more tragic, and a more significant personality and force than she has seemed even to specialists in American social history of the Jacksonian period. The illustrations are first-rate, and the text is generously supplied with selections from the manuscripts which the authors used.

Columbia University.

MERLE CURTI.

SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA. By Esther Cloudman Dunn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. xv, 310 pp. \$3.50.

When so deft and learned a writer as Professor Esther Cloudman Dunn consents to arrange a match between her ardent interest in Shakespeare and a no less ardent and informed interest in American culture, the issue can hardly be unattractive. The volume that has resulted will amuse the general reader for whom it is mainly intended and will provide specialists with certain unfamiliar facts; but this reviewer has read it with discomfort.

It would appear that, after the heavy labor of research so impressively described in the Preface, the author has proceeded with the writing in weariness of spirit and with an inhibiting sense of the recalcitrance of the two contracting parties. The fact is that in most of the chapters Shakespeare's wooing of the spirit of America proceeds rather like Master Slender's wooing of Anne Page, and the strain of bringing these two together sometimes shows itself in sentences like the second of these (p. 93):

Shakespeare as a dramatic artist and the play as a dramatic whole are not the things the typical theatregoer considered. Rather, he was concerned with the performance of the actor, whose personality, especially if it was fashionable as Garrick's and Mrs. Siddons' were, and performance surpassed in importance the playwright whom they produced.

This is unfair, for Miss Dunn seldom knows how to write opaquely. It is fairer to complain of the amount of repetition of trivial detail and the effort, which grows irritating at length, to read significance into commonplace data. Repetitions that have jarred the reviewer are:

On a theatrical project in Williamsburg

As early as 1716, William Levingston and Charles and Mary Stagg drew up an interesting agreement for future cooperation in a theatre. It is a document newly discovered. . . . This plan, as preserved in the York County, Virginia Orders, is known well (p. 46).

As early as 1715-16 a troupe in Williamsburg drew up a prospectus for a substantial and enlightened theatre in that town. The agreement filed in the York County, Virginia Orders, Wills, etc., has only recently been rediscovered (p. 52).

A building constructed exclusively for theatrical productions was envisaged in Virginia as early as 1716, but was not realized (p. 53).

Of officers' plays in New York during the Revolution

the profits seem really to have gone into the indigent and elegant pockets of the young officers themselves, whose kit and style must be maintained by some means or other (p. 115).

The proceeds which accrued to the trim pockets of officers' uniforms were hard, indeed, to forego (p. 119).

Of Hackett and J. Q. Adams

Hackett exchanged long letters with John Quincy Adams on fine points of Shakespearean interpretation and had Adams' permission to print his opinions in a volume with Hackett's own Shakespearean criticism, entitled *Notes and Comments upon Certain Plays and Actors of Shakespeare with Criticisms and Correspondence*. This was published in 1863. . . . Lincoln found time to write thanks for the copy which Hackett sent him (p. 150).

he left a printed record of his impressions of Shakespearean acting and interpretation. This record came out in 1863 under the title of *Notes and Comments upon Certain Plays and Actors of Shakespeare with Criticisms and Correspondence* . . . within the pages of his book he printed (by permission) Shakespearean criticism by no less a person than John Quincy Adams, lately President of these United States. Hackett sent a copy of his new volume to the wartime President, Lincoln, and received a note of acknowledgment (p. 160).

The prestige of Shakespeare . . . is illustrated in the account of Hackett's correspondence with John Quincy Adams. . . . "I have been," he says in "Extracts from the Mss of a Celebrated Person," which Hackett by his permission printed in the 1863 volume, "man and boy, a reader of Shakespeare. . . ." (p. 164).

Of Henry Ward Beecher

It was not by accident that Henry Ward Beecher . . . was called "the Shakespeare of the pulpit" (p. 191-2).

Henry Ward Beecher, whose methods in preaching were so theatrical that he was called the Shakespeare of the pulpit, would doubtless have liked to go to the theatre (p. 200).

There is much of this repetitiousness, as if the author were only vaguely mindful of what she has written a few pages earlier; and there are comments on little facts which justify no comment, as if she were forcing conversation at a dull teatable. Jefferson is credited with the truism that the fictitious murder of Duncan excites as great a horror

of villainy as if it were real, and the commentator exclaims: "Alas! that Pharaoh is sold for balsams, and the incomparable greatness of Shakespeare is reduced to the neat illustration of moral conduct! But one must remember that Jefferson belonged to his own century" (p. 98). Washington's Journal shows that he attended a performance of *Hamlet* in 1773, and this brings him a rebuke: "One deplores those laconic entries that great men record in their diaries. What one would give for some comment upon the performance or for reflections upon the ideas and moods of this play. But to Washington a play was a play; his diary is full of entries about procuring tickets and attending 'plays.' But when it was over, it was over" (p. 105). Or should be. Fanny Kemble was brought by a friend to visit William Ellery Channing in Boston, and he asked her "if at the present day and in our present state of civilization, such a character as Juliet could be imagined possible?" It is as intelligent a question as a clerical gentleman could well have asked a lady actress, and the answer, as of the 1830's, would probably have been "No"; but for literary purposes Miss Dunn shudders:

Nine years earlier Channing had visited Coleridge in England. If the conversation turned upon Shakespeare, one shudders for Coleridge's estimate of American culture, if he considered this famous Bostonian representative! (p. 158).

Weariness produces slips of the pen which it may seem invidious to note: a date ten years too early (1744) for Hallam in Philadelphia (p. 77); a reference on page 102 to Franklin's friend Samuel Johnson, "the American of that name," who, however, at the end of the same paragraph is dubbed "the Englishman"; the misnaming of Washington's stepson as "John Custer" (p. 105); allusion to Jefferson as the founder of William and Mary College (p. 241); to Portia and Nerissa as characters in *Romeo and Juliet* (p. 170); to *Coriolanus* as a little-known play in the eighteenth century (p. 121); to the alleged author of Shakespeare's plays as "Lord Francis Bacon" (p. 296); and to a colonial gentleman in Virginia as "Esq. Wormeley" (p. 28). Some perverse imp, bent on making a point where no point otherwise appeared, must be responsible for the supererogatory error of ascribing a line in Mark Twain's parody of the Hamlet soliloquy,

Ope not thy ponderous and marble jaws,

to *Romeo and Juliet* (p. 301), and for the query whether the play that Lincoln discussed with the actor MacDonough in connection with "Colley Cibber's addition to the stage text of *Richard III*" should not be *Henry IV* instead of *Henry VI*, as the authorities state (p. 281). The same imp attempts to find traces of a Shakespeare Folio in the book inventoried in Madam Wormeley's possession in 1701: "fifty comedies and tragedies in

folio" (p. 28). Obviously, the book could hardly be any other than the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1679, which bears just that title.

Yale University.

TUCKER BROOKE.

THE SOUTHERN POOR-WHITE FROM LUBBERLAND TO TOBACCO ROAD. By Shields McIlwaine. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. xvii, 274 pp. \$2.50.

The enigmatical Southern poor-white is here stripped of his disguise of various regional designations and is placed into a composite social portraiture. Professor McIlwaine tells the social story of the peckerwoods, po' buckra, crackers, tackies, sandhillers, *et al.* in an analysis of their appearance in literature in the more than two centuries from William Byrd's humorous ridicule of the North Carolina lubbers in the "History of the Dividing Line" (1728) to Erskine Caldwell's naturalistic presentation of the degenerate Jeeter Lester in *Tobacco Road* (1932) and several years thereafter. (Despite the conclusive sound of its title, the book does not stop with *Tobacco Road*.) The result is a remarkably informative account based on literary sources, of the folkways of the rural poor-white (the modern poor-white is a "lint-head" in the cotton mills, "hardly differentiated from his Northern brothers")—an account which should be as valuable to the sociologist and the historian as it is to the student of literature.

Since Professor McIlwaine's stated intention was to write a social history of the poor-whites from their appearance in literature, one is not to expect an exhaustive treatment of them as literary figures. This limitation of literary considerations should keep the reader from being too much startled by such omissions as Amélie Rives's portrayal of the static poor-white in *Virginia of Virginia*, or the struggle of the most ambitious of the "low-down Barneses" as seen through the sympathetic eyes of Paul Green in *This Body the Earth*, or Will Harben's varied pictures of Georgia trash in his several novels. Without these, there is an imposing collection of writers, Northern and Southern, who have made use of the poor-whites as villains, comic characters, tragic types, Lincoln-esque heroes, foils for sentiment, or agents for propaganda. The treatment of these various types is unerringly organized and the interpretations and analyses are brilliant enough to cause the reader to wish that Professor McIlwaine had striven for exhaustibility in this respect and left the social historians to shift for themselves.

Most memorable is the analysis of the comic crackers, wool-hats, and dirt-eaters as they were presented by ante-bellum humorists, notably Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and "Skitt" (H. E. Taliaferro). In the rough antics of Ransy Sniffle and Ham Rachael, so near to actual vul-

garity, Professor McIlwaine sees the beginning of the naturalistic modes which the Civil War and its aftermath of nostalgia delayed for over fifty years, until Erskine Caldwell, "the foremost interpreter of the poor-white," wrote of the sex comedies of the Jeeter Lesters and the Ty Ty Waldens. Minimizing the propagandist aspect of Caldwell's portrayals of the lusty poor-whites, Dr. McIlwaine regards them as an approximation of the medieval fabliaux. The penetrating sense of humor that no doubt impelled this observation is evident throughout the volume.

The account of the development of the poor-white woman as a literary type is a valuable portion of *The Southern Poor-White*. We are shown her progression toward individuality from the romanticized wife of W. G. Simms's poor-white villain to James R. Gilmore's sordid slattern, anticipatory of Erskine Caldwell's Tobacco Road snuff-and-sex woman. From the motley procession of later poor-white sisters—tenant women who struggled for a little beauty but finally settled into a "decent acquiescence before things which had to be"—Dr. McIlwaine chose Edith S. Kelley's Judy Pippinger (the first poor-white woman to become a leading character in a novel) in *Weeds* (1923) and Elizabeth Madox Roberts's Ellen Chesser in *The Time of Man* (1926) as the highest achievements in characterization. He found Paul Green's tenant women characters weakened by "pure and unabashed sentimentality."

Professor McIlwaine's lively book was originally a dissertation at the University of Chicago; it has lost little of its scholarly appeal in the revision for publication. An adequate index and a nineteen-page bibliography, valuable but not exhaustive, contribute to make this book a necessary tool for the student of the South, the Old and the New.

The College of the Ozarks.

JAMES S. PURCELL, JR.

BRIEF MENTION

TO MAKE A POET BLACK. By J. Saunders Redding. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. xii, 142 pp. \$1.50.

In this little book—much too little, there are only one hundred and twenty-five pages—the author seeks to expose and explain the American Negro's mind as it is revealed in the American Negro's consciously produced literature. We are shown first the eighteenth-century mind—a mind so wrapped in Puritan otherworldliness that it submissively and humbly accepts any institution which meets the approval of the church, even the institution of slavery. This species of mind is represented by Jupiter Hammon and Phillis Wheatley. Then we see a mind incited to a vigorous fighting protest by the antislavery movement—the mind reflected in the verse of George Moses Horton and in the varied prose of Charles Remond, William Wills Brown, and Frederick Douglass. We are next made acquainted with the late nineteenth-century mind—a mind not courageous enough to free itself from what the wide public expects of it, a mind willing to remain in its Jim Crow car and laugh the laugh which the white social and political oppressor wishes to hear. This type of mind is reflected in the dialect verse of Paul Laurence Dunbar and in the compromising oratory of Booker T. Washington. Finally, we meet the modern mind—a mind nurtured by crusaders like Charles W. Chesnutt, William E. Burghardt DuBois, and James Weldon Johnson. It is the mind which the America of 1917 and 1918 taught how to fight, a mind wise to the tricks of hoodwinking exploiters, a mind cynical in its laughter. As representative of this last sort of mind we are introduced to the large company of contemporary Negro poets, novelists, essayists, folklore collectors, and writers of short stories.

We have had too much use made of the "mind" pattern since Vernon Louis Parrington popularized it. Mr. Redding could, however, be forgiven for once more resorting to this pattern. What we cannot forgive him for is his tendency to abbreviate and to speed. He needed three times the space he allowed himself in order to say adequately what he had to say. The tempo is so accelerated that in the section on contemporary writers, which should have been the strongest section, the effect is names and titles and dates and confusion.

Columbia University.

VERNON LOGGINS.

THE OUTSIDER AND OTHERS. By H. P. Lovecraft. Collected by August Derleth and Donald Wandrei. Sauk City, Wis.: Arkham House. 1939. 553 pp. \$5.00.

This is a large volume, the first of a promised three-volume collection of the writings of an author known for striking and original stories of horror, for which he invented a mythology of his own. He was a typical New Englander, though in some senses a follower of Poe and Dunsany. Time will tell if his place be very high in our literary history; that he has a place seems certain. For if the popular magazines, as he felt, forced him to be melodramatic, his style was unhampered, and has a fine quality. The present volume consists chiefly of stories. Among them his own favorite seems to have been "The Color Out of Space" or "The Music of Erich Zann," to which, however, the reviewer would prefer the Poesque "Tomb" and a characteristic fantasy from which the volume is named "The Outsider."

At the end of the volume is included the hitherto not very accessible essay "Supernatural Horror in Literature." This is all too brief, and leaves untouched the work of several authors one would expect to find, and tends to underrate Stevenson, and overrate Dunsany. But it contains discussions of Poe, Hawthorne, and Bierce, so penetrating, sympathetic, and imaginatively keen that scholars will not want to miss them. Lovecraft understood the "House of Usher," and in a story called *At the Mountains of Madness*, makes a brief allusion to the identity of Yaa-nek in Ulalume and Mt. Erebus in the Antarctic, which is probably correct. Messrs. Derleth and Wandrei have done a service in collecting Lovecraft's works.

Hunter College.

T. O. MABBOTT.

THE NATURE WRITERS: *A Guide to Richer Reading*. By Herbert Faulkner West. Brattleboro: Stephen Daye Press. 1939. 155 pp. \$2.00.

The charm of Professor West's book, and its value, lies in the personal quality with which the author has invested it. Having been enriched by reading and owning many hundred nature books, he takes the reader into his confidence about the two hundred and fifty that seem to him most worth reading, tells what special value each has, indicates whether a first edition is within the range of the ordinary reader or whether he had better buy one of the cheaper reprints, and suggests how to find a second-hand copy if the book is out of print. Anyone aware of nineteenth- and twentieth-century books would compile almost the same list of nature writers and describe almost the same books, for there are no surprises in the guide; but not many people could speak out of such first-hand experience. As might be expected, Henry Thoreau, John Burroughs, and

John Muir, among Americans, receive most attention. Each reader will probably be disappointed in not finding some favorite included. For example, there is no mention of Charles C. Abbott, Wilson Flagg, Walter Prichard Eaton, George H. Ellwanger, or Charles M. Skinner, the last named having been entirely neglected by everybody for too many years. But each reader will also find some favorite author given the attention which he has long failed to receive at other hands. For example, two English nature writers, Richard Jefferies and Edward Thomas, receive here the understanding interpretation which it is to be hoped will bring their books into the hands of American readers. Indeed, the book is a list whose one purpose is to bring nature books into the hands of readers. The author himself says, "This book is not to be considered a bibliography."

The University of North Carolina.

RAYMOND ADAMS.

THOREAU: *Reporter of the Universe; A Selection of His Writings About Nature, for All Readers from Eight Years Old to Eighty.* Selected and Arranged by Bertha Stevens. New York: The John Day Company. [1939.] xiv, 229 pp. \$2.50.

The subtitle indicates that this is another of the multitudinous nature anthologies compiled from the writings of Thoreau. All of them have been satisfactory and there seems to be a demand for a new one every two or three years. Scholars of American literature "from eight years old to eighty," will find no new light on Thoreau in this book.

The University of North Carolina.

RAYMOND ADAMS.

THE GREAT TALES AND POEMS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. New York: *Pocket Books, Inc.* [1940.] xii, 360 pp. \$0.25.

One of the latest volumes in a new American series of books modeled on the Penguin and Albatross books of Europe—handy, printed in readable type on good paper, bound in Perma-gloss cloth, and moderately priced. The selections are complete and unabridged.

D. K. J.

THE TELL-TALE HEART: *A Play in One Act; A Dramatization of Edgar Allen [sic] Poe's Story.* By Pauline Phelps. Sioux City, Iowa: Wetmore Declamation Bureau. 1939. 19 pp. \$0.50.

Chiefly for high-school students.

D. K. J.

BIOGRAPHY BY AMERICANS 1658-1936: *A Subject Bibliography*. By Edward H. O'Neill. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. x, 465 pp. \$4.00.

Excluding autobiographies, diaries, and journals, Mr. O'Neill has attempted to list biographies written by Americans up to 1936, recording, however, "only the important books in the case of particularly famous men." There are about seven thousand items in the list, of which approximately five thousand have been examined by the compiler. The work is based on the holdings of eight libraries, including the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. Under each entry there is an indication as to which of the eight libraries possess copies. The editions described are those "available"—not necessarily the first.

The first section deals with "individual biographies," listed by subject. For some strange reason no lives of Napoleon are included. Under *Poe* one finds the novel *Dark Glory* listed along with twenty other works; under *Lincoln* there are 121 items; under *Irving*, 9; under *Hawthorne*, 16; under *Phillips Brooks*, 7; under *Swedenborg*, 4; under *Van Buren*, 12. It is apparent that Mr. O'Neill interprets his description of "important books" very liberally. Of especial value to the researcher is the tremendous list of names under which only one entry appears.

The second section deals with "collective biographies," listed under the names of the authors, compilers, or editors. "Subjects are itemized under the titles of Collective Biographies except in the cases where the individuals exceed twenty in number." Here one finds *Lives of the Presidents* by Abbott and Cromwell but no mention of the books on the members of the Boston Saturday Club; *Lives of Poor Boys Who Became Famous* but not Sibley's "Harvard Graduates"; *Our Faith and Its Defenders* but not *Berühmte Deutsche Vorkämpfer . . . in Nord-Amerika*; *Poets of Ohio* but not Coggeshall's *The Poets and Poetry of the West*. The numerous county histories which contain sketches of distinguished local citizens seldom appear.

Admittedly incomplete—as all such lists must be—*Biography by Americans* will prove to be a very useful tool. It is to be hoped that the compiler will extend his survey and revise his results from time to time.

C. G.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN AUTHORS: *A Critical Survey and 219 Bibliographies*. By Fred B. Millett. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1940. xiii, 716 pp. \$2.85.

Begun as another revision of the familiar Manly and Rickert guide to contemporary American literature, this work has ended as a much fuller

and a better rounded critical and bibliographical study than any edition of its predecessor. About two hundred pages of the text are devoted to a survey of American contributions in the twentieth century to the fields of the novel, the short story, the drama, poetry, "literary journalism," biography, and criticism.

The 219 authors are given biographical sketches followed by complete lists of their works analyzed by types, and by lists of studies and articles concerning them. "Select bibliographies" and classified indexes fill out the remainder of the volume.

One may quarrel with Mr. Millett about his inclusions or lack of them when considering the 219 authors selected for study, and one may disagree with certain critical estimates in the preliminary history, but no one will doubt that this book is a most essential tool for the student of its period—perhaps even *the* most essential tool. Many readers of this journal will be especially interested in pages 199 to 203, in which recent developments in the study of American literature are outlined.

C. G.

COLERIDGE THE TALKER: *A Series of Contemporary Descriptions and Comments*. With a Critical Introduction by Richard W. Armour and Raymond F. Howes. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press [1940.] xvi, 480 pp. \$4.00.

After an exceedingly valuable introduction which offers an illuminating picture of Coleridge from the angle of special interest to the editors, selections from the comments on the poet written by various visitors and friends are presented in anthology form. Among the selections are a few by Americans: Emerson, Cooper, Allston, Leslie, H. B. McLellan, and John Wheeler. When Arthur Hallam and R. M. Milnes visited Coleridge as young Cantabrigians the old gentleman remarked: "Go to America if you have the opportunity; I am known there. I am a poor poet in England, but I am a great philosopher in America." The editors of this valuable work have recognized the importance of a transatlantic reputation and have acted accordingly.

C. G.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF EDWARD TAYLOR. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Thomas H. Johnson. New York: Rockland Editions. [1939.] 231 pp. \$6.00.

The first volume in a new series in American literature, this work presents the works of the colonial poet recently "discovered" by Mr. Johnson. Far from being a Traherne, Taylor is nevertheless an important writer for the student of our early verse to consider.

C. G.

THE CRAIGIE HOUSE: *The Coming of Longfellow (1837-1841)*. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana. Cambridge, Mass.: The Cambridge Historical Society. 1939. 42 pp. \$0.50.

A reprint of an essay published in the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Historical Society. The work contains a vast store of jottings from Longfellow's manuscripts, and combines a pleasant bit of antiquarianism with very valuable biographical data.

C. G.

POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. By Mather Byles. Reproduced from the Edition of 1744 with an Introduction by C. Lennart Carlson. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. xxxvii, 112, [3] pp. \$2.00.

As usual with the volumes in this series, the Introduction is an able summary of pertinent information.

C. G.

FREDERICK HENRY HEDGE: *A Cosmopolitan Scholar*. By O. W. Long. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1940. 53 pp.

A limited edition in pamphlet form of a biographical and critical study of one of the major transcendentalists. The emphasis is chiefly upon Hedge as a student and interpreter of German literature.

C. G.

LETTERS TO EMMA LAZARUS IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Edited by Ralph L. Rusk. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. vii, 84 pp.

Letters by Emerson, Stedman, Lowell, Browning, Morris, and others are included.

C. G.

TEACHING WITH BOOKS: *A Study of College Libraries*. By Harvie Branscomb. Chicago: American Library Association. 1940. xvii, 239 pp. \$2.50.

Sponsored by the Association of American Colleges, this work is of especial interest to everyone who has any connection whatsoever with enticing college students to read. Professors of literature will find much valuable information in Chapter II, "How Much Do Undergraduates Use the Library?"

C. G.

THE BEST POEMS OF 1939. Selected by Thomas Moulton. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. [1940.] 128 pp. \$2.00.

Selections by Mr. Moulton from the periodicals of Great Britain, Eire, and Canada, as well as the United States.

C. G.

THE GREATER TEXAS ANTHOLOGY OF VERSE. Edited by Pearle M. Stevens. San Antonio: The Naylor Company. 1939. xvi, 182 pp. \$3.00.

"In editing . . . I have tried to be impartial, showing no favors to anyone" (Foreword).

C. G.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF T. S. ELIOT: *An Essay on the Nature of Poetry*. By F. O. Matthiessen. New York: Oxford University Press. [1939.] xvi, 160 pp.

A reissue for "The Oxford Bookshelf" series.

C. G.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. By Chester Penn Higby and B. T. Schantz. New York, Cincinnati, etc.: American Book Company. [1939.] clxii, 482 pp. \$1.25.

The general editor of the "American Writers Series" chose as co-editors of this volume a specialist in American history and one in American literature. The result is one of the best books in the series. The selections, which include a few of Motley's letters and extracts from his two novels, are well chosen. The Introduction deals with Motley's literary theories, his political and social ideas (none of which seem particularly important), and with his more significant work as diplomat and historian. Professor Higby's discussion of Motley as a historian places him in relation to the development of historical writing in both Europe and America and estimates the value of his work in the light of modern scholarship.

THE ERA OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: *Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene*. Edited by Richard B. Morris. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xii, 415 pp. \$3.75.

When a distinguished scholar's students and colleagues honor him with a *Festschrift* volume, the result is usually a highly miscellaneous group of special studies. The eleven contributors to this collection, however, have attempted to "formulate a coherent point of view" with regard

to the era of the Revolution. They believe that too much emphasis has been laid upon sectional divisions within the colonies, Western land problems, and the supposed conflict between social classes involving an alleged democratic upheaval. These special studies, however, suggestive as they are, seem too fragmentary to do more than to hint at new interpretations. For the student of American literary history, the most important chapter is Sidney I. Pomerantz's "The Patriot Newspaper [in the New York-New Jersey area] and the American Revolution." The volume contains a useful index.

OBERON: *A Poetical Romance in Twelve Books*. Translated from the German of Wieland (1799-1801) by John Quincy Adams. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. B. Faust. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. xcii, 340 pp. \$3.00.

"Literature has been the charm of my life," wrote John Quincy Adams in 1820, "and could I have carved out my own fortune, to literature would my whole life have been devoted. I have been a lawyer for bread, and a statesman at the call of my country." His translation of *Oberon*, made while he was United States Minister at the Prussian Court, is added evidence of Adams's strong interest in literature. The fact that Adams translated the poem has been vaguely referred to in books on the Adams family; it remained for Professor Faust "to trace this manuscript to the Archives of the Adams Family, kept in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, not accessible to the public" (p. v). He has done a notable service to scholarship in publishing the translation. In his Introduction Professor Faust gives several pages of extracts (hitherto unpublished) from Adams's diary and letters in order to make clear the circumstances under which the translation was made. He ranks Adams's *Oberon* with such notable American verse translations as Longfellow's *Divine Comedy* and Taylor's *Faust*. Adams fully intended to publish his translation, but when he had completed it, he discovered in December, 1800, that William Sotheby had published a translation of *Oberon* two years earlier. In 1831 Adams wrote to Charles Follen: "My German teacher sent a copy of the first canto of my translation to Wieland himself, and asked him his opinion of it, which he gave with frankness. He compared it with Sotheby's translation, . . . and gave the palm of poetry to him, and of fidelity to me; a decision which my own judgment fully confirmed" (p. xv). For the modern reader, however, as the editor notes, "The simplicity of Adams's style generally stands out against the ornateness of the English translator's." He adds: "Beyond any question Adams adheres more closely to the German original and translates more accurately." Had Adams published his translation, which he completed

fifteen years before Madame De Staël's *De l'Allemagne* appeared in English, he would rank as one of the first interpreters of German culture to England and America. Professor Faust's Introduction and notes are admirably done. The reviewer, however, is inclined to wish that the editor had not followed the advice of his publishers and friends who felt that Adams's spelling should be modernized.

O. HENRY ENCORE: *Stories and Illustrations, Usually under the Name The Post Man*. Discovered and Edited by Mary Sunlocks Harrell. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1939. xx, 247 pp. \$2.00.

In going through the files of the *Houston Post* for 1895-1896, Miss Harrell was struck by the coincidence that although O. Henry's column "Some Postscripts" was often missing, his weekly salary was raised from fifteen to twenty-five dollars. The explanation, she concluded, must be that he was contributing unsigned comic drawings and articles appearing usually as by "The Post Man." Professors L. W. Payne, Jr., and Vernon Loggins and Miss Dorothy Scarborough confirmed her judgment that the material she has reprinted was written by O. Henry. The evidence, which is largely internal, turns upon stylistic qualities and narrative technique. The sketches do not of course add anything to O. Henry's reputation, but some of them are surprisingly good, and they throw light upon his development as a writer of short stories. The significance of Miss Harrell's findings is to be fully discussed in her forthcoming volume, *O. Henry in Texas*.

DAVY CROCKETT: *American Comic Legend*. Selected and Edited by Richard M. Dorson. With a Foreword by Howard Mumford Jones. New York: Printed at the Spiral Press for Rockland Editions. [1939.] xxviii, 171 pp. \$5.00.

The materials that make up this entertaining volume are taken from the David Crockett almanacs, which were first printed at Nashville in 1835 but appeared later also in New York, Albany, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Louisville. The Crockett of the almanacs is not the Crockett of history or even of the autobiography but a popular hero of the same breed as Mike Fink and Paul Bunyan. The selections are arranged not chronologically but by appropriate topics. The editor, however, states that on request his publishers will mail a list of the specific almanacs from which the selections are taken. The almanacs were often so badly printed that he has not undertaken to give an exact transcript of the original text. Mr. Dorson contributes an introductory essay on "Frontier Humor and Legend," and in "Personal and Bibliographical

Aids" (pp. 164-166) he traces the growth of present-day interest in the humor of the frontier. Many woodcuts are reproduced from the almanacs. Professor Jones in an appreciative Foreword comments on the significance of the Crockett legend and the literary qualities of the sketches.

BOOKS THAT CHANGED OUR MINDS. Edited by Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1939. viii, 285 pp. \$2.50.

This symposium—prepared first for the pages of the *New Republic*—is a discussion of "non-fiction works of the twentieth century that have contributed something new to American thinking." It is primarily concerned with books as a source of new ideas. In an interesting Foreword Mr. Cowley explains how the list of books was selected and gives the comments of various writers to whom the original list of books was submitted. The obvious objections were that the list contained no fiction or drama, no book that ever became a best seller, and failed to reckon with the influence of magazines and newspapers. The final list represents a compromise, but it is an interesting one. It consists of single books in the main by twelve writers, eight of whom are American: Freud, Henry Adams, Frederick J. Turner, William Graham Sumner, Thorstein Veblen, John Dewey, Franz Boas, Charles A. Beard, I. A. Richards, Parrington, Lenin, and Spengler. The limitation to twentieth-century books explains the omission of Darwin and Marx, but it is not so easy to explain the omission of William James, Bernard Shaw, H. L. Mencken, Woodrow Wilson, Adolf Hitler, and the proponents of Fascism. Science is practically unrepresented. There are omissions even in the five pages of "Recommended Books." Irving Babbitt is included but not Paul Elmer More. The difficulty of course is that we are not yet in position to know what books have been most influential, and any list selected must inevitably be limited by the bias of the selectors. Nevertheless, such an undertaking was decidedly worth while. The twelve essays, though of varying degrees of merit, are all suggestive. This is a book which might well serve as a springboard for classes in contemporary literature.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH LITERATURE SINCE 1890. Revised and Enlarged Edition. By Carl Van Doren and Mark Van Doren. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated. [1939.] xiv, 408 pp. \$1.80 (Student's Edition).

Forty-one new authors are discussed in this new edition of an excellent textbook first published in 1925. In their new Preface the authors say: "Scarcely a page, . . . has stood without some revision; many pages have not stood at all, and a still greater number have been added. The

book is therefore longer than it was, both in the text and in the Suggestions for Study."

IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN. By William Carlos Williams. With an Introduction by Horace Gregory. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. [1939.] xiv, 235 pp. \$1.00.

First published in 1925 and for several years out of print, *In the American Grain* now appears in "The New Classics" series with an Introduction by Horace Gregory, who has high praise for Dr. Williams's prose style. The contents of the book are highly miscellaneous; it is partly anthology, partly an interpretation of American history, and in part criticism of American authors. Mr. Gregory notes that Williams, like other writers in the 1920's, is a little too ready to decry historical Puritanism. Dr. Williams has in some cases resorted to speculation when he might better have turned to the available results of historical research. Nevertheless, his comments and interpretations are often suggestive; the chapter on Poe is one of the most interesting.

MODERN SHORT BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Edited by Marston Balch. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1940. xiv, 589 pp. \$1.40.

This new edition of a book first published five years ago contains new materials, taken chiefly from American writers.

CHRONICLES OF CHICORA WOOD. By Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle. [With a Foreword by Herbert Ravenel Sass.] Illustrated. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. [1940.] xii, 366 pp.

This is a new edition of one of the best of the many books about the South written by Southern women. In a simple, unpretentious style and without sentimentality Mrs. Pringle describes her girlhood on a rice plantation, her school life in Charleston, Sherman's invasion of South Carolina, and Reconstruction.

GONE WITH THE WIND. By Margaret Mitchell. Motion Picture Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. 391 pp.

Over two million copies of this novel had been sold before the publication of this paper-bound, double-column edition, which contains illustrations taken from the motion picture and lists the cast of players in order of their appearance.

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN FILM: *A Critical History*. By Lewis Jacobs. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1939.] xx, 585 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Jacobs's history of the motion picture in America gives a full account of the technical, financial, and artistic development of the film industry and attempts also to indicate something of its social significance. There are many excellent illustrations from moving pictures and twenty pages of bibliography.

LOUISIANA FOLK SONGS. Edited by Irène Thérèse Whitfield. [Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press. 1939.

This collection, which is the first volume in the Romance Language Series of the Louisiana State University Press, groups folk songs according to the type of French used in them: "Louisiana-French, Acadian or Cajun-French, and the Negro-French or Creole dialect." The text of the songs is preceded by an account of earlier work done in the field and by an interesting description of some of the editor's experiences in collecting. Music as well as words is given.

GUIDE TO DEPOSITORIES OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA. Compiled by The Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects Works Progress Administration. Edited by Margaret Sherburne Eliot and Sylvester K. Stevens. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1939. vi, 126 pp.

This book, which is one of a fifty-volume series of guides to "Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States," does not include manuscripts in private hands, but it serves as a useful guide to the rich historical materials dispersed among the many libraries in Pennsylvania. Collections are briefly described with indication of their availability to scholars. There is an index which includes authors' names. Poe, for instance, appears four times.

AMERICAN IMPRINTS INVENTORY . . .: *No. 6 Check List of Kentucky Imprints, 1811-1820*. With Notes in Supplement to the Check List of 1787-1810 Imprints. By Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen. Louisville: The Historical Records Survey. 1939. xiv, 235 pp.

Of the 429 titles in this mimeographed list, 21 are titles not included in the earlier check-list. For the thirty-four years covered by both volumes there is a total of 808 titles. Among those in the later volume are Pope's *Essay on Man* and Scott's *The Field of Waterloo*, both reprinted in Lexington in 1816.

COLORADO WRITERS: *First Series* 1939. Compiled by Lorene L. Scott. [Denver]: Denver Public Library. [1939.] 31 pp.

The material in this pamphlet of biographical sketches is taken from "data supplied by the authors, from other Who's Whos, and from newspaper clippings" (Preface).

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON: *Disciple of the Newness*. By Howard W. Hintz. Published under the Auspices of The Graduate School of New York University. [1939.] 16 pp.

This abridgment of Dr. Hintz's dissertation is a sound critical estimate of Higginson's work and place among his New England contemporaries. It includes a "Bibliography of Books and Articles in Which Higginson is Discussed."

JOURNAL OF A LADY OF QUALITY: *Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774-1776*. [By Janet Schaw.] Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews, in Collaboration with Charles McLean Andrews. [Third Edition.] New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. 350 pp. \$4.00.

The discovery in New Zealand of a new manuscript of Janet Schaw's sprightly journal has enabled the editors to add new biographical information, a number of photographs, and in a few places to better readings.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the May, 1940, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[BRAY, THOMAS] Wheeler, Joseph Towne. "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV, 246-265 (Sept., 1939).

[CAREY, MATHEW] Hallenbeck, Chester T. "Book-Trade Publicity before 1800." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.*, XXXII, 47-56 (1938. Published 1939).

The bookselling activities of Mathew Carey from 1785 to 1800.

[HOPKINSON, FRANCIS] Hastings, George E. "Francis Hopkinson and the American Flag." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, XLII, 46-63 (Oct., 1939).

Reprinting of the article in *Americana*, in July, 1939, with a minor change.

[HUBBARD, WILLIAM] Adams, Randolph G. "William Hubbard's 'Narrative,' 1677: A Bibliographical Study." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.*, XXXIII, 25-39 (1939).

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Quinn, Patrick F. "Agrarianism and the Jeffersonian Philosophy." *Rev. of Politics*, II, 87-104 (Jan., 1940).

[MATHER, INCREASE] Walz, John A. "Increase Mather and Dr. Faust, an American 'Faustsplitter.'" *Germ. Rev.*, XV, 20-31 (Feb., 1940).

To Increase Mather "the magician Faust was a terrifying example of the powers of Satan and of the dangers of magic to the Christian community," and he had read widely of the authors who mentioned Faust.

- [TAYLOR, EDWARD] Johnson, T. H. "The Discovery of Edward Taylor's Poetry." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 2, 8 pp. (June, 1939).

Edward Taylor (ca. 1644-1729) left a ms volume of over three hundred poems, which were rediscovered in 1937.

II. 1800-1870

- [AUDUBON, J. J.] Watters, Robinson C. "Audubon and His Baltimore Patrons." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV, 138-143 (June, 1939).

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Hartwig, George H. "Emerson on Historical Christianity." *Hibbert Jour.*, XXXVII, 405-412 (April, 1939).

A record (with supporting quotations) of Emerson's views on the subject from 1822 till his death, with the emphasis upon his reverent and conciliatory spirit, despite his unconventional opinions.

- "An Immortal Friendship (Carlyle and Emerson)." *Hibbert Jour.*, XXXVIII, 102-114 (Oct., 1939).

A narrative account of the friendship from first to last, with quotations from pertinent letters.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Hawthorne, Manning. "Hawthorne and Utopian Socialism." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 726-730 (Dec., 1939).

Hawthorne declined to enter an experiment in socialized living in Northampton in 1842. Perhaps his experience at Brook Farm convinced him that it was best to retain "the ordinary relation to society."

- "Nathaniel and Elizabeth Hawthorne, Editors." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 3, 12 pp. (Sept., 1939).

Letters written by Hawthorne to his sister Elizabeth between January and June, 1836, when he was editor of the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, published by S. G. Goodrich.

- [HOLMES, O. W.] Worth, Wallace. "The Autocrat in Profile." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 2, 7 pp. (June, 1939).

A printing of the "phrenological character" of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

- [MELVILLE, HERMAN] Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels. Melville, Herman: *Moby-Dick*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVII, 255-257 (Jan. 24, 1940).

Collations and notes.

- Watters, R. E. "Melville's Metaphysics of Evil." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, IX, 170-182 (Jan., 1940).

In his earlier novels Melville sees, with bitterness, that "there is the realm of external nature, with immense latent powers; this appears to man as implacable evil . . .; in this world man struggles desperately to erect some purpose, to satisfy some desires, both spiritual and physical." In later writings, especially *Billy Budd*, he sees that "man is in-

deed left free to imprint his pattern upon the blackness of the cosmos," but also "that love and all that this implies—spiritual creation, growth, life itself—could alone give value or human significance to that pattern."

- [PAULDING, J. K.] Conklin, W. T. "Paulding's Prose Treatment of Types and Frontier Life before Cooper." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 3926, pp. 163-171 (July 8, 1939).

Paulding was "a practical exponent of the already spreading doctrine of American themes for American authors" in "The Lost Traveller" and "The Adventures of Henry Bird," published in the *Analec-tic Magazine*, and in anecdotes in *Letters from the South*.

- [PAYNE, J. H.] MacDougall, Allan Ross. "John Howard Payne (1791-1852)." *Americana*, XXXIII, 463-475 (Oct., 1939).

A biographical sketch.

- [POE, E. A.] Wegelin, Oscar. "The Printer of Poe's *Tamerlane*." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bul.*, XXIV, 23-25 (Jan., 1940).

Biographical sketch of Calvin F. S. Thomas.

- [WHITTIER, J. G.] Anon. "A Whittier Note." *Bul. of Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 102 (Autumn, 1939).

Extracts from letters indicating Whittier's disqualifications for nomination for secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

- Hawley, Charles Arthur. "The Growth of Whittier's Reputation in Iowa." *Bul. of Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 67-102 (Autumn, 1939).

By the beginning of the twentieth century Whittier "had become the subject of an elaborate anthology [by Jennie Shrader Wilson]; his poems had been copied in most of the Iowa newspapers; a college had been named for him and partially supported by him; he was hailed as the founder of the Republican Party and the savior of freedom for the Middle West; his writings were honored next to the Bible . . .; he was looked upon as a prophet and leader of humanitarian movements."

III. 1870-1900

- [ADAMS, HENRY] Blackmur, R. P. "Henry Adams: Three Late Moments." *Kenyon Rev.*, II, 7-29 (Winter, 1940).

His interest in the Prison Song of Richard Cœur de Lion, his relations with Henry James, and his attitude toward the religious problem. Contains two letters printed from manuscript.

- "Henry and Brooks Adams: Parallels to Two Generations." *Southern Rev.*, V, 308-334 (Autumn, 1939).

A full and documented account of two famous brothers, revealing how "their thought along certain lines was coöperative, and [how] it is impossible to deal fairly with the political and energetic ideas

which occupied Henry Adams towards the end of his life . . . without considering them in connection with those of Brooks Adams."

Glicksberg, Charles I. "Henry Adams and the Civil War." *Americana*, XXXIII, 443-462 (Oct., 1939).

His views about the war as expressed in newspapers, in his letters, and in his autobiography.

Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels. Henry Adams: *Democracy*." *Publishers' Weekly* CXXXVI, 180-182 (July 15, 1939).

Collations and notes.

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Anon. "Mark Twain's First Lecture Tour." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 3-6, 24 (Summer-Fall, 1939).

Based on newspaper accounts.

Clemens, Cyril. "A Visit to Paul Elmer More, With Some Letters." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 18-20, 24 (Summer-Fall, 1939).

Roerich, Nicholas. "Mark Twain in Russia." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 7 (Spring, 1939).

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels. Crane, Stephen: *The Red Badge of Courage*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVI, 1625-1626 (Oct. 21, 1939).

Collations and notes.

[EGGLESTON, EDWARD] Stone, Edward. "Edward Eggleston's Religious Transit." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 3926, pp. 210-218 (July 8, 1939).

"Bred in a region and time dominated by the fervor of Methodism, Eggleston embraced that creed, spread its doctrine in two states, left it temporarily, later turned to non-sectarianism, and at the age of forty-one left the church forever—a humble, admitted agnostic."

[HARTE, BRET] Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels. Harte, Bret: *The Luck of Roaring Camp*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVI, 1985-1986 (Nov. 25, 1939).

Collations and notes.

[JEWETT, SARAH ORNE] Boleman, Babette Ann. "Deephaven and the Woodburys." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 3, 8 pp. (Sept., 1939).

Though Deephaven is a fictitious village, the author transferred to her pages her deep knowledge of her own home town, South Bewick. The scenes depicted by the illustrators were drawn from various places along the coast.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Mathews, Joseph Chesley. "Walt Whitman's Reading of Dante." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 3926, pp. 177-179 (July 8, 1939).

"Whitman read the *Inferno*; presumably all of it, in Carlyle's translation, in 1859. . . . And it has been said that he read also Longfellow's translation of *Divina Commedia*."

IV. 1900-1940

- [CATHER, WILLA] Adams, Frederick B., Jr. "Willa Cather. Early Years: Trial and Error." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 3, 10 pp. (Sept., 1939).

The article is described by the author as "a mongrel assortment of biography, bibliography, and criticism."

- [CHASE, MARY ELLEN] Boynton, Percy H. "Two New England Regionalists." *Coll. Eng.*, I, 291-299 (Jan., 1940).

Critical analysis of the novels by Mary Ellen Chase and Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

- [CUMMINGS, E. E.] Finch, John. "New England Prodigal." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 643-653 (Dec., 1939).

The career of E. E. Cummings presents a test case for romantic individualism long after romanticism's day.

- [DICKINSON, EMILY] Hindus, Milton. "Emily's Prose: A Note." *Kenyon Rev.*, II, 88-91 (Winter, 1940).

"These are random reactions to some of Miss Dickinson's letters."

- Van der Vat, D. G. "Emily Dickinson (1830-1886)." *Eng. Studies*, XXI, 241-260 (Dec., 1939).

An introduction to the poetry of Emily Dickinson.

- [DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Marshall, Margaret. "John Dos Passos." *Nation*, CL, 15-18 (Jan. 6, 1940).

A biographical and critical article. The writer is particularly interested in Dos Passos's views on social and economic problems.

- [FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD] Boynton, Percy H. See above, *s.v.* CHASE, MARY ELLEN.

- [FROST, ROBERT] Prévost, Jean. "Robert Frost." *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, pp. 818-840 (May 1, 1939).

- [JAMES, HENRY] Leavis, Q. D. "Henry James's Heiress: The Importance of Edith Wharton." *Scrutiny*, VII, 261-276 (Dec., 1938).

- [LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Horton, Thomas D. "Sinclair Lewis: The Symbol of an Era." *No. Amer. Rev.*, CCXLVIII, 374-393 (Winter, 1939).

"He held up the mirror to America in what was probably its most reckless period, and his books as a whole are mines of information for the future historian."

- [PARRINGTON, VERNON L.] Hicks, Granville. "The Critical Principles of V. L. Parrington." *Science and Society*, III, 142-164 (Fall, 1939).

The excellencies and defects of *Main Currents in American Thought*. "What Parrington needed was a concept of determinism

that would encompass all, not merely some, of the facts. To the absence of such a concept may be traced the defects that have already been described: the incompleteness of his treatment of Puritanism, his inability to grasp the relationship between English liberal and French radical traditions, the misreading of the issues in the pre-Civil War period, his uncritical approach to transcendentalism, and especially his fumbling of the old problem of propaganda and art, his extraordinary evaluation of Cabell, and his unawareness of what was really happening in the twenties."

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Payne, Leonidas Warren, Jr. "The First Edition of E. A. Robinson's *The Peterborough Idea*." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 3926, pp. 219-231 (July 8, 1939).

The first edition is a reprint of the essay that appeared in the *North American Review* for September, 1916.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Brewster, Paul G. "Folk 'Sayings' from Indiana." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 261-268 (Dec., 1939).

Buffington, Albert F. "Pennsylvania German: Its Relation to Other German Dialects." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 276-286 (Dec., 1939).

Pennsylvania German is not a form of debased German or English, but a dialect which "resembles most clearly the dialects spoken in the eastern half of the Rhenish Palatinate."

Heflin, Woodford A., Hench, Atchenson L., Dobbie, Elliott, V. K., and Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 305-315 (Dec., 1939).

Bibliography of articles, pamphlets, and books on "Present Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Read, William A. "Notes on 'A Dictionary of American English,' Parts I-VI." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 255-260 (Dec., 1939).

Suggested additions to the "marvelous store" of novel and interesting words included in the *Dictionary of American English*.

Robertson, Stuart. "British-American Differentiations in Syntax and Idiom." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 243-254 (Dec., 1939).

Withington, Robert. "Verbal Pungencies." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 269-275 (Dec., 1939).

A discussion of "telescope" words.

VI. GENERAL

Buck, Solon J. "The Status of Historical Bibliography in the United States." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 390-400 (Oct., 1939).

A valuable account of reference tools for both historical and literary research.

Cardwell, Guy A., Jr. "The *Quiver* and the *Floral Wreath*: Two Rare Charleston Periodicals." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 418-427 (Oct., 1939).

A complete file of the former and copies of the latter have been found.

Landis, Benson Y. "Democracy: A Reading List." *Bul. Amer. Lib. Assoc.*, XXXIV, No. 1, Pt. II (Jan., 1940).

A fourteen-page classified list, including sections on biography, poetry, and fiction.

Häusserman, H. W. "Left-Wing Poetry: A Note." *Eng. Studies*, XXI, 203-213 (Oct., 1939).

Mentioning some American poets, this note emphasizes the correspondence between political creeds and aesthetic principles.

Lind, L. Robert. "Prophesies and Prophets." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 66-85 (Jan., 1940).

The fifth in the series of "The Crisis in Literature."

McDonald, Gerald. "Early Printing in the United States." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVII, 54-58 (Jan. 6, 1940).

McDowell, Tremaine. "Regionalism in the United States." *Minn. Hist.*, XX, 105-118 (June, 1939).

A history and analysis of the growth of regionalism in American literature, as distinguished from internationalism, nationalism, and the local color movement. Regionalism is "profoundly concerned with both the past and the present, . . . establishes its own organs and its outlets to the public, . . . when hard pressed by its foes, becomes a conscious movement, and even attacks its critics, . . . [and] today rarely comes to full expression in literature alone."

McKay, George L. "Early American Book Auctions." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 2 (June, 1939).

Patrick, Walton R. "A Circulating Library of Ante-Bellum Louisiana." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXIII, 131-140 (Jan., 1940).

A partial catalogue of a library operated at Franklin, La., in the late 1840's.

Rossmann, Kenneth R. "The Irish in American Drama in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXI, 39-53 (Jan., 1940).

Concerning the dramatists, John Brougham and Dion Boucicault, and the performers, Bernard Flaherty (Barney Williams), John Drew, and Matilda Heron, who were "the most prominent Irish stage folk of the time."

Shockley, Martin Staples. "American Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838." *Studies in Phil.*, XXXVII, 100-119 (Jan., 1940).

During a period of vigorous theatrical activity in Richmond, ten professional companies produced nearly fifty American plays by Dun-

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TRAGEDY AND IRONY IN KNICKERBOCKER'S HISTORY

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MANY YEARS of collecting, ordering, and publishing Irving manuscripts have culminated in Professor Stanley T. Williams's biography,¹ in which we have the portrait of Washington Irving substantially as it may be expected to stand. Professor Williams, always careful not to overpraise his subject, describes him in these words: "Never deeply creative, never the leader in events nor wisely critical of these, he was a sharp-eyed observer. Few significant episodes of contemporary life escaped his pen, and if we tire of him as a minor actor, we do not forget the stage which he described so vividly."² Beside this analysis, one might place the somewhat more picturesque characterization by Professor Parrington, "A born humorist, the gayety of whose spirits overflowed the brim, he was lacking in a brooding intellectuality, and instead of coming upon irony at the bottom of the cup—as the greater humorists have come upon it after life has had its way with them—he found there only sentiment and the dreamy poetic."³ Professor Parrington adds that as experience dissipated "the purple haze on the horizon of his mind," he turned to sentiment and "oversweetened his wine."

These estimates do not differ fundamentally, nor would one wish to dissent from judgments which one finds revealing and feels to be essentially just. Not even Irving's admirers would call him "deeply creative" nor compare the *Knickerbocker History* with *Gulliver's Travels*. Yet Irving was not without creative power, and it would be strange if a man who delighted in Homer, Swift, Rabelais, and Cervantes had no sense of tragedy and irony. Even Irving's admirers may underestimate these qualities, and I wish to raise the question whether they have not done so. I wish to suggest that a brooding intellectuality and a sense of irony and tragedy can be observed in Irving at times, and that these qualities are to be as-

¹ *The Life of Washington Irving* (2 vols.; New York, 1935).

² *Ibid.*, I, xv.

³ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution: Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), II, 212.

sociated with his more creative work. The observation of such qualities could be expected to refine somewhat our conception of Irving's character, to add something to our understanding of the growth or decay of his mind, and to throw some light on the sources of his creative strength. In addition, I believe that the examination will alter the interpretation of Irving's principal work, *Diedrich Knickerbocker's A History of New York*,⁴ and may make the dating of its composition a bit sharper. With but few exceptions I shall limit myself to this work, partly because it is his most original and successful production, but more particularly because it offers the best example of tragedy, irony, and creative power in interaction.

I

The early books need not detain us long. Book I is the salvage from the rather amateurish foolery that the Irving brothers aimed at Mitchill's guidebook. Book II includes pompous buffoonery and a little good-natured raillery aimed at the founding fathers; Book III shows us Wouter the Doubter, seated upon his providentially ample bottom, smoking his way into the grave. There is pleasant satire here, but neither tragedy nor irony.⁵ Book IV contains the fiercest satire in the *History*; it shows us William the Testy, a man of learning as learning went in a land more devoted to kraut than to philosophy, but a man with no talent for dealing with hardheaded, two-fisted, shortsighted people: His reign ended in chagrin. Here, surely, was material for tragedy, but the affair was not tragic for Irving. It has been convincingly shown that under cover of William the Testy, Irving was ridiculing that villain of contemporary democracy, Thomas Jefferson;⁶ to our young Federalist, William was an educated nonentity, beneath contempt. The chapter is mordant with satire, but of tragedy and irony there is none.

We come, then, to the final section of the book, and we may well be a little surprised to find that, while a "volume" had sufficed

⁴ Ed. Stanley Williams and Tremaine McDowell (New York, 1927).

⁵ I am using "tragedy and irony" to describe the kind of writing I suppose Professor Parrington to have had in mind, in which bitterness, disillusionment, and philosophic grief are hidden beneath laughter. Such writing is often associated with satire, but is of course essentially different from it.

⁶ Williams, *Life*, I, 117; Williams and McDowell, *op. cit.*, pp. lix-lxxiii; Edwin A. Greenlaw, "A Comedy in Politics," *Texas Review*, I, 291-306 (April, 1916). The treatment accorded William may well be contrasted with that given Wouter, who has been equated with "the apoplectic little John Adams," who, though he was a Yankee and no Hamilton-man, was yet a Federalist (Henry Seidel Canby, *Classic Americans*, New York, 1931, p. 86).

for a history of the world, for the founding of the colony and for its earlier governors, a second "volume" is required for the reign of Peter Stuyvesant. And there are other changes. The earlier parts of the chronicle had been treated as incidents to be strung along, the author permitting them to dangle as they would on the thread of his narrative. The reign of Hard-koppig Piet, however, is a thing by itself, something having a beginning, a middle, and an end—and an end, furthermore, to which the author looks forward as he writes. The preparation begins with the introduction of Peter: "He was, in fact, the very man fitted by Nature to retrieve the desperate fortunes of her beloved province, had not the fates . . . destined them to inextricable confusion." At once Irving observes in his Hard-koppig Piet the qualities that are later to make him the sport of these same fates; Peter was "a tough, sturdy, valiant, weather-beaten, mettlesome, obstinate, leathern-sided, lion-hearted, generous spirited . . . governor . . . very jealous of his personal and official dignity . . . [who] possessed a sovereign contempt for the sovereign people . . . [and] he wanted no other requisite for a perfect statesman than to think always right, for no one can deny that he always acted as he thought. . . ."⁷ Meanwhile his surroundings encourage him in a self-satisfied paternalism: he takes the government upon himself, "becomes strangely popular among his people,"⁸ is considered a tower of strength by old women; we see him as the genial patron of good hard drinking, as the giver of benedictions and aphoristic advice; we see his large indifference to varlets from New England. And we see him at last with a henchman, a Sancho for his Don Quixote. Antony Van Corlear could jolly and fertilize the women; he could stir an old soldier's bosom with his trumpet; he could obey orders, and he never questioned matters of policy. And unconsciously he could help prepare old Peter for his fate; Hard-koppig Piet got into a way of relying upon Antony's doglike devotion as upon his own popularity. As for the popularity, there were already whispers from "factious individuals, who had been enlightened by the political meetings that prevailed during the days of William the Testy . . . the enlightened vulgar . . . who accused him of entertaining highly aristocratic sentiments."⁹

And now we come to the final series of events. Peter, home in

⁷ Irving, *History of New York*, pp. 243-246.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250, 265-267, 337, 381.

triumph from New Sweden, found that again the Yankees were threatening, and set out to deal with these presumptuous people. But the wily Yankees merely detained him with entertainment until an English fleet could lay siege to New Amsterdam. He ordered the burghers to defend the city, and stormed blasphemously back across Connecticut to find that the "mob" had talked and boasted, that no troops had been levied, no ramparts raised, that the city lay under the guns of two men-of-war, and that the braggart burgomasters had waddled to their holes, wheezing with "corpulency and terror."

Peter was nothing daunted. He sat him down, "a bitter sardonic grin upon his visage," to order Colonel Nichols and his English politely out of the harbor. Thereafter he tramped up and down the streets, while his "war-betokening countenance" and his "low Dutch psalm tune" frightened the very dogs.¹⁰

Somewhat to Peter's surprise and chagrin, Colonel Nichols offered the most generous terms, amnesty and freedom from interference. Peter would have none of the terms; he knew how to deal with enemies, and his methods had nothing to do with terms. He took the precaution, however, of concealing Colonel Nichols's offer, lest the counselors and burgomasters "clamor for a surrender," and stumped off to the council. He rebuked them for their past derelictions, "informed them of the insolent summons he had received," called upon them to do their duty, and swore to "defend the province as long as Heaven was on his side, and he had a wooden leg to stand upon."¹¹

Now there was an unprecedented delay—for in Peter's view it could be no more than a delay. The privy counselors smoked in discreet silence. "But the burgomasters, being less under the governor's control, considering themselves as representatives of the sovereign people, and being moreover inflated with considerable importance and self-sufficiency," requested a copy of the summons to surrender. Peter cursed them with a good will and a vivid vocabulary for "traitorously daring to question the infallibility of government," and added "that they might thenceforth go home, and go to bed like old women, for he was determined to defend the colony himself, without the assistance of them or their adherents!"¹²

He acted, of course, in anger. But he acted also in accordance with his policy. He had been through difficulties before, and he

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-422.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 423.

knew what would happen. The people would look in terror upon the English fleet, they would know where lay their protection, and they would come fawning. Then he would lead them, if not to victory, at least to a stout and honorable defense.

But they did not come. Instead there came, signed by one of the deposed counselors of William the Testy, "a resolute memorial . . . remonstrating at his conduct."

And now was the old governor filled with wrath genuinely righteous. He ranted; becoming embittered, he proceeded to sarcasm,¹³ and he ended by determining to defend the city in spite of itself, and by sending the faithful Antony up the river to raise a levy.

Peter now rises to something like tragic and ironic proportions. He had been loved and adored, as a kind but firm parent is adored by children, and he had assumed the duties of a parent. He had ruled with a firm hand because he believed that such rule was wise. Now a crisis had arisen when his children needed him, he very well knew, as they had never needed him before. Very well, he would save them against their will, as he had always saved them with it, and they would thank him at last. Antony should raise an army, and meanwhile he would curse these poltroons for what they were!

Now a third fate steps in. Two fates had long been at work; the stubborn aristocracy of old Peter, and the growing democracy of the "mob." Now accident appears, the sort of accident that Hardkoppig Piet would have ridden boldly over in his better days. Faithful Antony, riding north, tries to swim the spirit-troubled waters of Harlem River *en spijt den Duyvel*, and is drowned. The blow is doubly severe to Peter: there is now no levy from the North and no faithful henchman to raise one; and Peter has lost the only man in his whole despotism loyal enough to obey him. His position reminds one not a little of the state of Macbeth when the death of Lady Macbeth is announced, and if old Peter is not the man to break into

¹³ "Nor did he omit, now that his hand was in, to bestow some thousand left-handed compliments upon the sovereign people; whom he railed at for a herd of arrant poltroons, who had no relish for the glorious hardships and illustrious misadventures of battle—but would rather stay at home, and eat and sleep in ignoble ease, than gain immortality and a broken head, by valiantly fighting in a ditch" (*ibid.*, p. 426). This passage is illustrative of an aspect of the *History* which makes interpretation difficult. One is seldom in doubt as to the side on which Irving's sympathies lie, but his satire is distributed so generously that one is not always certain how far his fairness of mind, or his Puckish humor, may have led him to appreciate the opposing position. Most modern peace societies, I suppose, would feel that their position is here well put.

a "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow" speech, his condition is tragic and ironic for all that.

In fact, the death of Antony Van Corlear is his end, though like Macbeth, he fights to the last. The English have been spreading their propaganda abroad, promising to permit the Dutch to raise as many cabbages and wear as many breeches as they please, and the disaffection that had been as much as anything a protest against old Peter's stubbornness has grown into an organized opposition. There are exchanges of letters with Colonel Nichols; there is a communication from those charming Yankee hosts, advising Hardkoppig Piet to accept the Colonel's most gracious terms; and while the badgered old man is smarting under these taunts, in marches the "rascal rabble" and abruptly demands "a perusal of the letter." It is too much.

He tore the letter into a thousand pieces—threw it in the face of the nearest Burgomaster—broke his pipe over the head of the next—hurled his spitting-box at an unlucky Schepen, who was just making a masterly retreat out at the door, and finally dissolved the whole meeting *sine die*, by kicking them downstairs with his wooden leg.¹⁴

In short, he flies into a temper like the beaten old man he is, and locks himself up in his bedroom, while the burgomasters complete their peace with Colonel Nichols. Outside, on the streets, where a few days before his glance had carried terror, an orator harangues the mob until "there is no knowing to what act of resentment they might have been provoked against the redoubtable Peter, had not the greasy rogues been somewhat more afraid of their sturdy old governor than they were of St. Nicholas, the English—or the D—I himself."

After that there is little to record but the ignominy of a stubborn patriarch, true to the ideals for which he fought, living among a people too vulgar to cherish his virtues, and too sensible to be infected with his Quixotic idealism. "In vain did the gallant Stuyvesant order the citizens to arm and assemble in the public square." He might "rise, contemptuous, above the clamours of the rabble," but he could not alter their "singular aversion to engage in a contest, where they could gain little more than honour and broken heads—the first of which they held in philosophic indifference, the latter in

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

utter detestation." The English, furthermore, raised recruits from the East.

The harassed Peter, thus menaced from without and tormented from within—baited by the burgomasters and hooted at by the rabble, chafed and growled and raged like a furious bear tied to a stake and worried by a legion of scoundrel curs. Finding however that all further attempt to defend the city was in vain, and hearing that an irruption of borderers and moss troopers was ready to deluge him from the east, he was at length compelled, in spite of his mighty heart, which swelled in his throat until it nearly choked him, to consent to a treaty of surrender.¹⁵

But, even with consent given, the act itself is odious to him. Sign a capitulation without a shot fired? He cannot. He has laid off his armor; he is sulking unshaved in an old nightgown. He meets, grim-visaged, the deputation.

Thrice did he seize a little worn-out stump of a pen and essay to sign the loathsome paper—thrice did he clench his teeth and make a most horrible countenance, as though a pestiferous dose of rhubarb, senna, and ipecacuanha, had been offered to his lips, at length dashing it from him, he seized his brass hilted sword, and jerking it from the scabbard, swore by St. Nicholas, he'd sooner die than yield to any power under heaven.

And now for two days the rabble howl about his house, while he grouses within. At length comes a solemn procession of all the great of the city. He meets them with a blunderbuss thrust out a window. They doff their hats and beg. It is the meed of honor that this old Lear among Dutchmen has been craving. He testily tells them to hand up the paper, scratches his name, curses them for a "set of cowardly, mutinous, degenerate platter-breeches," and slams the window.¹⁶ Thereafter he moved to the Bouwery, planted trees to shut out the sight of New Amsterdam, and died one day when he learned that the shouting he heard was celebration of an English victory over De Ruyter.

There is a great lot of nonsense in this. Much of the *History* is what it is because Irving liked to amuse himself and to hope he would amuse other people. But some of it is more than mere amusement; the final chapter, for instance, contains foolery, but is largely a serious discussion of American politics and society. It has not more burlesque than has "John Bull."¹⁷ One is strongly inclined

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 436-437.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-440.

¹⁷ Greenlaw has noticed that this is serious satire (*op. cit.*, p. 306).

to feel that in Hard-koppig Piet, Irving found a man and a subject that led him deeper into political and personal realities than was his wont, led him in fact to a point where he began to taste some of Professor Parrington's irony "at the bottom of the cup."

II

One inevitably inquires when the *History* was written, and in what state of mind Irving wrote it. The second question, of course, depends upon the first. So far as I know, no effort has been made to date the various parts of the *History*. Irving's papers give us some reason for assuming that the bulk of the work was composed in the early months of 1809, and that finishing touches were added in May and in the following autumn. This assumption seems generally to have been accepted, but it seems to me highly improbable. Perhaps we should examine the evidence.

The *History* was begun in June, 1808,¹⁸ as a satire on a pompous guidebook, and material for it was collected sporadically by Peter and Washington Irving during the summer and autumn. The brothers expected to collaborate, but as Irving wrote in his "Apology" some forty years later:

Before this crude mass of mock erudition could be digested into form, my brother departed for Europe, and I was left to prosecute the enterprise alone.

I now altered the plan of the work. Discarding all idea of a parody on the *Picture of New-York*, I . . . molded the mass of citations and disquisitions into introductory chapters forming the first book. . . .¹⁹

Clearly, Book I can be dated January, 1809,²⁰ shortly after Irving's return from Canada, and none of the *History* as we know it was written before that time. We might note, also, that when Irving wrote his "Apology" in 1848 he thought that material collected in 1808 had been used largely in Book I.

The reconceived work did not thrive. Irving said of this period, in a memorial written some fifteen years after the *History*: "I had begun a satirical and humorous work in company with one of my brothers, but . . . my feelings had run into so different a vein that

¹⁸ Irving's journal is the authority. The entry for two years reads: "Jany 1808—went to Canada May ret^d June began Knick winter in Canada 1809 ret^d Jany Peter gone Mat died in April" (Williams, *Life*, I, 101).

¹⁹ Williams and McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

²⁰ See Irving's journal, n. 18, above.

Tragedy and Irony in Knickerbocker's History

I could not go on with it. I became low-spirited and disheartened and did not know what was to become of me."²¹ He had started to write in desperation when a business trip failed, his meager legal practice disappeared,²² and he found himself in love with Matilda Hoffman, but without means of supporting her. He determined to finish off the book and go into business, perhaps in India. At this juncture, Matilda's father offered Irving a partnership, and eventually his legal practice, as a sort of dowry. The prospective husband was expected to learn a modicum of law, and Irving made what was for him a determined effort. "It was all in vain. I had insuperable repugnance to study; my mind would not take hold of it; or rather, by long despondence had become for the time incapable of application. I was in a wretched state of doubt and self-distrust. I tried to finish the work which I was secretly writing, hoping it would give me a reputation and gain me some public employment. In the meantime I saw Matilda every day, and this helped to distract me."²³ In February, Matilda fell ill. ". . . she grew rapidly worse, and fell into a consumption. I cannot tell you what I suffered. . . . Her dying struggles were painful and protracted. For three days and nights I did not leave the house." She died April 26, and Irving was plunged in grief. Much nonsense has been written of his affection for "Mat," but that he loved her deeply and tenderly can scarcely be doubted, particularly after the revealing study that Professor Williams has given the subject.²⁴

At this point we might review the evidence thus far, for the period from January to May is that in which the *History* is assumed to have been written. Composition was begun in January, with Irving reconceiving the work and molding a "crude mass"—clearly an occupation requiring some time. Judge Hoffman made his offer, and Irving took up the study of law; he was "low-spirited," "disheartened," and "incapable of application"; he distracted himself by seeing Matilda every day. He returned to the work he was writing in secret, although with daily visits to Matilda and probable gestures toward the law to reassure Judge Hoffman, one wonder-

²¹ Pierre Munroe Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1886), I, 224-225.

²² Williams, *Life*, I, 101.

²³ P. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 224-225.

²⁴ Williams, *Life*, I, 83-89; ——— (ed.), *Notes While Preparing Sketch Book, 1817*, by Washington Irving (New Haven, 1927), pp. 26-27, 63-72; *Modern Language Notes*, XLVIII, 182-186 (March, 1933); *American Speech*, I, 463-469 (June, 1926).

if he accomplished much. Meanwhile, Matilda had fallen ill in February—no long time after January—and grew rapidly worse; she died a lingering death in April, while Irving became more and more distracted.

We are asked to believe that the young Irving, always temperamental, never notable for his industry, and now distracted by courting, the law, and general depression, wrote in some three and a half months several hundreds of witty pages and a wealth of learned nonsense. The assumption seems to me improbable.

Let us examine the records of the months following Matilda's death. Shortly after the funeral Irving must have gone to the home of his friend Judge William P. Van Ness, for he writes from Kinderhook under dates of May 11, 19, and 20.²⁵ The first letter is not important, except for the date; the second is a polite note to Mrs. Hoffman, saying that by exercising his mind and determining to be cheerful he is becoming serene. This exercising of his mind evidently concerns the *History*, for in the third letter Irving writes Henry Brevoort in New York about some manuscripts that "Jim" (presumably James Paulding) is reading, and goes on to say, "I have almost finished—and in the course of a week hope to be released from my pen. I shall then drive with all possible dispatch to get completely done with the business and once more liberty. . . ." What he means by being free from his pen in a week is rather puzzling, since after having mentioned coming to New York in "the course of a fortnight," he adds that the trip would not be necessary should Henry bring him the manuscripts. "If you come up & bring the MSS. that are in Jim's hands—I will have occupation enough to keep me here some time longer. I wish you would do so." Nor, apparently, will he be done even then, for "I wish Jim to save a little of his attention & critical industry for the remainder which I have in hand. I have not been able to do it justice I would wish from not being in full health & spirits—I have done little more than copy off from my original scrawls."²⁶

Irving left at least one other description of this period, in the memorial which has already been cited: "I cannot tell you what a horrid state of mind I was in for a long time after Matilda's death. I seemed to care for nothing; the world was a blank to me. . . .

²⁵ P. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 228; George S. Hellman, *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort* (New York, 1918), I, 8-13.

²⁶ Hellman, *op. cit.*, I, 11-13.

Months elapsed before my mind would resume any tone. . . . When I became more calm and collected, I applied myself, by way of occupation, to the finishing of my work. I brought it to a close, as well as I could, and published it. . . ."²⁷

Here, for the first time, the evidence is sharply divergent: Irving did nothing for months, after which he buried his sorrow in work; or Irving was at work within two weeks, and expected to finish "within a week"—although he obviously knew he would not. Some of this evidence can easily be evaluated. In determining the date at which Irving returned to his writing, surely the letter to Brevoort takes precedence over a document written after a fading memory and congenital sentimentality had cultivated Irving's state of prostration. Irving was at work before May 20, 1809. On the other hand, the Brevoort letter does not authorize us in supposing, as has generally been done, that Irving finished "within a week." The letter itself suggests something nearer a month. But did he finish then?

Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence with which we can answer the question. We know that his boat was capsized while he was sailing up the Hudson from New York in the summer, that he joined the Historical Society in October, that he contributed to a reading room in November, and that he was still adding to his manuscript when he was in Philadelphia to superintend the printing,²⁸ but we have neither journal nor letters from this period. Some evidence we do have. The memorial cited above certainly suggests that Irving later thought he was writing in the summer or the autumn, or both. Now, I consider it very likely that he was right about this, even though he exaggerated the period of his previous debility, for had Irving finished his book in May, I doubt that he would have delayed publication until autumn. He gives evidence of having wished to finish the job and print it,²⁹ and the feverish fashion in which he is adding material in the autumn suggests that he has been occupied with the manuscript during much of the summer. The memorial, furthermore, suggests that a considerable portion of the *History* was written after Matilda's death. It reads,

²⁷ Charles Dudley Warner, *Washington Irving*, "American Men of Letters Series" (Boston, 1888), pp. 62-63; P. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 226-227; Williams, *Life*, I, 105.

²⁸ Williams, *Life*, I, 109, 113; 408, n. 13; P. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 235-236; Hellman, *op. cit.*, I, 14-15; Williams and McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

²⁹ See n. 26, above; Williams and McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

"I brought it to a close, as well as I could, and published it, but the time and circumstances in which it was produced rendered me always unable to look upon it with satisfaction." The "time and circumstances" might refer to the hectic winter and early spring of 1809, but the words are used in connection with Irving's state of mind after Matilda's death.

Thus, the conventional view, that the *History* was nearly complete by May 20, rests almost solely on a single sentence of doubtful value in the Brevoort letter. If we accept this view we must accept both of two improbabilities: that Irving wrote most of the book amid the turmoil of the early months of 1809; and that, having finished in May, he did not publish until autumn.

As an alternative, I would suggest that Irving wrote only the first few books during the early months of 1809; Book I was compiled from previous "disquisitions," and Book II, which is similar to Book I, was probably composed. Whether he went on to Wouter the Doubter must be pure conjecture; in any event, Matilda's illness brought work to an end in March or April. In May, Irving returned to his manuscript, determined to "drive with all possible dispatch to get completely done with the business"; chronologically, he was nearly done, and he probably planned to finish the thing off like a Salmagundi paper. But even as he was saying he would finish in a week, it is clear he knew he would not; and even if he expected to finish in a month, is it not likely that he was thinking of a more restricted *History*? He had already changed his plans once; is it unlikely that he changed them again as he worked with his material, and saw larger possibilities in William the Testy and Hard-koppig Piet?

This theory gains color from the character of the individual books. Book I is a digest of old material; Book II is similar in character, but brief. With Book III, dealing with Wouter the Doubter, the treatment is more expansive, more personal, less rambling. With Book IV the satire becomes dominant and loses some of its genial impersonality. With Book V, Irving becomes so absorbed in the affairs of Peter Stuyvesant that he gives more pages to one man's reign than to all the previous Dutch matter.

Earlier, I have tried to show that the treatment of Stuyvesant contains an organic unity that sets it off from the remainder of the *History*. Similarly, Irving's tone in the tragedy of Hard-koppig

Piet is not his customary genial banter; the timbre is deeper and richer. One can observe the difference by contrasting a late insertion with the remainder of Volume II. We know that the two chapters³⁰ concerning Peter's trip up the Hudson and the enumeration of the Manhattoes were written as the result of an idea that came to Irving after an autumn party. He was living the gay life of social Philadelphia; Matilda Hoffman and the tragic Hard-koppig Piet had gone into other days. Gone, too, is the irony from his style. There is mock-heroic fun of the sort that a clever young gallant who knew his Homer and his Dutchmen might turn out, but tragic implications there are not. The bulk of Volume II reminds one of *Don Quixote*; these chapters suggest *The Rape of the Lock*.

According to the hypothesis here presented, then, a likely dating of the various parts of the *History* might be about as follows. Composition was begun in January; Book I, probably Book II, and possibly "scrawls" of Book III were completed before Matilda's death. In May, Irving began again, probably on Book III or IV. As he recovered his poise, as he worked himself into the spirit of the book, and particularly as the tragic and ironic possibilities of Hard-koppig Piet took hold of him, his conceptions broadened and his writing became more trenchant and more deeply creative. Books V-VII were almost certainly written in this period, during the summer. Late summer and autumn were spent in revisions, additions, and in the details of preparing for publication.

Such an interpretation alters our conception of both the time and the nature of Irving's composition. Critics have previously supposed that Irving's inspiration was essentially bookish in its source. "It was love of history, after all," Professor Williams writes, "which carried Irving on to the end of his long book."³¹ I should suppose it was love of history and good fun which got Irving started, but love of satire and an interest in the situation of Hard-koppig Piet that carried him through.³²

³⁰ Bk. VI, chap. iii-iv. See Williams, *Life*, I, 113; P. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 235-236; Hellman, *op. cit.*, I, 14-15.

³¹ *Life*, I, 115.

³² Professor Williams's description of Irving's late spring and summer is as follows: "So he fought with ill health and lowered spirits, smiling thoughtfully at Jesse Merwin, the homespun wit and future Ichabod Crane, but turning more often to his real anodyne, the history. On May 20, 1809, this was nearly done.

"It was Irving's first experience of work as a solace, and it was good for him. During June he was again in the city, manuscript under his arm. Alien faces still tired him, and he fled at intervals to Hoffman's summer retreat at Hell Gate. . . . Indeed, his inertia

III

If it be admitted, then, that in dealing with Peter Stuyvesant, Irving found himself moved by a theme having a certain tragic grandeur, and came upon irony, let us say somewhere near the bottom of the cup, the work would seem to have been written when life had "had its way" with him, as much as life ever did have its way with that genial lover of the picturesque. But the Stuyvesant passages, if they are distinctive, are not unique, for similar matter is sporadic in Irving's writing. One would gladly know whether an inclination to the ironic is to be related to the content or to the chronology of his works, but the question is not easily resolved, since a division of his writings in accordance with their subject matter produces groupings that follow roughly the chronological periods of his life. To the decade and a half following the *Knickerbocker History* are to be allocated the *Sketch Book*, *Bracebridge Hall*, and *Tales of a Traveller*. These collections contain tragic bits, though scarcely a suggestion of bitterness beneath humor. The Spanish period, 1826-1832, includes the *Life of Columbus*, the *Voyages* of his companions, the *Conquest of Granada*, the *Conquest of Spain*, and the *Alhambra*. The first three are notably lit by ironic flashes. In them Irving delights in showing us greed, lust, cruelty, and deceit masked behind the unction of the Church and the blessing of an obliging God, and concocts a chronicler, Fray Antonio Agapida, to provide the auto-damnation of Church and State. Here, for example, is the purported comment of a pious official; it is no

during these months contrasts strangely with the elaborate humor which clarified Diedrich Knickerbocker to the world. The journeys to the libraries of New York and Philadelphia, the dickering with publishers, the preliminary jokes in the *Evening Post*—these were his nepenthe. His beaten route was between the Society Library and that of the New York Historical Society, to whose membership he was elected on October 10" (*Life*, I, 109; see also p. 408, n. 13).

This is a plausible reconstruction, but as we have seen, we do not know how Irving spent most of his time, nor when he finished writing. As for the libraries, as Professor Williams points out, we know that he was a member of the Historical Society by October 10, and that he contributed to the Society reading room opened in November; both dates are too late to help us much.

Of the whole composition of the *History* Professor Williams writes: "Only through this history of 1809 do we really see Irving during the twenty-two months of its composition—chuckling with Peter over their new 'short' *jeu d'esprit*; fleeing to Montreal to shun its terrifying growth; bantering with Ann Hoffman to forget it; returning to it as to a rock in a weary land; and finally, tossing it to the printer in a frenzy, as if it symbolized the chaos of these two years" (*Life*, I, 114). One could scarcely dissent greatly from this summary, though it places less emphasis on composition in the summer of 1809 than I should suppose advisable.

less than the ironic comment of Washington Irving: "The loss of the Christians in this siege amounted to twenty thousand men, of whom seventeen thousand died of disease, and not a few of mere cold—a kind of death (says the historian Mariana) peculiarly uncomfortable; but (adds the venerable Jesuit) as these last were chiefly people of ignoble rank, baggage-carriers and such-like, the loss was not of great importance."³³ One notices that in these works Irving frequently displays sympathy for the abused of this world, that he is prone to detect bigotry behind protestations of virtue, and that he is aware of the pervading power of avarice. He reminds us, in the sanctimonious phrases of faked chronicles, that the casuists who lauded Ferdinand's robbings and murders were themselves making a very good thing out of the pillage.³⁴

Irving's last period is less unified, but from *A Tour on the Prairies*, 1835, to the *Life of Washington*, completed 1859, it is generally American and optimistic. Tragedy is rare in this period and irony almost completely absent. If Irving sensed the tragic and ironic possibilities of the tales of Bonneville, and especially of Astoria, his romantic accounts do not betray him. Did he not know the broad foundation of suffering and debauchery upon which the fortune of his friend John Jacob Astor rested? Was he silenced by the sense of what one gentleman does not say about another? Was he swept along by the desire to please a public who believed that Western expansion was the high destiny of America, and that a dead Indian was a good Indian? Or was he merely growing old? In dealing with Astor, Irving labored under certain obvious handicaps, but had he seen American imperialism with the same eyes with which he saw Spanish imperialism, had he seen that American commercial hypocrisy did not differ essentially from Spanish religious bigotry, he could have found ways of expressing his disapproval without traducing his loyalties.

One must conclude, I fear, that the American scene, growing prudence, reduced metabolism, or some other sedative influence had its way with Irving, if life never did. He had a sense of irony, but it did not mature, and in his later years either waned or was submerged. In the *Knickerbocker History* he passed through satire to irony; in dealing with Spanish conquest he somewhat broadened

³³ *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, Bk. II, chap. xxxvi.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, chaps. xxvi, xxxiii; Bk. II, chaps. xxi, xxxi.

HAWTHORNE AS POETRY CRITIC: SIX UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO LEWIS MANSFIELD

HAROLD BLODGETT

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FOUR OF THE following letters are concerned with Nathaniel Hawthorne's criticism of Lewis W. Mansfield's allegorical poem *The Morning Watch*, published anonymously in May, 1850, by the house of George P. Putnam. The other two, one by Hawthorne and one by his wife, Sophia, were written to Mansfield after the appearance of the poem. Until their sale in the autograph market in 1937, the letters remained in the possession of Mansfield's son, Mr. William K. Mansfield, of Cohoes, New York, who filed photostatic copies in the New York State Library at Albany before releasing them.¹

Presenting a great novelist in the unaccustomed role of a critic of poetry—the minor poetry of a man with whom he was not closely acquainted²—they throw an unexpected light upon the exigencies of Hawthorne's earlier career. One wonders why Mansfield should have turned to Hawthorne for advice when he might have submitted his manuscript to any one of a number of professional critics of poetry in his day, and at first one also wonders why Hawthorne should have accepted the task. To the second question the letters themselves suggest an answer. Plainly Hawthorne was in need of money, and willing for the support of his family to accept an assignment outside his own literary interests. This is not to say that he found the task uncongenial. He seems to have had a genuine respect for Mansfield's talent, and however unprepared for the task he may, in his modesty, have felt himself to be, he gave generously and candidly his own best judgment. As to why, for his part, Mansfield should have chosen Hawthorne for his request, one can only conjecture that Mansfield knew him to be a man upon whose critical conscience he could depend. In this he was not mistaken.

At the time of the correspondence Mansfield, a graduate of Union College in the class of 1835, had temporarily retired from a business ca-

¹ For permission to print the letters I am much indebted to Mrs. Hildegard Hawthorne-Oskison and to Mr. Manning Hawthorne. I wish also to express my appreciation to Mr. William K. Mansfield and the authorities of the New York State Library for calling the letters to my attention.

² Whether or not Hawthorne had met Mansfield before this correspondence is not definitely known. Mr. William K. Mansfield is of the opinion that they may have met in Boston sometime in 1848 upon Mansfield's return from a vacation in Europe.

reer in Cohoes in order to try his powers as a writer. *The Morning Watch* was his first book, and as Hawthorne had anticipated, it met with no wide response, even though it moved the young Philadelphia poet, George H. Boker, to exclaim: "Such copious powers of versification I have seldom met with, and when this artistic power is joined to a manly directness and seriousness of purpose, there can be no lack of a delightful and healthful repast for the most exacting of readers."³ A poem of more than two thousand lines in pentameter couplets, varied by tetrameter quatrains and frequent refrain, *The Morning Watch* has undeniable lyrical power and a certain technical dexterity. Its great defect, as Hawthorne was quick to see, is its lack of structural strength. An allegorical account of a journey toward immortality, it loses narrative clarity as the action proceeds, and if the author had not included an "Outline of the Narrative" in the appendix, many a reader would have found it hard to puzzle out the sequence of events.⁴ With its depiction of wild and romantic scenery and its evocation of the agony of the spirit, it is obviously influenced by Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. In this connection it is significant that the outline plays much the same part as the marginal gloss of Coleridge's poem, and that originally Mansfield, against Hawthorne's better judgment, intended the outline to accompany the text.

Although *The Morning Watch* can in no way stand comparison with the genius which illuminates *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, it is

³ From a manuscript letter, dated Aug. 10, 1850, in possession of William K. Mansfield.

⁴ The plot is so indistinct that a *précis* is not only difficult but misleading, suggesting a coherence which the poem does not possess. However, I offer the following summary: A traveler arrives at a tropic seacoast as night is falling. To a stranger he reveals that he is seeking an ideal land, and relating the story of his life, he tells of his happy childhood, and of how, as he grew older, evil agencies had tempted him into the world of action and trial. Here he had lived out of harmony with nature, beset by ominous visions. With memories of past happiness calling to him, he had been moved to return to his childhood home. But here he had found only desolation, and as a great sadness fell upon him, he had dropped into a troubled sleep where visions of evil had again appeared. Awaking, he had returned to the world of action, seeking solace in nature and dreaming of an ideal country where he may find happiness.

In "Part The Second," continuing his narrative, the traveler tells how an old man had described to him a wonderful country in the west where it is always day. The traveler had set forth in search of it, led by a cloud sailing in the sky. Into the wilderness he had gone on an unending journey, doubting not that his path was directed by God, and undeterred by those who looked upon him as a dreamer and a madman. Having told his story, the traveler asks the stranger if there be any sign of morning, for the darkness has fallen, and he surmises that his hour of departure has come. Suddenly, as the stranger is overcome by the awfulness of the scene, an angel takes the traveler away to his early home where he sees again in vision the mountains and the seas of his journey, and hears voices which cry: "The night is past, cometh the day!" The narrative ends on a note of assurance. "In that country where he now dwells we may see the traveller again."

truly enough, in Hawthorne's phrase, "no common work." At Hawthorne's suggestion Mansfield sent the published poem to Emerson with a remark which fairly represents its quality: "It makes no pretension to finish of style and is careless of rhyme, and faulty in many things. But I have written it with all my heart and soul and strength, and that it will outline the beginnings of my life here, I do not doubt."⁵ To his sister Mansfield wrote less importantly: "It is not a highly finished elaborate work. I am sorry Hawthorne will not find much to like in it. I shall be greatly surprised if he does—because of its careless (or rather *apparently careless*) construction."⁶

Two years later Mansfield was to publish a book which Hawthorne was to like without question—the *Up-Country Letters*. Also unsigned by its author, it purported to be a series of observations about country life by one Z. Pundison to "Prof. B. of the National Observatory." Gentle, homely, lightly sentimental, and held together by a thread of narrative, the *Letters* were in a tradition which Irving had popularized years before. More recently the facile Nathaniel Parker Willis had issued his *Letters from under a Bridge* (1844), and Donald G. Mitchell ("Ik Marvel") had enchanted thousands with the faintly melancholy *Reveries of a Bachelor* (1850). Mansfield knew the vein well, and worked it in a manner of his own.

Some of these sketches were, as the last of the following letters indicates, evidently submitted for Hawthorne's perusal in the winter of 1851, but at that time Hawthorne avoided a specific appraisal. That he much enjoyed them upon their publication appears from a letter of Charles Eliot Norton, written to his sister June 15, 1853. Norton tells of taking Arthur Hugh Clough for a visit with Longfellow at Craigie House, where Lowell, Emerson, and Hawthorne were also part of the company: "Hawthorne was heavy and dark-browed, quiet, serious, reserved, finding it hard to say that Alcott sometimes bores him, and to praise a book called 'Up-Country Letters' to Mrs. Longfellow."⁷ When he went to Liverpool a few weeks later, Hawthorne strongly recommended the book to Henry Bright and sought English readers for it: "It would gratify me much if you would talk about it or write about it, and get it into some degree of notice in this country. . . . We have produced nothing more original nor more genuine."⁸ Emerson, too, praised the work—"a lively

⁵ Emerson's reply, if he made one, has not been found. The copy of Mansfield's letter, dated June, 1850, is preserved among the Mansfield papers.

⁶ From a manuscript letter, dated May 17, 1850, in possession of William K. Mansfield.

⁷ Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe (eds.), *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* (Boston, 1913), I, 88. See also I, 95-96.

⁸ Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), II, 36. The letter, undated, is printed in the chapter entitled "First Months in England."

book of a humorist who describes like a daguerrotype"⁹—and wondered who wrote it.

Mansfield returned to a business career in 1855 after writing another series of informal sketches, *Country Margins* (1855), in collaboration with S. H. Hammond, editor of the *Albany State Register*. In later years he published two theological studies, *The Congregation* (1871) and *The Mental Plan* (1882). Other literary projects, such as "Hymns and Poems," remain unpublished. He died in 1899. The letters follow:

SALEM, December 26th 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been exceedingly reprehensible in not answering your letter sooner; but the fact is, I did not read the accompanying poem till last evening; for I have been much engaged on a book which I am about to publish.¹⁰ Moreover, your autography (permit me to say) is of a very difficult and delusive character, and might well frighten away a timid reader. It served indeed to light me through the story of the Sexton; but it was as if I had been wandering through the old church which you write about, with only a glimmering taper in my hand, affording very indistinct glimpses of the objects around me. I have gone through it again, this morning, with better success, and have received, I think, from the story the impression which you intended to convey. The incident is certainly striking and picturesque, and you have spiritualized it with good effect.¹¹

The idea, on which you have written your longer story, seems to me very beautiful. I should be glad, if you will so far favor me, to see the poem, but will by no means undertake to criticize it, or suggest any improvements or modifications; partly because, for my individual self, I have no talent at criticism, although I can usually enter into the spirit of a work and see it as the author sees it;—and still more, because I doubt whether any desirable influence is ever exercised by a foreign judgment on works of imagination, in respect to which the author himself should be despotic and autocratical.¹² If I were you, I would complete the poem at once, without caring

⁹ *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. R. L. Rusk (New York, 1939), IV, 345. Emerson's comment was written to William Emerson in a letter dated Feb. 18, 1853.

¹⁰ *The Scarlet Letter*, finished Feb. 3, 1850, and published in April.

¹¹ This poem Mansfield apparently never published.

¹² The "longer story" is, of course, *The Morning Watch*, which in his next letter Hawthorne, despite his reluctance, undertook to criticize.

for anybody's opinion, and publish it, even if only for the sake of looking at your own work from another point of view. Manuscript is as delusive as moonshine. Print is like common daylight, and enables an author to comprehend himself as no *dictum* of another man ever will. I doubt not that you would meet with sympathy enough, from some minds, to compensate you for the lack of appreciation in others.

I speak with perfect frankness, because the confidence which you repose in me (and by which I am gratified) gives you a claim to it. Should you favor me with a sight of the poem, allow me to beg that it may be Mrs. Mansfield's manuscript rather than your own.

Very truly Yours,
NATH^L HAWTHORNE.

SALEM, Feb^y 10th 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will long ago have come to the conclusion that I am the worst correspondent that ever man had—and such is certainly the fact. But I have been constantly and deeply engaged, and usually arrive at the day's close with flagging energies—a state of mind when it would be doing a poet injustice to take up his work.

Nevertheless, I read the two parts of your poem, one evening, sometime ago, and have again gone over them this morning, with faculties less jaded. At both readings, I found much that impressed me—much, however, that made it doubtful with me whether your public, for the present, would be a very wide one. It is a poem that asks more preliminary concessions on the part of the reader, than most readers will be disposed to grant; or, perhaps, than an author has a right to ask; but should the reader be able and willing to look at the work from your own point of view, you will undoubtedly produce an effect on him.

I prefer the first part to the second; not that there is not much beauty in the latter; but it appeared to me that the purpose of the poem should be more distinctly made out, at that stage, than I find it to be. What sends the traveller across the mountains?—what (if anything) has his departure to do with the mission of the 'gray man,' who came down the mountain-side? In a story like this, it is allowable, and highly advisable, (as you yourself have felt) to have

as much mist and glorified fog as possible, diffused about on all sides, but still there should be a distinct pathway to tread upon—a clue that the reader shall confide in, as being firmly fastened somewhere.¹³ People will not advance far into a poem, unless they know—or, at least, begin to know, or fancy they are about knowing—something of the matter in hand. Yet, not improbably, had I the whole work before me, I should see less ground for the criticism here made. And, by the by, I expected to have received the remaining portions, before now. I trust that they may not have miscarried.¹⁴

A small critic (such as a certain proof-reader whom I am, just now, afflicted with) might find many occasions, verbal, rhythmical, and rhymical, for carping at your poem; but these things are not broadly important, and I have not stop't to consider them. On receiving back the manuscript, you will perhaps find some pencil-marks directed to such points. For the present, I retain it, as I should like to see the whole poem together.

Now, in reference to Mr. Smith's document,¹⁵ my first impulse was to decline and return it; but, on submitting the point to a Court of Honor (consisting of my wife and myself) we came to the conclusion that it was not imperative to do so—and that, if I could do you the service which you required, it was due to your own sensibility, to allow you to acquit yourself of any obligation. If my situation were other than it is, I might not have yielded to the force of this reasoning; but as the money will really come like a god-send (as, I make no doubt, it is) I have determined to accept it, and to earn it, to the best of my ability. It is much, that a Yankee should have had any scruple whatever about such a matter.

I make no excuses for the frankness with which I have spoken of the poem, as it is only from their sincerity that my opinions can derive any value.

Very truly Yours,

NATH^L HAWTHORNE.

¹³ This sentence, and the one following, are quoted on p. xiv of Norman Holmes Pearson's Introduction to his edition of *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1937). They constitute the only passage of this correspondence which has hitherto been printed.

¹⁴ Since *The Morning Watch* was published in the two parts of which Hawthorne speaks, the probabilities are that he already had most of the poem with him. Unfortunately Mansfield did not take Hawthorne's advice at this point, and the ambiguities remain.

¹⁵ A reference, as the context shows, to a money draft, Mr. Smith being undoubtedly the person through whom the money order passed. On Hawthorne's straitened circumstances at this time, see George E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902), pp. 185-186.

SALEM, Feb^y 20th 1850

MY DEAR SIR,

I send back the manuscript through the medium which you indicated, and presume it will be in Troy when you receive this letter. You will find pencil-marks and observations scattered through all the parts; and though no critic, yet I occupied, for the moment, a critic's place.¹⁰ I have endeavored to discharge my office by perfect freedom of remark. On glancing over my notes, I am not without apprehension that some of them may appear rather irreverent in regard to your poem, which must and ought to be a sacred matter in your eyes. But so it is likewise in mine; inso-much that it was with great hesitation that I brought myself to annotate upon it at all; and it is really wonderful to me that, with so much boldness and independence as you evince in the poem, you should seek or accept anybody's advice in reference to it. I have made suggestions, as you will perceive; but, frankly, I consider it of very little consequence whether you adopt any of them, or alter the poem either in the whole or in detail. You must rely upon a broad merit in this work to save it in spite of its sins. It is not my habit or my taste to be very lavish of praise; and I shall only say of this poem that I feel it to be no common work, and that it has inspired me with much interest in its author. Nor can I doubt that, when known to the world, you will meet with more rapturous sympathy than mine, though not, I think, with a popular and general reception. Finally (as is the case with all remarkable poems) it might be made—and very probably will be—the theme of a bloody criticism; but in so doing, the critic will damn his own soul, if he has any.

As regards your queries, I have answered most of them in my notes. What remains, I will briefly respond to here. I would not adopt the antique mode of spelling nor any other superficial conceit. I see no occasion for mottoes, although, if you have them, it may be well to give them the piquancy of an obsolete style and a small black-letter type. I would not have side-notes—among other reasons, because the *Ancient Mariner* has them; also, because they will be unsightly—a kind of mechanical clumsiness staring the reader all the time in the face; also because they would be, at best, an affectation. But the matter, which you intend for side-notes, it

¹⁰ Mansfield's manuscript, containing Hawthorne's notes, has not been found.

seems to me highly advisable to retain, and to add more of it. How would it do to prefix an 'Argument' to each section? Most readers will need such an outline, and it will be of great assistance to all. Or you can have foot-notes—which, at least, will be a more natural arrangement than side ones.¹⁷

I have not been troubled by any defects in the rhythm of the book; and perhaps the reason may be, that I soon adapted myself to the movement, as I should to that of the horse I was riding or, to take a worthier simile, to that of the sea on which I was upborne, and which has a right to choose its own rhythms and cadences. I am not a man of metre; if I were, I suppose I might stumble over roughnesses. So far as my experience goes, they do not weaken the impression of the poetry.

Nothing more occurs to me at present. I am dissatisfied with myself for having undertaken this office, both because I do not perform it well, and because I adhere to my original idea that it is not an office for anybody to undertake. If we were sitting together by an evening fireside, and you had imparted the poem to me in your own voice and cadences, and with your own explanatory talk; then—aided, too, by a perception of the poet's own character—I might get light enough upon the matter to throw some of it back from another point of view. Only in such circumstances, I think, can a man be justified in interfering with the process of creation. The requisite of such preliminary criticism is, to have the deepest and warmest sympathy that can co-exist between two perfectly independent perceptions.

You speak of hereafter returning the favor, which you are pleased to suppose I shall confer upon you. The balance is not on my side. You certainly are not indebted to me; and though I have the highest consideration for Mr. John Smith,¹⁸ I cannot allow him again to interfere betwixt yourself and me.

With my best wishes for your prosperity, literary and otherwise,
Very Sincerely Yours,

NATH^L HAWTHORNE.

P.S Feb^y 27th

I had written the above when I rec'd your last letter, and finding that you were in no immediate hurry, I kept the manuscript a little

¹⁷ As has been noted, Mansfield heeded Hawthorne's advice and placed his "side-notes" in an appendix as an outline of the narrative. ¹⁸ See n. 15.

longer. Meanwhile, I have tried your prescription of a 'pack,' but not with the success which I hoped for. The 'pack' itself was auspicious, and everything proceeded well until I threw off my envelopes, when I unfortunately took a chill and was put into a very bad condition indeed. However, I am now convalescent and shall manage the matter better, next time.

As regards the story of your poem, it seems to me that a few interpolations might give it the aspect of unity throughout. For instance;—the mother of the hero sings or tells him a tradition of this land without a night—the old man who comes to his home with tidings of another state of being, conveys his message under the allegory of the Home-land; but the hero, being then operated upon by other agencies, looks upon him as a babbler and a dreamer. Afterwards, when he is weary and world-worn, he hears again of the bright land from the other old man, who, as the story now stands, is the first who has anything to say about it. Not a hundred lines need be added and altered to effect this; and the story will be true (that is, allegorically true) as the history and experience of many souls. But I should beg your pardon for suggesting these alterations, if you had not, of your own free act, made it my business so to do.¹⁹

I shall send your packet to a friend in Boston, who will thence transmit by express to Troy. It may therefore be a day or two behind this letter.

Truly Yours,
N.H.

SALEM, March 19th, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

Here has been another long delinquency on my side of the correspondence, but this time I am really not to blame, having had some good reasons for my silence. First, my wife has been ill; secondly and thirdly, my two little children²⁰ have been ill; fourthly, I have been very far from well myself. I shall now reply to your queries as satisfactorily as a befogged state of brain will permit.

I do not know where I can have put your letter, containing the mother's song respecting the bright land; but I remember it pleased

¹⁹ A study of the poem reveals the justice of Hawthorne's criticism, but Mansfield did not make the suggested alterations.

²⁰ Una and Julian.

me entirely, except in those stanzas which break the allegory.²¹ I do not think the story would be improved by converting the stranger into a guardian angel. You might easily have made him a more effective personage in his human capacity; but, on the whole, I am not satisfied that it was desirable so to do. I like the idea of arranging the notes at the end of the book, except for one reason—that nobody ever reads notes so posited. I would retain the epithet of *marbled* beach;²² it struck me as very fine and true—and has even a grand effect.

As regards the dedication, I think there can be no valid objections on the score of delicacy.²³ Your poem is addressed not to the world at large, but to a class of cognate minds—to those most capable of understanding you—to your truest and closest friends, wherever they may be scattered throughout the world, who will never know you save through this work, but will nevertheless know you better than most of those who are familiar with your face. To whom should you speak of matters near your heart, if not to these invisible friends? You need not dread being overheard, however loudly you may speak. Your voice—or, at least, your meaning—will reach only those who are privileged to hear and understand it, and what sense is there in caring one fig about the helter-skelter judgments of those who cannot understand you. It might be, that only one person in the whole world would understand, while all the rest would ridicule you; but it would be worth a life's labor to be understood by that one, while the ridicule of the others would not be worth a thought. I do not express what I mean, and cannot just now; but my theory is, that there [is] less indelicacy in speaking out your highest, deepest, tenderest emotions to the world at large than to almost any individual. You may be mistaken in the individual; but you cannot be mistaken in thinking that, somewhere among your fellow creatures, there is a heart that will receive yours into itself. And those who do not receive it, cannot, in fact, hear it, so that your delicacy is not infringed upon. This is my theory; and if I were a less sophisticated man, I suppose I should act upon it more perfectly than I ever yet have.

I have still to thank you for your most kind and generous

²¹ Evidently Mansfield took the hint to revise the mother's song because no stanzas break the allegory in the published version. ²² The epithet was retained.

²³ The dedication seems innocuous enough: "To the Memory of One who liveth the Life Immortal in that Beautiful Country where is no Night on Land or Sea."

pecuniary offer, and I do it not the less sincerely that it is not my purpose to take advantage of it. I have no business, nor mean to have any, but my pen. In about a month, I am going with my family to reside in Lenox, in a little cottage there, and though my circumstances afford me no margin for luxury, I have a good hope of being able to live in tolerable comfort, and keep out of debt and difficulty—which is all I expect, or care much about.²⁴ A thousand dollars might make me easier for a time; but I should soon feel as if they were tied in a bag about my neck, while swimming for my life; nor could you make it otherwise by any liberality as a creditor. I am glad (for the sake of the opinion of you which it confirms) that you have made me this offer;—glad, too, that I am wise enough to decline it.

Most Sincerely Yours,
NATH^L HAWTHORNE.

LENOX, June 17th, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR:

The box, together with the books, did not cost me a cent. It came to the village, I presume, by virtue of your payment in New York, and was brought thence to my house by a man servant of our friends, the Tappans.²⁵ I ought to have expressed my obligations for the champagne,²⁶ and should have done so, if your visit, the other evening, had not been so short as it was welcome and agreeable; so that many other topics were to be discussed in the brief space which you allowed us. I have not yet tasted the wine, but reserve it for some especially bright and festive occasion. If a man of genius, as has now and then happened, should sit at our humble board, I shall let loose a cork, and talk over your book, and tell him that the poet's wine is sparkling in his goblet.

We communicate with the village, in one way or another, as often as three or four times a week; so that our letters never lie a great while in the Post Office. I delight in receiving letters, (unless, indeed, they contain something unpleasant) but am usually very

²⁴ Hawthorne had good hopes from *The Scarlet Letter*, then in press for an edition of five thousand copies.

²⁵ Mr. Tappan was the Hawthornes' landlord at Lenox.

²⁶ As we learn from Hawthorne's notebooks, Hawthorne produced "Mr. Mansfield's champagne" on at least two occasions when Herman Melville, among others, was his guest. See Randall Stewart (ed.), *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 131, 229.

sluggish about answering them. You must make allowance for my infirmities in this respect.

Pray present my wife's especial regards, as well as my own, to Mrs. Mansfield. If we should never see her again (which Heaven forbid) the recollection of her will be fragrant with us both. She was with us, I think, not more than twenty minutes or half an hour; yet it seemed at once as if we had known her a long time.

Believe me very Sincerely Yours,

NATH^L HAWTHORNE.

P.S. As I have received other packages by railroad and express, and have paid charges on them, the livery boy may have referred to one of these, as respects the 25^c.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Hawthorne is so very much engaged in finishing his book,²⁷ that it has been impossible for him to reply to your very pleasant letter & acknowledge the reception of the manuscript.²⁸ I think you may wish for the manuscript, and though it will not be any satisfaction to you to know my opinion, I can tell you that I have heard Mr. Hawthorne express himself much pleased with it. He thinks it true & graphic & not too intimate a picture of domestic life to be published. But when he finds time to write to you himself, he will tell you his mind better than I can do it.

Let me say that it was very exhilarating to percieve [*sic*] how bravely & cordially you welcomed "Royal Winter" & how gladly you looked forward to its concentrated joys. With us, we have too cold a house, & too few servants to look for sumptuous comfort within doors. But we can enjoy the peculiar splendor of the season outside & from the windows; the crimson & violet sunrises & the green & gold sunsets, & the rose-purple ermine robes of your "Royal Winter." And our children play all day on the driven snow & enjoy themselves even more than in summer.

With love to Mrs. Mansfield,

Yours truly,

SOPHIA A. HAWTHORNE

LENOX January 8th 1851.

²⁷ *The House of the Seven Gables*, begun in Sept., 1850, and finished in Jan., 1851.

²⁸ As two letters of Mansfield to Mrs. Hawthorne in reply indicate, the manuscript was that of the *Up-Country Letters*, which he sometimes called by the alternative title "The Pundison Letters." The two letters, dated Jan. 15, 1851, and Jan. 22, 1851, are printed on pp. 139-141 of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1897).

BIBLICAL ALLUSION IN MELVILLE'S PROSE

NATHALIA WRIGHT

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IN A CONSIDERATION of the books which constituted Herman Melville's literary background the Bible assumes noteworthy prominence. It belongs with Plato, Rabelais, Shakespeare, the seventeenth-century mystics, and miscellaneous voyages among the books upon which he drew indiscriminately as sources. His use of it was exclusively artistic, an appropriation already in evidence in 1848 when, at the age of twenty-nine, he first discovered Shakespeare: "Ah, he's full of sermons-on-the-mount, and gentle, ay, almost as Jesus. I take such men to be inspired. I fancy this Mons. Shakespeare in heaven ranks with Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael. And if another Messiah ever comes he will be in Shakespeare's person."¹

Echoes of the books he read are recognizable in what Melville wrote by his characteristic of citation. Scattered through his pages are catalogues of, and references to, authors, books, characters, events, legends, and fables. But most distinct and most consistent, from *Typee* to "Billy Budd," are the Biblical allusions which occur in every novel and the greater number of his tales and sketches.

In the thirteen volumes of prose there are approximately 650 references to Biblical characters, places, events, and books.² Two thirds of these references, or some 430 of them, are to the Old Testament, 200 are to the New Testament, and about a dozen are to the Apocrypha. In this list forty-seven of the sixty-six canonical books are represented.

By far the greater number of these allusions are to persons and events rather than to chapters and verses. The amount of Melville's direct quotation from the Bible is slight; only about fifty passages enclosed in quotation marks occur. On the other hand, he alludes

¹ Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 138.

² The number of references by volumes are: *Typee* 6; *Omoo* 8; *Mardi* (2 vols.) 75; *Redburn* 51; *White Jacket* 52; *Moby Dick* (2 vols.) 155; *Pierre* 70; *The Piazza Tales* 37; *Israel Potter* 31; *The Confidence Man* 63; *Billy Budd* 95. Five sketches in the *Billy Budd* volume alone contain no Biblical allusions: "The Fiddler," "The Apple-Tree Table," "Jack Gentian," "The Cincinnati," "Fragments from a Writing Desk." All references to Melville's works are to the Constable ed. (London, 1922-1924). All references to the Bible are to the King James translation, which Melville used.

to more than one hundred Biblical characters. Jonah is mentioned most often; then Adam, Jesus, Noah, Solomon, Job, Abraham, Moses, and Paul. The events most frequently referred to are, in order, the Flood, the Creation, the Last Judgment, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

I

Melville's appropriation of this body of material is most evident in his imagery, which is vastly enriched by Biblical allusion. For the most part simile and metaphor are employed, less often apostrophe and personification. The sperm whale, we read, ordinarily reproduces only one of its kind at a time, but has been known to give birth to an Esau and a Jacob. The continent of Africa is represented in *Mardi* as the island of Hamora. White Jacket introduces the subject of flogging through the fleet, "Let us freely enter this Golgotha."³ The uncle in "The Happy Failure" thinks he spies a boy sitting like Zaccheus in the tree across the stream. A captain, interrogating a prospective seaman, should inquire, "His knees, any Belshazzar symptoms there?"⁴ The retributive spirit of Moredock, the Indian-hater, spoke to the fears of the redskin bands "like the voice calling through the garden."⁵

By far the most effective of these images are those which succeed in imparting significance to otherwise insignificant material. Essentially mundane events are elevated into a supernatural or spiritual realm. Thus Melville watches from his piazza distant showers "which wrap old Greylock, like a Sinai, till one thinks swart Moses must be climbing among scathed hemlocks there."⁶

The cock of Merrymusk seemed like "some overpowering angel in the Apocalypse. He seemed crowing over the fall of wicked Babylon, or crowing over the triumph of righteous Joshua in the vale of Askalon."⁷

The cries of a group of seals are "like half-articulated wailings of the ghosts of all Herod's murdered Innocents."⁸

The islands of the Galapagos group seem like Dives: "Like split Syrian gourds left withering in the sun, they are cracked by an everlasting drought beneath a torrid sky. 'Have mercy upon me,' the wailing spirit of the Encantadas seems to cry, 'and send Lazarus

³ *White Jacket*, p. 465.

⁵ *The Confidence Man*, p. 205; Gen. 3:8-10.

⁷ *Billy Budd*, p. 168.

⁴ *Billy Budd*, p. 272; Dan. 5:6.

⁶ *The Piazza Tales*, p. 6.

⁸ *Moby Dick*, II, 303.

that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame.'"⁹

Vivenza is likened to "St. John, feeding on locusts and wild honey, and with prophetic voice crying to the nations from the wilderness. Or, child-like, standing among the old robed kings and emperors of the Archipelago, Vivenza seemed a young Messiah, to whose discourse the bearded Rabbis bowed."¹⁰

II

In the matter of characterization Melville is indebted to the Bible for certain prototypes. With the exception of Benito Cereno and Billy Budd, his heroes are all manifestations of one character—Ishmael, the man set at odds with his fellows. Four are actually identified with him: Redburn,¹¹ Ishmael, Pierre,¹² and Pitch.¹³

The element of ostracism appears most strongly in Pierre. He is at variance with his mother, his father's spirit, his betrothed, his publishers, his public, his kinsmen, even with Isabel.¹⁴

Only in Ishmael of the *Pequod* does the element of the charmed life appear. *Yishma'el*, "God shall hear," was the name which Hagar, at the injunction of an angel, bestowed on her son. Years later when he was perishing in the desert the prophecy of the name was fulfilled and his life was saved by a miraculous spring. So with the wreck of the *Pequod* the entire crew is lost, except one—Ishmael the sailor.

Israel Potter is another manifestation of the Ishmael character, but his story more distinctly parallels that of the Hebrew tribes in their forty years' journey from Egypt to Canaan. The analogy is entirely lacking in Melville's source,¹⁵ which contains but one Biblical allusion. Potter begins modestly, "I was born of reputable parents."¹⁶ Melville opines that his parents were good Puritans and

⁹ *The Piazza Tales*, p. 182.

¹⁰ *Mardi*, II, 175.

¹¹ *Redburn*, p. 79.

¹² *Pierre*, p. 125.

¹³ *The Confidence Man*, p. 185.

¹⁴ "And he [Ishmael] will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him. . . ." (Gen. 16:12).

¹⁵ *Life and remarkable adventures of Israel R. Potter (a native of Cranston, Rhode Island) who was a soldier in the American revolution . . . after which he was taken prisoner by the British, conveyed to England, where for 30 years he obtained a livelihood . . . by crying "Old chairs to mend" . . .* (Providence: Printed by H. Trumbull, 1824). Another copy says: Printed by J. Howard, for I. R. Potter. "But like the crutch-marks of the cripple by the Beautiful Gate, this blurred record is now out of print" (*Israel Potter*, p. v; Acts 3:10).

¹⁶ "Life and Adventures of Israel Ralph Potter," *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries*, Extra No. 16 (New York: William Abbatt, 1911), p. 621. A reprint.

prophetically named him, "since, for more than forty years, poor Potter wandered in the wild wilderness of the world's extremest hardships and ills."¹⁷ Escaping from Falmouth, Israel takes his way toward London; Chapter XXII, describing his route thence, is entitled "Something Further of Ethan Allen;"¹⁸ With Israel's Flight Toward the Wilderness."¹⁹ A few miles outside the city he finds employment in a brickyard; the title of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters makes the allusion clear, "Israel in Egypt."²⁰ Of his experiences in London we read,

For the most part, what befell Israel during his forty years' wanderings in the London deserts, surpassed the forty years in the natural wilderness of the outcast Hebrews under Moses.

In that London fog, went before him the ever-present cloud by day, but no pillar of fire by the night. . . .²¹

In his last days he would banish care by telling his one surviving child²² "of the far Canaan beyond the sea"²³—his native New England.

In the story of King Ahab in the first book of Kings are to be discovered the prototypes of a group of characters in *Moby Dick*. Captain Ahab is early associated with his Old Testament model. "Oh! he ain't Captain Bildad; no, and he ain't Captain Peleg; *he's Ahab*, boy; and Ahab of old, thou knowest, was a crowned king!"²⁴

To this the Presbyterian Ishmael replies, "And a very vile one. When that wicked king was slain, the dogs, did they not lick his blood?"²⁵ Whereupon Peleg defends Ahab, confessing, however, that the Indian squaw Tistig had said the name would prove prophetic.

Like King Ahab, who reared an altar to Baal, Captain Ahab worships pagan gods. Instructing Perth how to fashion the whale barbs, he insists on tempering them himself, not in water but in

¹⁷ *Israel Potter*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Chap. xxi, depicting Allen in prison, is entitled "Samson Among the Philistines" (*ibid.*, p. 189).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204, 208; see also p. 209.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

²² "The spared Benjamin of his old age" (*ibid.*, p. 221). Here the allusion is to Israel the man rather than Israel the people. Elsewhere it exceeds the time boundaries of the Hebrew's journey. Chap. v, in which Potter meets King George, is entitled "Israel in the Lion's Den" (*ibid.*, p. 36). Again, when war is declared in 1793, Potter is said to observe "the exodus of the lost tribes of soldiers" (*ibid.*, p. 217).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

²⁴ *Moby Dick*, I, 99.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

the heathen blood of Tashtego, Queequeg, and Daggoo, howling, "Ego non baptizo te in nomine patris, sed in nomine diaboli."²⁶

Like King Ahab, too, he meets his death through harkening to false prophecy. Before joining King Jehoshaphat in battle King Ahab consulted his four hundred prophets, who promised him victory. Last of all he consulted Micaiah, a prophet of Jehovah's, who foretold Ahab's defeat and charged his prophets with lying.²⁷ Yet in spite of Micaiah's story, King Ahab obeyed the false prophets, and thus deluded went to his death.

Fedallah appears increasingly in the last of *Moby Dick* in the role of false prophet. His cryptic reference to the two hearses floating on the sea fatally deceives Ahab, who sees in it an assurance of his victory over Moby Dick. For King Ahab's four hundred false prophets Captain Ahab had but one. On the other hand, for the one true prophecy made to King Ahab, Captain Ahab receives countless warnings of the truth. The pleadings of Starbuck, the ravings of Gabriel, the whisperings of his own spirit, and a host of omens in nature—all these he ignores, harkening only to Fedallah.

Starbuck, in the relation he bears to his captain, has a parallel in the original Ahab story. With his frenzied attempts to conciliate the powers Ahab seems determined to alienate, he suggests Obadiah, the god-fearing governor of King Ahab's house, who, when Jezebel persecuted the prophets, concealed fifty of them in a cave until the danger was past.

As for Elijah, the pox-marked lunatic who warns Ishmael and Queequeg from sailing with Captain Ahab, he bears the name of the Tishbite prophet Elijah, who denounced King Ahab and Jezebel for their wickedness, sentencing them and their posterity to death.

The *Jeroboam*, which the *Pequod* meets early in her voyage, is an example of personification. Jeroboam I, first king of Israel after the revolt of the tribes, introduced idolatrous worship into the kingdom, incurring in judgment the death of his son and the annihilation of his household. He was first in a long line of wicked kings who, repeating his offenses, met a similar fate. Thus King Ahab, eighth in the succession, for walking "in the sins of Jeroboam"²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 261.

²⁷ According to Micaiah, Ahab's doom was already sealed, and to Jehovah's inquiry for someone who would persuade him to engage in the fatal battle, a spirit had answered, ". . . I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets" (I Kings 22:22).

²⁸ I Kings 16:31.

received from Elijah the warning, "... [I] will make thine house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. . . ."²⁹ And, as in the fates of his predecessors, the prophecy was fulfilled.

The *Jeroboam* is also first in a series. The *Pequod* meets four vessels which have encountered Moby Dick, and of these the *Jeroboam* is the first. Stubbornly pursuing the great whale, the crew of the *Jeroboam* have brought on the death of their mate and an epidemic among themselves. Their fate is a message of warning to all ships venturing upon the same course, a message articulated by Gabriel and vindicated in the fates of the *Samuel Enderby*, the *Rachel*, and the *Delight*. Each of these vessels, having followed the example of the *Jeroboam* in pursuing Moby Dick, has met a similar doom.

Gabriel, the Neskyeuna Shaker, brings up apocalyptic associations. He bears the name of the angel in Daniel's vision, and his seventh vial comes from the vision of John. But he also has a parallel in the Book of Kings: Ahijah, the prophet who at first assured Jeroboam of success, but afterward, for his idolatry, prophesied the death of his son and the destruction of his entire household.

Like the *Jeroboam*, the *Rachel* is personified by a Biblical name. Cruising over the waters in search of the captain's son, this vessel is pictured as the spiritual mother of Israel.³⁰

Finally, Captain Bildad bears the name of one of Job's friends. Like Bildad the Shuhite, he too is full of proverbial wisdom and his speech abounds in pious phrases.

However distinctly they may stand in the relation of prototypes to Melville's characters, none of these Biblical personalities is in any sense the basis for an allegory. Elaborate symbol and detailed parallel was foreign to Melville's genius; his was a gothic not a classic method. Of all the analogies suggested by Biblical characters none is completely conceived and perfectly carried out. Only a hint is given, a tradition implied; upon complete application the pattern breaks down.³¹

²⁹ I Kings 21:22.

³⁰ *Moby Dick*, II, 315, 368; Jer. 31:15.

³¹ An elaborate allegory is suggested in the succession of ships in *Moby Dick*. Beginning with the *Moss* and ending with the *Delight*, the number of vessels which actually figure in the narrative, exclusive of the *Pequod*, is ten, a number which corresponds to the number of kings of Israel from Saul to Ahab. In this series the *Jeroboam* occupies fourth place, corresponding to the place of King Jeroboam I; and if the *Pequod* is counted as the eleventh ship, it corresponds to the place of King Ahab, eleventh in the line from King Saul. Yet this correspondence is not assured except in the cases of the *Jeroboam* and the *Pequod*, and with the *Rachel* it breaks down utterly.

III

In the construction of his plots Melville drew upon Biblical sources for certain themes. He never adopted an entire story, but rather patterns of thought and action which he wove into his own narrative. Four such themes or motifs may be distinguished.

The great motif in *Moby Dick* is prophecy. In addition to the innumerable prophetic elements in the book, there are articulate prophets. Not all, however, are on the same level; some are eloquent, others are mere sound and fury. They correspond to different stages in the development of Hebrew prophecy. This development may be said to begin with the simple soothsayer or foreteller, like the Witch of Endor; such prophets are Tistig and Elijah. It reaches its culmination in the interpreter or spokesman of Jehovah, such as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Such a prophet is Father Mapple. Declining at last into an apocalyptic type of foretelling, prophecy in its later phase is best represented by the latter part of the book of Daniel. To this class of prophets belongs Gabriel. Finally, there were among the Hebrews equivocal or false prophets, like those who deceived King Ahab; to these Fedallah is related.³²

Like the Hebrew prophets, hopelessly entangled in their national destinies, these characters are all defeatists, dwelling exclusively upon forthcoming catastrophe. Father Mapple alone has a coherent message. The Jonah of his sermon is himself a kind of Ishmael, called to set himself against the Ninevites. He is not, however, the Biblical character.

In the last chapter of the Book of Jonah the prophet makes a clear defense of himself. It was to avoid the folly of prophesying a destruction he knew would not be forthcoming that he fled. His suspicions have been vindicated: he has promised death to Nineveh, the people have repented, and Jehovah, touched by their new allegiance, has pardoned them. His prophecy appears vain, even ridiculous.

Father Mapple ascribes a different motive to Jonah's flight. His Jonah has none of the vindictive spirit of the Biblical prophet. On the contrary, he flees to avoid the hostility he will raise by preaching the unwelcome truth to the wicked city. But even in his flight he becomes the thing he fears: an outcast among his fellows, bringing

³² For an analysis of the development of Hebrew prophecy see Duncan B. MacDonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius* (Princeton, N. J., 1933).

hatred upon himself in their midst. Even nature conspires against him, stirring up such a storm that the crew is forced to sacrifice him for its own safety.

Of the latter part of the story of Jonah, Father Mapple has nothing to say. The salvation of Nineveh through repentance, the surpassing gentleness of this Jehovah does not concern him. Indeed, the moral of the tale is reversed, as he repudiates all possibility of reconciliation. As he tells it, the story illustrates the insistence of fate in the life of the individual. Imitating the Hebrew prophets, he exclaims, "Woe to him who seeks to pour oil upon the waters when God has brewed them into a gale!"³³

Father Mapple's message, as his phraseology suggests, is more than a sermon; it is a prophecy. Impelled by the same inexorable destiny, Captain Ahab pursues a course which, like Jonah's, lies amid hatred and destruction. With him he, likewise, draws an innocent crew. The final catastrophe is no accident, but part of the storm brewed from the beginning of the book.

The theme appearing in *Pierre* is the theme of the Gospels, more particularly of the Sermon on the Mount. The portrait of Pierre's grandfather was "a glorious gospel framed and hung upon the wall, and declaring to all people, as from the Mount, that man is a noble, godlike being, full of choicest juices. . . ."³⁴

To the memory of his father, whom he worships, Pierre has erected a shrine in his heart which to him seems "spotless, and still new as the marble of the tomb of him of Arimathea."³⁵

Pierre is actuated throughout by New Testament ethics. At their first interview he sees in Isabel "that angelic childlikeness, which our Savior hints is the one only investiture of translated souls; for of such—even of little children—is the other world."³⁶ At his second interview he calls their meal of bread and water the true sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In Pierre's relation to Mr. Falsgrave the New Testament is set against the Old. On the subject of the unfortunate Delly, Mr. Falsgrave quotes the law regarding the sins of the fathers, while Pierre cites the story of the woman taken in adultery. Discussing the Fifth Commandment, he further confounds Falsgrave, who avoids the issue by appealing to the words of the text. Like Jesus

³³ *Moby Dick*, I, 58.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³⁴ *Pierre*, p. 40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

arguing with the scribes, Pierre opposes to the letter of the law the spirit.

Indeed, in his devotion to the cause represented by Isabel Pierre finally becomes identified with Jesus. Of his decision to abandon Lucy and marry Isabel we read, "Thus, in the Enthuiast to Duty, the heaven-begotten Christ is born; and will not own a mortal parent, and spurns and rends all mortal bonds."³⁷ As he prepares to visit Isabel for the first time, Pierre prays, "May heaven new-string my soul, and confirm me in the Christ-like feeling I first felt."³⁸

As he travels toward London Pierre first begins to doubt his decision. The cause of his distress is the discrepancy he perceives between "that greatest real miracle of all religions, the Sermon on the Mount"³⁹ and the world about him. At this point he discovers Plinlimmon's pamphlet, "Chronometricals and Horologicals." Here the teachings of Jesus are examined and, so far as this world is concerned, repudiated as impractical. In the words of Plinlimmon, Jesus was a chronometer, carrying a time in disagreement with that of the man, or horologe, of the world; this difference was the inevitable cause of his death, and will be the death of all who attempt to imitate him.

With this the Gospel theme in *Pierre* disappears. Its purpose is the motivation of Pierre's action, and once this is accomplished it is abandoned. The end of the narrative is here anticipated, as Plinlimmon describes the fate of the would-be chronometer.

The motif found in "Billy Budd" is likewise a New Testament theme, the thème of the crucifixion. The instinctive array of good and evil against each other is symbolized in the association of Claggart and Budd. In this pattern Claggart represents "natural depravity," a quality not consisting of petty vices but innately residing in his inmost being. Budd is in one sense simple nature, Adam before the fall.⁴⁰ Yet his innocence is more than that of a natural man; it is a divine innocence, incorruptible by the world or the forces of darkness.

Claggart first tempts Budd to join a mutiny, and failing, swears falsely to his guilt of treason. So Jesus was betrayed and falsely accused of treason, after he had withstood the temptations of Satan in the wilderness.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

⁴⁰ *Billy Budd*, pp. 16-17.

When Budd is faced with Claggart's charge he does not utter a word in self-defense. Before his accuser he stands dumb, as Jesus before the chief priests. The experience has brought out his defect of speech, and he is momentarily paralyzed, though making agonized efforts to speak, "efforts soon ending for the time in confirming the paralysis, and bringing to the face an expression which was as a crucifixion to behold."⁴¹

Captain Vere stands in two relationships to Budd. He is primarily his military superior and disciplinarian, sacrificing everything to the end of having Billy convicted. Like Pilate, he condemns to death a man whom he knows to be innocent.⁴²

Vere also appears in the role of Billy's father; as Abraham to Isaac,⁴³ as God to Jesus. The scene between the two in Vere's cabin is reminiscent of Gethsemane, as Budd surrenders his own will to his captain's. Ahab and Pierre cannot perceive the personality behind the mask, but Billy Budd sees Captain Vere face to face. The two meet in a spiritual father-son relationship; they are in a peculiar sense one being.

The pattern of the crucifixion story is carried out to the end. Although he is purest of the pure, Billy is hanged from the yard after the manner of a criminal. His death is accompanied by certain circumstances which appear supernatural to his comrades—his motionless body, the sea birds flying round the spot where his remains were lowered into the sea. For several years the sailors of the *Indomitable* kept track of the spar from which Billy was suspended, following it from ship to dockyard to ship again. "To them a chip of it was as a piece of the Cross."⁴⁴

Finally, the theme of the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament appears cursorily from *Mardi* to *Billy Budd*. The precepts of Solomon are cited by Taji, Redburn, Ishmael, Pierre's old city kinsman, Egbert, the narrator of "Cock-a-Doodle-Do," "I and My

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴² Like Pilate, too, who in one legend is said to have been haunted by the memory of Jesus during his last years in Spain, Vere murmurs Budd's name as he lies dying on Gibraltar.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113. A suggestion of the atonement doctrine and the ascension is made in the description of Budd's execution: ". . . the vapoury fleece hanging low in the east, was shot through with a soft glory as of the fleece of the Lamb of God seen in mystical vision, and simultaneously therewith, watched by the wedged mass of upturned faces, Billy ascended; and ascending, took the full rose of the dawn" (*ibid.*, p. 103).

Chimney," and "Under the Rose."⁴⁵ Job is alluded to in *Redburn*, *White Jacket*, *Moby Dick*, *Pierre*, *The Piazza Tales*, *The Confidence Man*, and *Billy Budd*. Proverbs is quoted in four books,⁴⁶ Ecclesiastes in two,⁴⁷ Job in two,⁴⁸ and Ecclesiasticus in one.⁴⁹

The unrelieved pessimism of the Old Testament skeptics is shared at times by the greater number of Melville's characters. Ishmael exclaims, ". . . the truest of all books is Solomon's, and Ecclesiastes is the fine hammered steel of woe. 'All is vanity.' ALL. This wilful world hath not got hold of unchristian Solomon's wisdom yet."⁵⁰ "Solomon more than hints that all men are fools," observes Taji; "and every wise man knows himself to be one."⁵¹ China Aster's epitaph reads in part, "Here lie the remains of China Aster . . . whose career was an example of the truth of scripture, as found in the sober philosophy of Solomon the wise; for he was ruined by allowing himself to be persuaded . . . into the free indulgence of confidence, and an ardently bright view of life. . . ."⁵²

The scene of the Wisdom Books is rigidly circumscribed. According to them, each man is free to move within a certain sphere, but from trespassing in other spheres he is warned by innumerable signs. Their restraint is echoed by Ishmael, beginning his analysis of whales, "What am I that I should essay to hook the nose of this leviathan! The awful tauntings in Job might well appal me. 'Will he (the leviathan) make a covenant with thee? Behold the hope of him is vain!'",⁵³ by Father Mapple, discoursing of the life to come, ". . . I leave eternity to Thee; for what is man that he should live out the lifetime of his God?"⁵⁴ Old Plain Talk and Old Prudence, who strive to keep China Aster within his means, are compared to Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar advising Job.

The ethics of the Wisdom writers are prudential and utilitarian.

⁴⁵ See also a letter from Melville to Hawthorne: "I have come to regard this matter of Fame as the most transparent of all vanities. I read Solomon more and more, and every time see deeper and deeper and unspeakable meanings in him. . . . It seems to me now that Solomon was the truest man who ever spoke, and yet that he a little *managed* the truth with a view to popular conservatism. . ." (Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic*, New York, 1921, p. 323).

⁴⁶ *Mardi*, I, 62; *Moby Dick*, II, 182; *The Piazza Tales*, p. 271; *The Confidence Man*, pp. 223, 334.

⁴⁷ *Moby Dick*, I, 181, 263; *Billy Budd*, p. 310.

⁴⁸ *Moby Dick*, I, xiii, 59, 166, 167; II, 94, 368; *The Piazza Tales*, p. 64.

⁴⁹ *The Confidence Man*, pp. 252, 314, 323, 324.

⁵⁰ *Moby Dick*, II, 181; Eccles. 1:2 ff.

⁵¹ *Mardi*, I, 53.

⁵² *The Confidence Man*, p. 292.

⁵³ *Moby Dick*, I, 166, 167; Job 41:4, 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 59; Job 7:17; Ps. 8:4; 144:3.

"Who will pity the charmer that is bitten with a serpent?"⁵⁵ quotes Mark Winsome to Frank Goodman. William Cream, the barber, recites from Ecclesiasticus, and upon his recommendation Goodman reads, "'Believe not his many words—an enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips. . . . With much communication he will tempt thee; he will smile upon thee, and speak thee fair, and say What wantest thou? If thou be for his profit he will use thee; he will make thee bear, and will not be sorry for it. Observe and take good heed. When thou hearest these things, awake in thy sleep.'"⁵⁶ And again, "'Take heed of thy friends.' . . ."⁵⁷

This pre-eminently secular philosophy is always juxtaposed in Melville's pages with one more transcendental. The prophet Alma's conception of religion is contrasted to Babbalanja's, Pierre's to Plinlimmon's and Falsgrave's, Frank Goodman's to that of Mark Winsome, Egbert, and William Cream.⁵⁸ In this scheme the philosophy of the Wisdom writers is not represented as a solution to existence, but rather as a statement of certain cosmological laws and the penalties consequent on disobedience of them. Yet in Melville's world there are individuals whose fate is superior to law and who are destined to press beyond their own spheres in spite of ultimate disaster.

IV

Melville's indebtedness to the literature of the Bible is distinguishable finally in his style.⁵⁹ Three Biblical strains in particular he is successful in imitating. The apocalyptic is sustained for an entire chapter in *Mardi*, as Babbalanja relates his vision: "Strange throbbings seized me; my soul tossed on its own tides. But soon the inward harmony bounded in exulting choral strains. I heard a feathery rush; and straight beheld a form, traced all over with veins of vivid light. The vision undulated round me."⁶⁰ The pro-

⁵⁵ *The Confidence Man*, p. 252; Eccclus. 12:13.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 323; Eccclus. 13:11; 12:16; 13:11, 6, 4, 5, 13.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324; Eccclus. 6:13.

⁵⁸ In *Pierre* the Gospels are pictured as being especially tempered to youth, whereas the Proverbs of the Old Testament hold more significance for age (pp. 93, 94, 187).

⁵⁹ At various times Melville showed himself facile in imitating certain distinctive styles not his own; see his imitation of Anglo-Saxon poetry in *Mardi*, I, 86, 193; II, 135, 183; of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans in *Mardi*, II, 114-116; *Moby Dick*, I, 157; II, 300; *Pierre*, pp. 271, 502, 503. These imitations are responsible for one of the chief characteristics of his own style—its overtones. It is a style enriched by rhythmical as well as imagistic associations, so that as the words are read the counterpoint of other words is audible.

⁶⁰ *Mardi*, II, 373, 374. See also *Moby Dick*, I, 236, 237; II, 122; *Pierre*, p. 433.

phetic strain is most distinct in Father Mapple's sermon, where the most familiar linguistic device of the Hebrew prophets—the repeated ejaculation “Woe” at the beginning of each sentence—is employed.⁶¹ The tradition of the Psalms is imitated at length in *The Confidence Man*: “Praise be unto the press, not Faust's, but Noah's; let us extol and magnify the press, the true press of Noah, from which breaketh the true morning. Praise be unto the press, not the black press but the red; let us extol and magnify the press, the red press of Noah, from which cometh inspiration.”⁶²

In addition to imitating certain Biblical strains, Melville adopts many Biblical idioms: “came to pass,” “children's children,” “fullness of time,” “outer darkness,” “the blackness of darkness,” “the quick and the dead,” “gathered to his fathers,” “the apple of his eye,” “the fat of the land,” “the salt of the earth,” “Death on a pale horse,” “weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.”

He carries over certain Hebraisms: a succession of genitives, “all the waves of the billows of the seas of the boisterous mob”; the cognate accusative, “I dreamed a dream,” “Liverpool was created with the Creation”; the parallel, “Closer home does it go than a rammer; and fighting with steel is a play without ever an interlude”; the antithesis, “After the lightning is beheld, what fool shall stay the thunderbolt?”

He paraphrases individual verses. Redburn, sympathizing with the truck horses, declares, “Thou shalt not lay stripes upon these Roman citizens.”⁶³ Fat men are said to be of men “the good measures; brimmed, heaped, pressed down, piled up, and running over.”⁶⁴ Pierre questions his mother's love for him, “Loveth she me with the love past all understanding?”⁶⁵ Ishmael holds a brief for animals slain by men for food, “I tell you it will be more tolerable for the Feegee that salted down a lean missionary in his cellar against a coming famine; it will be more tolerable for that provident Feegee, I say, in the day of judgment, than for thee, civilized and enlightened gourmand, who nailest geese to the ground and featest on their bloated livers in thy paté-de-foie-gras.”⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Moby Dick*, I, 58-59.

⁶² *The Confidence Man*, p. 223; Gen. 9:20, 21. See also *Pierre*, pp. 43, 44.

⁶³ *Redburn*, p. 253; Exod. 20:1 ff.; Acts 22:25. ⁶⁴ *Mardi*, I, 337; Luke 6:38.

⁶⁵ *Pierre*, p. 125; John 21:15-17; Eph. 3:19; Phil. 4:7.

⁶⁶ *Moby Dick*, II, 23; Matt. 10:15; 11:22, 24; Mark 6:11; Luke 10:14. See also *White Jacket*, p. 4; Ps. 139:9. *Billy Budd*, p. 153; Ps. 50:1. *Redburn*, p. 366; I Pet. 5:8. *Mardi*, I, 17; Luke 10:34.

Melville's knowledge of the Bible was such as might have been acquired in any orthodox environment. Albany, in which he visited from his seventh year and where he lived from the time he was eleven until he was seventeen, is described as "a stronghold of piety" in 1830.⁶⁷ Albany Academy, which he attended for an undetermined period between the years 1832 and 1834, was "first and foremost a 'god-fearing school'";⁶⁸ the regular classical schedule included a course in *Historia Sacra* during the first year. In addition, much of his knowledge must have come from church attendance,⁶⁹ some pictorially,⁷⁰ and some through intermediate sources, such as Bunyan, Browne, and Milton.

Indeed, the extent of Melville's Biblical knowledge is less significant than the insistence with which he drew upon it. Emerson, with his ministerial background, does not make such intensive use of this body of material.⁷¹ Hawthorne ignores it. As Hawthorne employed the Puritan tradition, however, Melville employed the Bible: to serve a definite artistic purpose.

Examined in this light, Biblical allusion in Melville's pages appears as his chief method of creating an extensive background for his narratives. It magnifies his characters and themes, which are essentially simple and mundane, so that they appear larger and more significant than life. It suggests the existence of a world beyond the world of sense, which exerts influence upon this world, and in which ultimate truth resides.⁷² Above all, it helps establish a background of antiquity for his sequence of events, thus investing them with a certain timeless quality.

Next in number to his Biblical allusions are Melville's references to the ancient world. A thorough antiquary, he displays a curious preoccupation with the past in all he writes. Ancient lands, tribes, cities, kings, generals, writings, and structures appear in his pages.⁷³

⁶⁷ Harold Larrabee, "Herman Melville's Early Years in Albany," *New York History*, xv, N. Y. Hist. Assoc., 1934 (*Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, xxxii), 154.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁶⁹ *Redburn*, pp. 4, 41, 67, 94, 103, 105, 106, 264; *Moby Dick*, I, 64, 275; II, 16, 176; *Pierre*, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Redburn* p. 22; *Mardi*, I, 70; *Moby Dick*, I, 322; II, 105.

⁷¹ See Harriet Rodgers Zink, "Emerson's Use of the Bible," *University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism*, No. 14 (Lincoln, Neb., 1935).

⁷² Melville's philosophy is often called Platonic. But he was closer to the Hebrews than to the Greeks in his conception of the invisible realm as one of strangeness and terror. See *Moby Dick*, I, 243, 349; Exod. 3:2-6; Dan. 5:5-6.

⁷³ A partial list of the antiquities he mentions would include Chaldea, Medea, Persia, Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Coptic, Sanskrit, and Herculean manuscripts, hieroglyphics,

These antiquities are so related to the story he tells that it is never an isolated whole, but the continuation or repetition of some earlier experience. Upon the deck of the nineteenth-century *Pequod* stands Captain Ahab, bearing the name of an Israelite king of the tenth century B.C. His vessel itself is named for an extinct tribe of Indians, as extinct, we are told, as the Medes and the Persians. Perceiving the present as the cumulation of the past, Taji exclaims, ". . . I was at the subsiding of the Deluge, and helped swab the ground, and build the first house. With the Israelites, I fainted in the wilderness. . . . I, it was, who suppressed the lost work of Manetho, on the Egyptian theology . . . I, who originated the conspiracy against that purple murderer, Domitian. . . . I am the Veiled Persian Prophet; I, the man in the iron mask; I, Junius."⁷⁴

So, in the end, Biblical lore is indiscriminately mixed with ancient and medieval history in Melville's attempt to create an "indefinite, infinite background,"⁷⁵ and finally loses its separate identity. It is but part of the great past, undistinguished otherwise in the sum of human experience.

Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Babylon, Thebes, Petra, Luxor, Palmyra, Rome, Carthage, Cheops, Darius, Alexander, Sardanapalus, Xerxes, Memnon, Canute, Caesar, Attila, the Pyramids, the Forum, the Catacombs, Ammon, Apis, Apollo, Jove, Juno, Achilles, Laöcoon, Xenophon, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle.

⁷⁴ *Mardi*, I, 345.

⁷⁵ *White Jacket*, p. 500.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

DIXON WECTER

Henry E. Huntington Library

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S emergence as the first great American literary artist, and the more modest station of Francis Hopkinson among "the three leading satirists on the Whig side of the American Revolution,"¹ need not obscure the splendid versatility—so characteristic of the eighteenth-century intellect—which both possessed. Hopkinson indeed is in some respects a younger and a minor Franklin: man of business, scientist and amateur inventor, *littérateur*, patriot, statesman, and savant, with an ample fund of curiosity and good humor which he employed freely in the daily affairs of life. The editing of four hitherto unknown letters from Hopkinson to Franklin and of one satire by Hopkinson known before solely in mutilated form, gives occasion to review perhaps the most stable friendship found in the early literary annals of Philadelphia. The disparity of thirty-one years between their ages was perhaps more than balanced by the fact that Francis Hopkinson inherited the intimacy Franklin had bestowed upon Thomas Hopkinson, the poet's father, who had also set family precedents in being Judge of the Admiralty for Pennsylvania, a keen experimenter with electricity, and a zealous member of the Library Company and of the American Philosophical Society.²

Educated as "the first scholar" of the Academy of Philadelphia which Franklin had sponsored,³ young Hopkinson wrote from Philadelphia on December 13, 1765, his first known letter to the sage, now in London, thanking him for an act of friendship. Franklin had reported indirectly to the Bishop of Worcester that his lordship's American kinsman was "a very ingenious young Man . . . daily growing in esteem for his good Morals & obliging Disposi-

¹ Moses C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1897), I, 291, who contrasts Hopkinson's characteristic playfulness with the grimness of his fellow partisans Trumbull and Freneau.

² Franklin wrote Thomas Hopkinson's obituary for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1751; see also *Writings of Franklin* (hereinafter called *Writings*), ed. Smyth (New York, 1905), I, 90; II, 277, and 304 n.

³ George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), p. 43; this excellent definitive biography will be cited hereinafter as Hastings.

tion."⁴ After hearing this favorable report the Bishop in the late spring of 1766 invited his Philadelphia relative to visit him, and Hopkinson accepted with alacrity. His elation was momentarily dashed upon finding when he reached London on July 22, 1766, that Franklin was absent in Germany, but in a short time his old friend returned and was "very kind" to him, as the young aspirant after place and fortune wrote on September 23 to his mother.⁵ Hopkinson's hopes in England seemed to bear little fruit, and from the episcopal pomp of Hartlebury Castle he wrote Franklin a long letter on May 31, 1767, telling of his pleasant times but looking forward to his departure in September for "dear Philadelphia."⁶ From his next letter to Franklin, written in Philadelphia on March 28, 1768, we surmise that the latter had advised Hopkinson to follow a mercantile career rather than the mirage of preferment.⁷ Although such counsels were dutifully received, Hopkinson wrote again to Franklin on April 23, 1770, soliciting his influence with the poet's relative by marriage, Lord North, in obtaining the Collectorship of Customs at Philadelphia; two years later Hopkinson reaped some reward from his cheerful persistence.⁸

No letters between Hopkinson and Franklin appear to have survived from the crucial middle period of this decade—while Franklin in London was under fire as the representative par excellence of American discontent, steering a devious course between loyalties and interests which finally led him back to Philadelphia in 1775. Hastings has suggested that Hopkinson's immediate attachment to the American cause, in the face of his numerous Tory connections, may have come from Franklin's persuasion.⁹ Certainly the Revolution marked a new era in Hopkinson's life, evoking the satiric vein which began with *A Pretty Story* (1774), and arousing the patriotic statesmanship which made him a delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Chairman of the Continental Navy Board, and

⁴ Franklin's letter of May 10, 1765, to James Burrow, who carried this report to the Bishop, will be found in Hastings, pp. 119-120, from the MS owned by George O. G. Coale; Hopkinson's acknowledgment, among the Franklin Papers in the A. P. S., is summarized by the *Calendar of Franklin Papers*, I, 52, and quoted in part by Hastings, p. 121.

⁵ Cf. Hastings, pp. 131-132 and 137.

⁶ *Calendar*, I, 73, and Hastings, pp. 146-147.

⁷ *Calendar*, I, 82, and Hastings, p. 157.

⁸ *Calendar*, I, 108, and Hastings, pp. 165-166; on May 1, 1772, Hopkinson became Collector of Customs at New Castle on Delaware.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

Treasurer of Loans. In this last official capacity he wrote his next known letter to Franklin in Paris, on September 18, 1778.¹⁰ A personal letter followed on October 22 of this same year, to tell Franklin of Hopkinson's flight from Bordentown to escape the plundering British; the hardships of war had not expelled all scientific curiosity from his mind, and in this same letter he reported borrowing Franklin's electrical apparatus from Mrs. Bache.¹¹ This is a subject to which Hopkinson recurs in one of the letters below. Franklin's answer from Passy on June 4, 1779, assured him of sympathy over his losses from British vandalism, and among other interesting details disclosed the fact that he had named Hopkinson as one of the executors of his will.¹² Hopkinson's next letter appears to be that written on September 5 of this year, enclosing "a few of my political Squibs."¹³ Holograph copies of "The Battle of the Kegs" and "Date Obolum Bellesario" by Hopkinson have long been listed among the Franklin Papers accessible to students;¹⁴ from the new mss transcribed below it appears that the poet favored Franklin with other productions as well. Franklin's pleasure in receiving such patriotic *jeux d'esprit* is expressed in his letter to Hopkinson on March 6, 1780.¹⁵ Hopkinson's next letter to the philosopher at Passy is found among the Bache Papers, lately acquired by the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; it is written on a single page, and addressed on the back "Honourable / Doctor Franklin / forward'd by / M^r. Foulk."

Philad^a. 22^d. April 1780

Dear Sir,

This Letter will be presented by M^r. Foulk the Son of Judah Foulk of this City whom you may remember.¹⁶ I beg leave to recommend him to your Notice, he is a worthy young Man in his private Character—whether Whig or Tory I cannot say—his Connections are for the most part of the latter Denomination.—I wrote to you by M^r. Gerard who is

¹⁰ *Calendar*, I, 498.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 519, quoted extensively in Hastings, pp. 276-277.

¹² *Writings*, ed. Smyth, VII, 350-351.

¹³ *Calendar*, II, 137, and Hastings, pp. 278-280.

¹⁴ *Calendar*, IV, 302.

¹⁵ *Writings*, VIII, 31-32.

¹⁶ John Foulke of Philadelphia, physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, Quaker and amateur scientist, went equipped with at least one additional letter of introduction to Franklin at Passy, that of Joseph Wharton, Jr., dated April 27, 1780 (*Calendar*, II, 243). See Foulke's letter of thanks to Franklin for the hospitalities shown him, dated Leipsic, Oct. 12, 1781, in *Calendar*, II, 400. Hopkinson had further relations with him after his return to Philadelphia, regarding his interest in balloons and also in a professional quarrel Foulke had with Dr. Shippen; cf. Hastings, pp. 337 and 425-426.

I hope safe arrived at Paris long before this,¹⁷—We are very anxious here for the Fate of Charles Town—the present Time is probably the very Crisis [*sic*] of Decision respecting that City.¹⁸ The Southern Post arrived last Evening the British had got their Ships over the Bar—the heavy ones I mean—which was deemed impracticable—& were making their approaches to the City—we sanguine Whigs however are not without Hopes of Relief from the French or Spanish Ships in the West Indies.—Affairs in Ireland look well for us—a Cork Paper of January has found its Way here, & revived our Hopes from that Quarter¹⁹—May God defend the Right & defeat the wicked purposes of those who would oppress & enslave their fellows!—

Your Family & Friends are all well, as also are mine.

I am ever

Your truly affectionate

F. Hopkinson

Hopkinson wrote Franklin again in August, 1780, and entrusted his letter to Henry Laurens, former President of the Continental Congress, who was bound for Europe. Captured by the British on September 3, 1780, off Newfoundland, Laurens attempted to destroy a sack of private letters by throwing it overboard; but his captors fished out the bag and later treated the letters with undeserved solemnity and pomp—such as Hopkinson imagined in writing again to Franklin on July 17, 1781.²⁰ His correspondent acknowledged receipt of this letter in replying on September 13,²¹ to which the third Hopkinson letter of the present series is in turn a direct

¹⁷ Conrad Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval, first Secretary to the French Foreign Office and French Minister to the U. S., was the bearer of Hopkinson's letter to Franklin of Sept. 5, 1779 (*Calendar*, II, 137). Cf. Gérard's letter to Franklin from Versailles, March 15, 1780, apologizing for not calling to pay his respects at an earlier date (*ibid.*, II, 228).

¹⁸ For a description of the British maneuvers against Charleston which led to its capture on May 12, 1780, after weeks of crumbling defenses, see D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), Vol. I, chap. lvi, "The Fall of Charlestown."

¹⁹ For the troubled conditions in Ireland, termed in Parliament "the spirit of resistance directed toward independency, which has manifested itself in Ireland," see *Parliamentary History*, XX, 1197 ff. (Dec. 6, 1779). Edmund Burke in his speech on this date linked "America lost" with "Ireland with 42,000 men in arms" (*ibid.*, p. 1207).

²⁰ *Calendar*, II, 385; his remark that he will not discuss the topic of Franklin's friends and enemies, and that to be without enemies is to lack all consequence in the world, anticipates his additional comment on this subject on Nov. 30, 1781, below. Concerning the fate of Laurens's cargo of mail and his humorous comment thereon, reminiscent of Hopkinson's here, see *Collections South Carolina Historical Society* (Charleston, 1857), I, 20, and D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915), p. 359 n. Hopkinson's associations with Laurens, ca. 1778, are indicated in Hastings, p. 276.

²¹ *Writings*, VIII, 306; Franklin comments: "I am sorry for the Loss of the *Squibs*. Every thing of yours gives me Pleasure."

answer. Before Franklin's September letter had reached Philadelphia Hopkinson wrote the second of our series:

My dear Sir,

Philad^a. Oct. 3^d. 1781

Unwilling to engage too much of your Attention I write but seldom & yet have been unlucky in the few Instances wherein I have endeavour'd to amuse you & gratify myself. My letters have for the most part miscarried. I wrote pretty fully by M^r. President Lawrence [*sic*], who you know was taken with his Papers—My Bagatelles were no Doubt paraded in great form on Lord G.: Germain's or Ld. North's Tables—& much Good may they do them.²²

I again enclose you a few of my Performances, comic & serious.—The Oratorial Affair, is I confess not very eloquent Poetry but the Entertainment consisted in the Music—& went off very well—In short the Musician cramp't the Poet.²³

This will be delivered to you by my good friend M^r. Thomas Barclay who is to reside in France as Consul for the United States; he is a Gentleman who will recommend himself on Acquaintance more effectually than I can do in a Letter; he has a particular Esteem for you; & will be much gratified in your Notice; and particularly obliged by your friendly advice & assistance in his Department.²⁴

I write no News—M^r. Barclay will give you a full Account of our Situation—I will only say that a very few weeks will leave the British very little Strength or Hold in America.

Sincerely wishing you Health and Happiness I am ever

Your Affectionate

F Hopkinson

write to me when you can
& inform me of Philosophical
Discoveries & Improvements.²⁵

²² Hopkinson had remarked on July 17: "They are heartily welcome to any performance of mine in that way. I wish the Dose was stronger & better for their sake" (*ibid.*, VIII, 306 n.).

²³ This is almost certainly Hopkinson's cantata styled "The Temple of Minerva: An Oratorial Entertainment," or "oratorical entertainment," which apparently survives solely in mutilated form in a ms of Hopkinson's prose and verse now in the Henry E. Huntington Library (HM 1267). Cf. O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer* (Washington, 1905), p. 111; Hastings, pp. 314-318, and the same author's article on Hopkinson in *D. A. B.* From the above letter it is evident that a performance took place prior to that on Dec. 11 mentioned in the *Freeman's Journal* for Dec. 19, 1781, quoted by Hastings, pp. 314-315.

²⁴ Thomas Barclay, U. S. Consul-General in France, wrote to Franklin from L'Orient on Nov. 15, 1781, to announce his safe arrival from America and to enclose the letters with which he had been charged (*Calendar*, II, 407). In compliance with Hopkinson's request to furnish the latest news of Britain's waning strength, Barclay reported that Cornwallis's surrender was expected within the next six weeks.

²⁵ Cf. Franklin to Hopkinson, March 6, 1780, reporting Ingenhousz's discovery that

The last two letters of our series were written on the same day, a little less than two months later. No intervening letters in the Franklin-Hopkinson correspondence appear to be on record. With the end of the Revolutionary War at last in sight, Hopkinson naturally turned his thoughts to the venerable friend, who, as most of his compatriots believed, had by his own skill achieved the French Alliance and thus assured victory to the American cause. Other letters among the Franklin and the Bache Papers testify to a similar feeling among correspondents of Franklin that personal congratulations were in order upon Cornwallis's surrender. Hopkinson wrote as follows:

Philad^a. Nov^r. 30th. 1781

My dear Sir,

Happening to be in your Parlour & finding Pen Ink Paper ready, that is to say, a bad Pen, a little Ink to be squeez'd out of an almost dry Piece of Cotton & this same Quarter of a Sheet of Paper which is all the house affords, I set down to brighten the Chain between us.—I wrote to you by M^r. Barclay who is I hope long since safe in Paris.—I heartily congratulate you on the glorious Conclusion of the Campaign. The Capture of Lord Cornwallis with near 10,000 Men is an Event honourable to the allied arms of France & America, & cannot avoid attracting the respectful Notice of the Neutral Powers.²⁶ We are all in anxious Expectation of the Effects this will produce in Europe—& particularly impatient to know how the Court of London will digest this military Pill—Cornwallis will hasten home to justify himself & accriminate Clinton—he may shake Hands with Burgoyne & say Brother, Brother we are back in a Box.²⁷ How many more Lords & Generals do they mean to send over?—Do they imagine our Washington's Brows are not yet sufficiently crown'd with Laurels?—or do they mean to continue the annual Tribute of a Sprig of that glorious plant, by sending over all of their Nobles to lay it at the feet of our virtuous & victorious Heroe—But my Paper is

the leaves of trees produced wholesome air and also describing the invention of a new telescope with an Iceland crystal lens (*Writings*, VIII, 32). The above letter bears the direction on the reverse side, "Hon^{ble} Dr. Franklin," and the endorsement "F. Hopkinson" in Franklin's hand.

²⁶ Hopkinson's mock "Advertisement" of Rivington, to which he alludes later in this letter, listed among the effects of that Tory printer, "The *Battle of Saratoga* and the *Surrender at York*; two elegant Prints, cut in Copper, and dedicated to the King" (*Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson*, Philadelphia, 1792, I, 165).

²⁷ To drive home the humiliation of Burgoyne, Hopkinson had composed his well-known allegorical poem "Date Obolum Bellesario," probably written in the year of Saratoga, but not published until April 22, 1778, in the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

almost full—I shall enclose, if I can, an Advertisement I wrote for Rivington, who curses me for doing him this kindness.²⁸

Yours ever

F: Hopkinson

Philad^a Nov^r 30th 1781

My dear Sir,

I this morning wrote a short Letter to you which I left on M^r Bache's Table,²⁹ since then, I have the Pleasure of your favour of Sep^r 13th. I need not assure you that this is a great Gratification to me. I always value your Letters at something above Par. First on account of their *intrinsic* Worth, & secondly because they have not, like our Continental Currency, been depreciated by *undue Emissions*.—Since you have found out such a useful Employment for your Enemies it is a great Pity your whole Stock should be reduced to *two*. What will become of you, if these should fail & become your friends out of pure Spite! In Case such a Misfortune should happen, I will endeavour to supply you from hence. Men who are perhaps not Enemies to you in particular, but to all good Men, good Measures & good Manners. Some are so unhappy as to outlive their friends: you are, I think, in a fair Way of outliving your Enemies, for if it were not for the beneficent Firmness of Monsieur L'E's et L'Zd's³⁰ you would be exposed to the Friendship & Flattery of the whole Alphabet.—I am not in this Predicament—I have Enemies who have struck deeply at my Character—Enemies whom nothing less would satisfy than Infamy affixed to my Name upon Record, & Beggary to my Children. I have thro' Life & thro' the trying Circumstances of the present war maintained at all Events an unspotted Integrity. My present (I will not call it Poverty but) want of Wealth is a Proof that I have not taken advantages which the Times afforded & which without Vanity, my abilities enabled me to do to enrich myself at the Expence of those Feelings of Right & Wrong which our Maker hath given us, & which are the merest Marks of the divine Will. Nevertheless I have been impeach'd by the Assembly & publickly tried before the Council as a corrupt Judge, an Extortioner & a violator of the Laws of my Country.—This happen'd about a Year ago: tho' I have hitherto avoided troubling you with the

²⁸ James Rivington, "King's Printer for New York" and publisher of the *Royal Gazette*, showed some disposition to turn his coat after the surrender of Cornwallis, and thus provoked Hopkinson's playful "Advertisement" of Rivington's abandoned effects, published Nov. 10, 1781, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and later in Hopkinson's *Miscellaneous Essays* (Philadelphia, 1792), Vol. 1.

²⁹ Richard Bache, Franklin's son-in-law.

³⁰ On Sept. 13, 1781, Franklin had written Hopkinson: "At present, I do not know of more than two such Enemies that I enjoy, viz. Lee and Izard. . . . They are unhappy, that they cannot make everybody hate me as much as they do; and I should be so, if my Friends did not love me much more than those Gentlemen can possibly love one another" (*Writings*, VIII, 306).

Detail, yet as you have mention'd the good Effects that may be derived from our Enemies, I am unavoidably led to give you this Anecdote, which I shall endeavour to explain to you in as few words as possible.—³¹

On the Death of Mr. Geo. Ross³² I was without any Sollicitation voluntarily appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty. I found the whole Business of this important Department in a State of utter Confusion. I determined to rescue this Court from a State of Prostration & Irregularity by mild but steady Measures. I found much opposition to my Design, from those whose temporary Interests would set Law aside, & whom Negligence & Habit had indulged in undue Advantages. My friend Mr. Matthew Clarkson was Marshal of the Court.³³ From a State of extreme Poverty, he was by this lucrative Office plunged in surrounding Wealth. He was not like Tantalus prohibited to taste of Blessings so near. On account of our ancient friendship I indulg'd him to the utmost limits of Propriety—perhaps further—I at least restored him to the rights & powers of his office, which he had not enjoyed before. The Owners of Privateers having wrested those out of his hands, whilst³⁴ he contented himself with such pecuniary Emoluments as he could make, a Case happen'd where some Owners of a Vessel that had been recaptur'd did by the advice of Lawyers, force the Vessel out of his Hands, in order to avoid the Interposition of the Court of Admiralty. In doing which they raised a Tumult, disturb'd the Peace of the City & most grossly insulted him in Person.

He call'd loud for Vengeance against the Rioters—he demanded Protection from the Judge—I suffered 3-4 days to pass that the first heat of this Transaction might cool. I then summon'd the offending Parties

³¹ A fuller and more impersonal account of Hopkinson's trial will be found in Edmund Hogan, *The Pennsylvania State Trials*, and in *Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Nov. 22-Dec. 26, 1780. Hastings, whose account of the trial (pp. 258 ff.) is based upon these records, observes on p. 262 that Hopkinson's only known reference to this notable event in his life appears briefly and vaguely in his letter to Franklin in March, 1783. The present detailed account is therefore of special interest to the biography of Hopkinson.

³² The letter of Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, to Hopkinson on July 14, 1779, inquiring "whether the Office of Judge of the Admiralty in Succession to Mr. Ross will be consistent with your present Post under Congress & otherwise agreeable," will be found in C. R. Hildeburn, "Francis Hopkinson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 322 (1878). According to the same article, Hopkinson promptly entered upon his new office two days later.

³³ Matthew Clarkson, member of the American Philosophical Society, Commissioner of the Bankrupt Office, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia; on behalf of the Library Company of Philadelphia he had signed a letter to Franklin, jointly with Francis Hopkinson on April 27, 1772 (*Calendar*, I, 131). President Reed in his decree handed down at the end of the trial observed that Clarkson and Hopkinson had formerly been intimate friends; cf. Hastings, p. 262, n. 2.

³⁴ The use of "whilst" is a stylistic trait of Hopkinson; cf. Hastings, p. 203.

before me. I reprov'd & fin'd them for the offence but with great Moderation. And I called upon the Lawyer who had advis'd this illegal Conduct & reprimand'd him for his Indiscretion. This Lawyer happen'd to be M^r. Serjeant the Attorney General.³⁵ Most people thought, amongst whom were the Judges of the Supreme Court, that I should have sent him to Goal [*sic*]. But I always wish that any Punishments I have the Power to inflict may fall short of the Expectations of others rather than exceed them—The offending Parties by means [*not is blotted and apparently canceled*] easily ascertained pacified the Marshal & induced him not to execute the Writ against them. This was a Prostitution of office which I could not put up with. I thought it my Duty to Complain to Council. The Council as well as the mercantile Part of the City had long wish'd a favourable opportunity of changing the Marshal because they thought it an office too lucrative to remain long in the hands of one Person; & because Covetousness had too visibly possess'd the whole Soul of M^r. Clarkson. He was heard in his Defence & removed from the office—what was the Consequence! He united with M^r. Serjeant, whom before he had held in avowed Abhorrence, & with him plann'd my Destruction. They look'd over the Docket of the Court & found a Cause wherein they thought I had taken more fees than the Law strictly allowed;³⁶ they found out a Case where a Prize had come in laden with Salt, an Article much wanted at that Time & greatly monopolised: I permitted the Captors to have the Salt sold before condemnation provided the Marshal might sell it in small parcels for the Accommodation of housekeepers, & retain the Monies in his hands till Condemnation,—for which Indulgence I neither did nor was to receive fee or Reward—but I had neglected to have the Cargoe viewed by 3 Men who were to swear that it was a perishable article, agreeably to the Law;³⁷ & they discover'd also that a Person whom I had greatly befriended in the Days of his Youth had sent me out of Gratitude a Quarter Cask of Wine (I am sorry to say it was bad Wine) for which however I neither promised nor granted any official Favour.³⁸ These Discoveries served for Articles of Impeachment. And

³⁵ Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, appointed Attorney General on July 28, 1777; he showed a rather notable disregard during the Revolution for the niceties of legal procedure. Cf. "Journal of S. R. Fisher," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLI, 159 ff. (April, 1917).

³⁶ Cf. Hogan, *The Pennsylvania State Trials . . . of F. Hopkinson and J. Nicholson* (Philadelphia, 1794), I, 30.

³⁷ This was the cargo of the prize ship *Albion* (Hogan, *op. cit.*, I, 9).

³⁸ From the prize brig *Gloucester*, captured by the *Fair American*, Charles Miller gave Hopkinson what he believed to be "a cask of wine of the first quality" (*ibid.*, I, 14 ff.). It may also be noted that George Washington received a pipe of this wine, according to testimony cited on p. 21. Hopkinson, a connoisseur of wine and perquisites, had written to the Board of Admiralty, May 25, 1780, regarding his design for the U. S. flag and a variety of official seals: "I now submit it to your Honours' Consideration, whether a Quarter

I was accordingly impeached & tried before the Council: to the great Amusement of the City for a full week. I was however, notwithstanding the most strenuous Exertions, acquitted of the whole, by the *unanimous* Voice of Council. It appeared on examining the Charge of Extortion that I had taken £80 less than the Law would have justified; & that there was no Corruption in the Cases charged. I should not perhaps, have troubled you with this Narration, but that you are pleased to say my Squibs afford you some Entertainment; & the enclosed Fable would have been unintelligible without this Anecdote which occasioned it. It is the only Vengeance I have taken of these my unrighteous Enemies.—

You ask me for the Names and Writers in our Papers.³⁹ They are too numerous & equivocal to be ascertained. I only know that Mr. Jay the ———[sic] Brother of a good Man at Madrid is reputed to be a considerable Writer in a Paper call'd the *Freeman's Journal*.⁴⁰ A Paper fill'd with abuse without the nutritious Aliment of Truth or the vigorous Seasoning of Wit. Mr. Serjeant is also supposed to be a writer in and a foster Father of the *Freeman's Journal*.⁴¹ If I have Time I will enclose you a poetical account of the Rise of this *Freeman's Journal*.

I have your Gimcrack Instruments in safe Preservation, & they afford me great Amusement.⁴² I have many new Ideas floating in my Brain, in Consequence of the Experiments I make; but have not Time, or what

Cask of the public Wine will not be a proper & a reasonable Reward for these Labours of Fancy and a suitable Encouragement to future Exertions of a like Nature" (*Papers of the Continental Congress*, Library of Congress, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 685, quoted by Hastings, p. 241).

³⁹ On Sept. 13, 1781, Franklin had written: "You have a new Crop of Prose Writers. I see in your Papers many of their fictitious Names, but nobody tells me the real. You will oblige me by a little of your literary History" (*Writings*, VIII, 307).

⁴⁰ *The Freeman's Journal* was first issued by Francis Bailey on April 25, 1781 (Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1884, III, 1975); its reputation for plain and pungent speech is indicated in E. P. Oberholtzer, *Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 117. The identification of "Mr. Jay" in the above letter is not easy; no brother of John Jay seems to fit the requirement save Sir James, a physician and pamphleteer whose Tory sympathies were clearly revealed in 1782 (cf. Milton Halsey Thomas in *D. A. B.*). Although he was knighted in 1763, the allusion here to "Mr. Jay" may simply be Hopkinson's republicanism or else a piece of disingenuousness comparable to the blank with which he follows name. Professor Frank Monaghan, author of *John Jay: Defender of Liberty* (New York, 1935), kindly tells me that according to his knowledge of the family Sir James is the most likely candidate here.

⁴¹ For Sergeant's association with this journal see Charles A. Lincoln, "Francis Bailey," in *D. A. B.* Franklin's opinion of rough-and-tumble newspaper controversy and abuse is well expressed in his letter to Hopkinson, Dec. 24, 1782 (*Writings*, VIII, 647-648).

⁴² On September 13 Franklin had written: "Let me know, if you are in possession of my Gimcrack Instruments, and if you have made any new Experiments" (*Writings*, VIII, 307). Previously, on June 4, 1779, he had remarked to Hopkinson: "I am glad the enemy have left something of my Gimcrackery that is capable of affording you pleasure. You are therefore very welcome to the use of the Electrical and Pneumatic Machines as long as you think proper" (*ibid.*, VII, 351).

is more likely, not Genius sufficient to form them into a System for your Amusement. I have given M^r. Bache a Receipt for every article I have borrowed; & I shall call on M^r. Combe⁴³ for those you mention: but fear he will plead the Act of Limitations against your Claim & mine.

I beg my Compliments to your Grand Son, for whom I have a high Esteem.⁴⁴

I am, dear Sir, with all Sincerity

Your ever affectionate friend

Fra^s Hopkinson

P.S. I this morning sent you M^r. Rivington's Advertisement: I now enclose his Answer in which I have been so good as to assist him.—⁴⁵

This letter, directed at the bottom "D^r. Franklin," covers four pages; it is accompanied by the two enclosures which the writer promised. The first, "The Dog & the Scunk," is a commentary upon Hopkinson's impeachment in which, quite obviously, the disgruntled dog is Clarkson and the skunk with whom he forms an alliance of hate against the lawabiding cat is Sergeant. In view of Franklin's own partiality to animal fables as well as to Francis Hopkinson, it is probable that he relished this none too squeamish *jeu d'esprit*.⁴⁶ Hitherto this fable has been known solely in mutilated form in Hopkinson's two-volume notebook, and with the exception of a short excerpt from that ms apparently has never been

⁴³ "I lent, many years ago, a large Glass Globe, mounted, to Mr. Coombe, and an electric Battery of Bottles, which I remember; perhaps there were some other Things. He may have had them so long as to think them his own. Pray ask him for them, and keep them for me, together with the rest" (Franklin to Hopkinson, Sept. 13, 1781, *loc. cit.*). Thomas Coombe was assistant minister at Christ Church in Philadelphia, and an occasional correspondent of Franklin; cf. *Writings*, VI, 102 n. and 233; *Calendar*, I, 95; and III, 480. It is interesting to note that Hopkinson—who once confessed to Franklin his "insatiable Avidity" for "new Phenomena, new Discoveries, Gim-Cracks, &ca.," q. Hastings, p. 279—received the bequest of Franklin's "philosophical instruments" in the philosopher's will (*Writings*, X, 497).

⁴⁴ William Temple Franklin, the constant companion of his grandfather at Passy. His father, the Tory Governor of New Jersey, had been formerly a good friend and patron of Hopkinson; cf. Hastings, pp. 170, 192, and 451.

⁴⁵ "A Reply: in Mr. Rivington's own Stile" will be found in Hopkinson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 170-177. Now that Cornwallis has capitulated, the King's printer is made to protest "there is not a flaming patriot in the Thirteen United States that will garrulate the charms of liberty with more loquacious zeal than myself" (p. 173).

⁴⁶ For Franklin's own taste for beast fables see Verner W. Crane, "Three Fables by Benjamin Franklin," *New England Quarterly*, IX, 499-504 (Sept., 1936). Hopkinson's best known production in this vein was "the Birds, the Beasts, and the Bat," a Hudibrastic poem on the political trimmer published May 6, 1778, in the *Pennsylvania Packet*; cf. Tyler, *op. cit.*, II, 150.

published.⁴⁷ The text sent to Franklin on November 30, 1781, reads as follows:

THE DOG & THE SCUNK

AN HISTORICAL FABLE

A shabby Cur of common Breed
 That us'd to feed
 On Scraps pick'd up from door to door;
 And when sharp set
 Would take a bit
 From any Body's Store,
 Was by good luck, more than for good Behaviour
 Put into office & received in Favour:—
 Good Luck, I say—
 For ev'ry Dog will have his Day.
 And now behold his Dogship stand
 at the right hand
 Of Master, as he sat at Dinner;
 To him alone
 The fav'rite Bone
 Was thrown,
 Let who would loose [*sic*], *Chance* was the Winner.
 At length grown fat with over feeding
 And quite forgetful of good Breeding
 Our Cur became rapacious, loud,
 Vindictive, insolent & proud:
 And when his Master call'd, would slink away
 Or growl & snarl and disobey.
 Now rank with Insolence & Pride
Chance feels th' humiliating Switch,
 Is seis'd & tied
 and thrown, unpitied, in a neighbouring Ditch
 There what with flouncing,
 bouncing,
 Teeth & Claws
 The String he gnaws

⁴⁷ In Huntington Library mss, HM 1267, with one page missing; the first line as given in this notebook is "Now rank with Insolence and Pride." From that point to the end it follows the present text with the minor exceptions noted below. Hastings, who correctly identifies the dramatis personae of the Fable without Hopkinson's key as supplied to Franklin, quotes on p. 311 the last lines of the poem, beginning with "Now Scunk with Rage & Fury burn'd," from HM 1267, hereafter cited as HM. This manuscript bears evidence of revision in the author's hand.

In such a Case, he did his best, no doubt,
 and so, he scrambled out,
 And yelping creep'd⁴⁸ beneath a ruin'd Shed
 To hide his⁴⁹ Head:
 There on a Dung heap sat
 Whining,
 Repining,
 And cursing his hard Fate.⁵⁰

A Scunk who lay conceal'd hard⁵¹ by
 Crept forth & thus address'd the Whelp,
 Hearing good Sir your doleful Cry,
 I come to offer Help.

'Tis true you've always been my Foe,
 I hate you like the Devil,
 And yet, as matters stand, you know,
 'Twould be as well to try
 If you and I
 Can't be a little civil.

I have been *in*, as well as you,
 Am *out* and discontented too:
 Revenge is sweet our Pow'rs we'll join
 Revenge is Meat and Drink
 To grin⁵² & snarl & bite is thine,
 'Tis mine to piss & stink.
 Besides, I am a Lawyer sly
 Know ev'ry Quirk & Trick,
 Can out-face Truth, & ev'n out-lie
 Old Nick

Such are my Talents, & at your Command,
 Let's loose no Time but take the Work in hand.
 Replete with Malice, thus spake Lawyer Scunk
 And as he spoke—he stunk.
 To which⁵³ the Cur—your Distance, pray,
 I find you can't contain
 And must be bold to say
 Your fumes offend my Brain.
 Your Talents rare I would employ

⁴⁸ In HM this word is canceled in favor of "crawl'd."

⁴⁹ HM inserts "foolish."

⁵⁰ These last four lines are canceled in HM.

⁵¹ Canceled in HM for "just."

⁵² Canceled in HM for "growl."

⁵³ Canceled in HM for "whom."

My envied Foe, the Cat annoy.
 'Gainst her I long have had a Grudge;
 Whilst I'm turn'd out
 To rove⁵⁴ about
 She in the Corner sits secure,
 Demure,
 And grave as any Judge.
 Revenge is your's, quoth Lawyer Skunk
 I'll ferret her about
 With Law I'll raise a mighty Spunk,
 And should that fail
 I'll whisk my Tail
 And strive to stink her out.⁵⁵
 Whole Volumes now are rumag'd o'er
 Reports of former Times,
 Hist'ries of Cats in Days of yore
 And all their horrid Crimes.
 At length, by forcing Truth & Laws
 The Charges are made plain;
 Chance read them o'er and grinn'd applause
 And Skunk for Joy could not contain,
 And wriggling,
 Twisting,
 Soon began to stink again.⁵⁶

 And thus the Charges ran,
 Imprimis, she th'aforesaid Cat
 Upon the Dresser sat
 And cast a wishful Eye
 Upon a Pan
 of Milk that stood hard by.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Canceled in HM for "roam."

⁵⁵ In connection with his controversy in 1788 with the anti-Federalists Hopkinson wrote—in apparent self-parody of his *Account of the Grand Federal Procession, Philadelphia, July 4, 1788*—the description of a satiric procession, in which he introduces "A Boy leading a Skunk by a String, followed by J. D. S[ergeant] Esq. carrying a Staff ornamented with Skunk Weed—a Scroll pendant from the Staff with this Inscription

'But should this fail

I'll whisk my Tail

And strive to stink them out.'"

See transcription from ms owned by Mr. Edward Hopkinson, in G. E. Hastings, "F. Hopkinson and the Anti-Federalists," *American Literature*, I, 414-415 (Jan., 1930).

⁵⁶ Canceled in HM for "Pist & stunk again."

⁵⁷ The three articles of impeachment against Hopkinson will be found conveniently reprinted in Hastings, pp. 260-261. The first charge was that he had laid himself open to the taking of favors which virtually amounted to bribes, although such favors were

Item, said Puss upon a Day
 Against the Laws & Statutes of the House
 In the best Parlour seeking Prey
 Pursued & kill'd a Mouse;
 Whereby th' aforesaid Parlour Floor
 With Blood & Filth was stain'd all o'er.⁵⁸
 Lastly, that she, a wicked Sinner,
 When Meat was offer'd for her Dinner,
 The Like was never seen,
 Not only eat
 Up all the Meat
 But lick'd the Platter clean.⁵⁹
 For this, we hope, Puss on a Rope may dance
 So pray your Servants Scunk & Chance.
 To this Impeachment Puss replied,
 That Charge the first, was not denied;
 But said there was no Law in being
 To hang up harmless Cats for *seeing*.
 To Charge the second, 'twas observ'd
 Perhaps she'd not been over nice
 But 'twas her Duty to kill mice,
 For which she Praise, not Blame deserv'd;
 And tho'⁶⁰ a Drop of Blood or more
 Fell on the Floor
 Soon as the Spots were seen
 With careful Heed she lick'd them clean
 To Charge the third, she cried it was her Due
 To eat the Meat & lick the platter too.
 In fine, those Answers were admitted
 And Puss of ev'ry Charge acquitted.—

 Now Scunk with Rage & fury burn'd
 And Chance ran mad outright
 And each upon the other turn'd
 The Venom of his Spite.

actually never bestowed upon him; and consequently that he passed over the man he had first planned to appoint as prize agent.

⁵⁸ The second charge, here symbolized by Puss's practical rather than meticulous havior, was that Hopkinson had failed to get official testimony that the cargo *Albion* was perishable before he ordered it sold.

⁵⁹ The third charge was that he had taken a judicial fee of £1,300 in the case *brigantine Recovery*. As Hopkinson tells Franklin, "it appeared on examination Charge of Extortion that I had taken £80 less than the Law would have justified

⁶⁰ Canceled in HM for "if."

Is it for this, cried Scunk, that I came down⁶¹
 To stink & poison all the Town;
 And shall a Cat superior rise
 To all my Tricks, to all my Lies!
 Alas! Alas! what now avail
 My plodding head & stinking Tail
 But 'tis your Fault, you lazy Cur
 For whilst I strove with might & main
 The Point to gain
 You would not stir.
 You should have sworn thro' thick & thin
 To ruin Puss;
 For, when such Business you begin
 'Tis vain to mince the Matter thus.
 You do me Wrong, quoth Chance, you know
 I swore as far as Oaths would go:
 You & your cursed Arts I hate,
 I wish your Throat with Sulphur cramm'd
 A Rope,
 I hope
 Will be your Fate—
 You a Lawyer⁶²—You be damn'd—

Thus ends Hopkinson's Fable; he follows it in the Bache mss with his second satire promised in the letter to Franklin, "The Rise of the F——n's J——l: an old Scene reviv'd." This parody of the Witches in *Macbeth* presents the scribblers for the *Freeman's Journal* in the act of plotting libels and concocting "th' infernal Ink." The author published it some five months after making this copy for Franklin, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on April 2, 1782, under the signature of "Calumniator," and followed it two weeks later by an uninspired sequel which does not appear here. Under the title "The Rise of the Freeman's Journal / an abusive libellous Paper printed / in the Year 1781" the poem as sent to Franklin was recopied in Hopkinson's notebook now in the Huntington Library, with only the most trivial changes. Eight lines of the poem and a summary of its contents are printed by Hastings. Under these circumstances it seems hardly worth while to transcribe and collate the poem here.

A few more words suffice to tell of the remaining correspondence

⁶¹ HM reads: "and is it thus, cry'd Scunk, have I come down."

⁶² Through a trivial error Hastings reads, p. 311, "You are a Lawyer!" etc.

between Hopkinson and Franklin. The former wrote Franklin again on October 18, 1782, as we gather from the philosopher's reply of December 24 in that year.⁶³ In the interim, possibly by reason of the many diplomatic and social demands upon him at this time, Franklin evidently had offered no comment on Hopkinson's long account of his impeachment as written above. Therefore in March, 1783, his Philadelphia correspondent returned to the subject:⁶⁴

I have written many Letters to you, which I fear have miscarried. One in particular I am anxious about, in which I gave you a Narrative at length of a most unhappy Circumstance—no less than a Combination to ruin me forever by some whom from my Youth up I had esteemed as my most confidential Friends, & on whom I had without Remission conferr'd such Acts of Kindness as I was capable of—You are no Stranger to the Feelings that must occur on such an Occasion.

Certainly it appears that time, as well as the decision of the Supreme Executive Council, vindicated Hopkinson of the charges made against him, and he continued in a rather distinguished judicial career under Washington's express approval.⁶⁵ He wrote one more letter to Franklin in Paris, on May 24, 1784, discussing several pet scientific and civic projects,⁶⁶ and we may suppose that he was one of the enthusiastic fellow townsmen who in mid-September, 1785, greeted the "arrival of that great philosopher, that great politician, that truly benevolent citizen of the world, Dr. Franklin."⁶⁷ On March 27, 1786, Franklin wrote to Hopkinson concerning John Fitch's scheme for the propulsion of boats,⁶⁸ and at some undetermined date probably within the year 1786, Hopkinson penned a note requesting Franklin to return "my *Law Sui*"—a satire against the writer's enemy Thomas McKean which had been submitted for criticism.⁶⁹ On September 17, 1787, Hopkinson appealed to Frank-

⁶³ *Writings*, VIII, 647-648. We learn that Hopkinson had finally obtained some of Franklin's electrical equipment from Coombe, but was asked to recover more.

⁶⁴ This letter, among the Franklin Papers in A. P. S., is dated March 27, by the *Calendar*, III, 41, and March 23 by Hastings, pp. 262 and 426; from the latter source, p. 262, the present excerpt is quoted.

⁶⁵ Cf. Hildeburn, *op. cit.*, II, 323, and Hastings, pp. 262-263 ff.

⁶⁶ *Calendar*, III, 190, quoted extensively by Hastings, pp. 419-420.

⁶⁷ See an excerpt from a Philadelphia newspaper celebrating Franklin's arrival quoted by J. Parton, *Life and Times of Franklin* (New York, 1864), II, 542.

⁶⁸ *List of Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (Washington, 1905), p. 169. To Jefferson on July 8 of this year Hopkinson wrote his opinion of Mr. Fitch's impractical device (quoted from Jefferson Papers, Hastings, p. 352).

⁶⁹ Hastings, pp. 393-394. The satire itself will be found in *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 247-281.

lin for help against the proposed abolition of his salary as Judge of the Admiralty,⁷⁰ and on December 24 of the same year he addressed Franklin respecting the affairs of the American Philosophical Society under the signature "Vires Acquirit Cedendo."⁷¹ This appears to complete the list of the known Hopkinson-Franklin correspondence.

Their letters reveal the kindliness and sympathy of Franklin for his younger friend who shared many tastes, curiosities, and political opinions with him. On the other side, Hopkinson's replies bear witness to his deep admiration for a man concerning whom he had written with grave playfulness on the eve of the Revolution: "Then a prophet shall arise from amongst this people, and he shall exhort them, and instruct them in all manner of wisdom, and many shall believe in him; and he shall wear spectacles upon his nose; and reverence and esteem shall rest upon his brow."⁷²

⁷⁰ *Calendar*, IV, 473.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III, 361.

⁷² *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 93. This passage occurs in Hopkinson's political parable in Biblical language called "A Prophecy: Written in 1776."

NORRIS EXPLAINS THE OCTOPUS: A CORRELATION OF HIS THEORY AND PRACTICE

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BEFORE the appearance of Granville Hicks's *The Great Tradition* in 1933, the historians and critics of the American novel seemed not to have found any inconsistency or confusion in Frank Norris's novel, *The Octopus* (1901). Mr. Hicks, however, is quite sure that Norris "seems never to have understood . . . [the] philosophic implications" of determinism "which he had employed as a literary device in both *McTeague* and *Vandover and the Brute*. . . ." Norris's misunderstanding, continues Mr. Hicks, is apparent in his attempt in *The Octopus* to reconcile determinism with the large view that all things inevitably work together for good.¹ Since the publication of Mr. Hicks's study, however, other critics have also found it difficult to interpret *The Octopus* without discovering Norris's philosophical confusion.

Although Parrington and Hartwick and Pattee and Blankenship—all writing before 1933—had not observed this alleged confusion in Norris, two others, writing after 1933, have found Mr. Hicks to be quite right. Professor W. F. Taylor has learned that "Norris goes halting between the contradictory opinions of determinism and moral order" in *The Octopus*,² and Dr. Charles Walcutt finds the confusion "a shocking one," although he can curiously conclude that "in the last analysis *The Octopus* is one of the finest American novels written before 1910."³ Professor A. H. Quinn, however, in his recent study of American fiction is silent on this charge of confusion in Norris.⁴

I am struck with the fact that none of these critics, especially the derogatory ones, has taken the trouble to collate *The Octopus* with Norris's own literary theory as we find it in *The Responsibilities of*

¹ *The Great Tradition* (rev. ed.; New York, 1935), pp. 172-173.

² *A History of American Letters* (New York, 1936), p. 314.

³ "Naturalism in the American Novel" (unpublished University of Michigan thesis, 1937), pp. 340-342.

⁴ *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* (New York, 1936), pp. 627-628.

the Novelist (1903); and I strongly surmise that a correlative study of these books will demonstrate the weakness in Mr. Hicks's position. I suspect, in fact, that too little is known concerning Norris's objectives while he was writing *The Octopus*; and this suspicion is somewhat fortified when I find Carl Van Doren saying that "*The Responsibilities of the Novelist* . . . shows . . . [Norris] to have been less a thinker than a passionate partizan of the rising doctrine of naturalism,"⁵ and Professors Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy saying that "*The Responsibilities of the Novelist* became the pronouncement of the new school" of naturalism.⁶ A thorough reading of *The Responsibilities* will reveal that Norris was actually attacking "that harsh, loveless, colorless, blunt tool" called naturalism.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to permit Norris to explain his own novel by applying the literary theory in *The Responsibilities* to *The Octopus*. Before proceeding to such an explanation, however, it will be necessary first to state the few biographical facts related to the changes in Norris's theory and practice before *The Octopus* was written.

I

In 1887, when Frank Norris was seventeen years old, he was taken by his parents to Europe, where he attended an art school in Paris. Although he was in the very home of naturalism, "he passed the stalls filled with Balzac, Flaubert, and Zola, the proper food for one who was to become a naturalist, and plunged unhesitatingly into the romantic Middle Ages. It was not Zola's *L'Assommoir* nor Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* which won his heart, but Froissart's *Chronicles*."⁷

A year later, his interest began to turn from art to writing, and this writing emerged from his enthusiasm for the fourteenth century. But after having matriculated in the University of California in 1890, he confessed to a growing conviction that "an hour's experience is worth ten years of study."⁸ Although he had neglected Zola while he was in Paris, he now "started an ambitious program of novel-writing under the spur of Zola," beginning *McTeague* in his senior year (1894). Leaving the University of California with-

⁵ *The American Novel* (New York, 1921), p. 264.

⁶ *Major American Writers* (New York, 1935), p. 1501.

⁷ Franklin Walker, *Frank Norris: A Biography* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), p. 33.

⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 51.

out having taken a degree, he went to Harvard during 1894-1895 to study with Professor Lewis E. Gates, under whom he wrote much of *Vandover and the Brute* and *McTeague*, two pieces of uncompromising naturalism. Although *Vandover* was not published until 1914, Norris went into the Sierras at the Big Dipper Mine in October, 1897, in order to finish *McTeague*, which was published in the spring of 1899. It is significant, however, that during the very years he was writing and publishing *McTeague*, he was also writing an "idyllic autobiography," *Blix* (1899), another romance entitled *Moran of the Lady Letty* (1898), and a story of love and arctic exploration called *A Man's Woman* (1900). In his enthusiasm for his first success in *McTeague* he began *The Octopus*, the first book of a projected trilogy, which was finished December 15, 1900, and published in April, 1901. Immediately after the appearance of *The Octopus*, Norris, whose fame was spreading fast, was requested by various magazines to state his ideas on literary theory and life; he responded with a series of essays written in 1901-1902, which finally became *The Responsibilities* a year after his death in 1902.

Out of these biographical facts⁹ emerge a number of significant conclusions. Norris had begun his career as a romantic, but later became a disciple of Zola, and wrote *Vandover* and *McTeague*. He then published *Moran*, a romance, followed by *The Octopus*, and concluded his career, with the exception of *The Pit* (1902), with *The Responsibilities* which, despite the statement of Carl Van Doren, I hope to show is an attack on, not a defense of, naturalism. The chronology clearly indicates that during the last four years of his life Norris was definitely leaving the pessimistic naturalism of Zola and was turning to a theory and practice of his own. The nature of these we are now in a position to examine.

II

Norris's biographer says that *The Responsibilities* "contains Norris's declaration of faith."¹⁰ Although very little historical or critical interpretation has been rendered this declaration of faith, I am convinced that it is a far more penetrating volume than any student of American criticism has yet revealed.¹¹ Norris's theory of the novel

⁹ *Ibid.*, chaps. ii-xii, *passim*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹¹ Note, for example, the treatment given Norris in George E. De Mille's *Literary Criticism in America* (New York, 1931), pp. 198-202. After having admitted that "Norris's main contribution to the theory of the novel, has not had, I think, the attention it de-

can be best approached through an understanding of what he was protesting against in contemporaneous literary theory.

The essays which now constitute *The Responsibilities* were written in 1901-1902, while at least three theories of the novel were urging their own claims for supremacy: (1) that of romance which dealt with the remote, the wonderful, and the should-be; (2) that of Howells which glorified the commonplace, the simple, the natural, and the honest; and (3) that of the French naturalists. It is chiefly because Norris found each of these theories¹² inadequate that he wrote his essays of protest and constructed a theory of the novel of his own.

Norris's theory of the novel flows logically from three postulates. First, since the people now look to the novelist with confidence, he must above all approach life and his art with uncompromising sincerity—an approach closely akin to Garland's "candor," and James's "seriousness." The novelist must courageously investigate all conditions in actual life, and then embody his interpretation of the facts of existence in his art. "The attitude of the novelist toward his fellow men and women," wrote Norris, "is the great thing, not his inventiveness, his ingenuity, his deftness, or glibness, or verbal dexterity."¹³ Second, the novelist must have the power of penetrating beneath the clothes of men, and beyond both to the heart of man. This second postulate is closely related to the point of view in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* insofar as both men believed that all "clothes," forms, and human institutions are but temporary symbols of the eternally living man which must be penetrated in order to find him.¹⁴ We therefore find Norris insisting that the novel "must pen-

serves," Mr. De Mille renders him the compliment of little more than three pages, although Stedman is given twenty-four. To indicate the nature of one of Norris's finest contributions to American critical theory, the distinction between romance and realism, Mr. De Mille quotes thirty-two words from *The Responsibilities* which are among the most insignificant of Norris's entire book, and then comments, "The trouble with a definition of that kind is that it makes no distinctions." Mr. De Mille might have said that "the trouble with Norris's distinctions is that they cannot be reduced to simple definitions."

¹² For an extended examination of these three theories see my "Theory and Practice of the American Novel, 1867-1903" (unpublished University of Michigan thesis, 1938), pp. 229-374.

¹³ *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), p. 218.

¹⁴ ". . . the one idea of the fakir—the copyist—and of the public which for the moment listens to him, is Clothes. . . . Not Clothes only in the sense of doublet and gown, but Clothes of speech, Clothes of manner, Clothes of customs. . . . Do these Little People [those who read the fakirs] know that Scott's archeology was about one thousand years 'out' in *Ivanhoe* . . . ? But is it not . . . *Ivanhoe* [that we want], not his clothes, his ar-

trate deep into the motives and character of type men, men who are composite pictures of a multitude of men."¹⁵ And third, Norris held that the novelist is organically constituted so as to make it necessary for him to *select* his material, to *arrange* it psychologically (not necessarily logically as it appears in actual life for any given twenty-four hours), and to "prove something, [to] draw conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, [and to] devote himself not to a study of men but of man."¹⁶ To select, to arrange, and to prove: these are the distinguishing abilities of the true novelist. From these three postulates Norris derives his theory of genuine realism, or, if you like, genuine romance.¹⁷

Genuine realism, argues Norris, is not one "of mere externals" but rather one "of motives and emotions." This distinction is one between physical realism and psychological realism, or the difference between external actuality and internal reality. "The difficult thing," says Norris,

is to get at the life immediately around you—the very life in which you move. No romance in it? No romance in *you*, poor fool. As much romance on Michigan Avenue [Chicago] as there is realism in King Arthur's court. *It is as you choose to see it.* The important thing to decide is, which formula is the best to help you grip the Real Life of this or any other age. . . . Romance and realism are constant qualities of every age, day, and hour. . . . They will continue to exist till the end of time, *not so much in things as in point of view of the people who see things.*¹⁸

The problem, then, resolves itself to the question, what kind of eyes will you look with? One can *see* actuality, but one can only *perceive* reality. To know this reality, says Norris,

you must live—if not *among* people, then *in* people. You must be something more than a novelist if you can, something more than just

mour? And in spite of his errors Scott gave us a real Ivanhoe. He got beneath the clothes of an epoch and got the heart of it and the spirit of it . . . and he put forth a masterpiece" (*ibid.*, p. 14).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* Franklin Walker observes that in Norris's "eyes the novel with a purpose did not attempt to manipulate a story to prove a theory but rather attempted to present the evidence from which theories could be deduced" (*op. cit.*, p. 254).

¹⁷ *Genuine realism* and *genuine romance* are precisely the same things to Norris; they meant for him genuine truth. He uses the terms *romance* and *realism* merely because they were found in the critical terminology of his time, not because he believes they have any standardized meaning. In fact, he is actually dismissing these terms and defining the genuine novelist who deals with genuine truth.

¹⁸ *The Responsibilities*, p. 16. Italics mine, except for the single word *you*.

a writer. There must be that nameless sixth sense or sensibility in you that great musicians have in common with great inventors and great scientists. . . . It is not genius, for genius is a lax, loose term so flippantly used that its expressiveness is long since lost. It is more akin to sincerity.¹⁹

With such a concept of romantic-reality Norris dismissed (1) pseudo-romance, "the cut-and-thrust stories"; (2) "that harsh, loveless, colorless, blunt tool" of naturalism; and (3) that fiction as "respectable as a church and proper as a deacon—as, for instance, the novels of Mr. Howells." The proper substitute, says Norris, is "an instrument keen, finely tempered, flawless—an instrument with which we may go straight through the clothes and tissues and wrapping of flesh down deep into the red, living heart of things."²⁰ Such an instrument will search "the unplumbed depths of the human heart, and the mystery of sex, and the problems of life, and the black, unsearched penetralia of the soul of man."²¹

Identified with this concept of finding reality by going beyond actuality is Norris's concept of idealized realism, a method which produces something closely akin to Aristotle's ideal truth, or the superiority of probable impossibility over possible improbability. Norris sums up his own concept of imitation:

In the fine arts we do not care one little bit about what life actually is, but what it looks like to an interesting impressionable man, and if he tells his story or paints his picture so that the majority of intelligent people will say, "Yes, that must have been just about what would have happened under those circumstances," he is true. His accuracy cuts no figure at all. *He need not be accurate if he does not choose to be. If he sees fit to be inaccurate in order to make his point—so only his point be the conveying of a truthful impression—that is his affair.*²²

What is this but a statement of the Aristotelian paradox which permits an artist to be false to the actual in order to be true to the general? This principle leads us to a consideration of Norris's philosophy of structure.

Like James and Stevenson, Norris thought no apology necessary for directing serious attention to the basic mechanics of the novel. He recognizes that

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Norris's italics.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 173. Italics mine.

in all human occupations, trades, arts or business, science, morals or religion, there exists, way at the bottom, a homogeneity and a certain family likeness so that, quite possibly after all, the discussion of the importance of the mechanics of fiction may be something more than mere speculative sophistry.²³

As Aristotle said of tragedy, Norris argues that an extended piece of fiction must have

a beginning and an end, which implies a middle, continuity, which implies movement, which in turn implies a greater speed or less, an accelerated, retarded, or broken action . . . ; [for] no one who sets a thing in motion but keeps an eye and a hand upon its speed.²⁴

A novel, Norris is saying, must be architecturally constructed, resulting in a moving organic whole. This growing organism, under the cautious eye and hand of the artist, moves on to

the pivotal event, . . . the peg upon which the fabric of the [whole novel] . . . hangs, the nucleus around which the shifting drifts and currents must—suddenly—coagulate, the sudden releasing of the brake to permit for one instant the entire machinery to labour, full steam, ahead. Up to that point the action must lead; from it, it must decline.²⁵

To show precisely how the novelist *causes* this to happen Norris traces the building of the organic whole in minute detail, indicating how the novelist arrives at the pivotal event, when

in a twinkling the complication is solved with all the violence of an explosion, and the catastrophe, the climax, the pivotal event fairly leaps from the pages with a rush of action that leaves you stunned, breathless, and overwhelmed with the sheer power of its presentation. And there is a master work of fiction.²⁶

Since the chapters, too, are to be built upon the same plan, the series of pictures produced by them, organically related, finally leads to the pivotal event. But, as if to warn us that this pivotal event must not merely be thrown in for purposes of excitement and thrill, Norris points out that "it is the context of the story that makes . . . [the pivotal event] so tremendous . . . ; [it is] *prepared for . . . from the novel's initial chapter.*"²⁷

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116. Italics mine.

Summarized, Norris's theory of novel construction may be put in this way: Postulating a necessary dramatic effect, the novelist must consciously build a novel with a beginning and an end which imply a middle, and continuity which implies movement, the height of which arrives with the pivotal event. Each chapter, in order to facilitate this movement, is itself, in little, built on the same plan, except that its time is continuous and its environment unchanged. Such chapters, therefore, organically join themselves for the express purpose of permitting, finally, the events of the novel to culminate within the consciousness of the reader as a single dramatic effect.²⁸

Fortified, now, with Norris's own theory of realism and his theory of novel construction, we are prepared to interpret *The Octopus*.

III

The Octopus stands more or less as the climax of American sociological realism after the Civil War as *The Responsibilities* stands as the climax of American critical theory of the novel in the nineteenth century.²⁹ The latter was written immediately after the former, and each is complementary to the other even in minute detail; consequently, *The Octopus* is a rather complete illustration of the theory found in *The Responsibilities*.

We have seen above that Norris has argued that a great novel must prove something by "drawing conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, [by] devoting itself not to a study of men but of man."³⁰

Interpreting this statement with our knowledge of Norris's theory of novel construction, we then understand that the novel is to be so constructed in Aristotelian fashion that an ideal philosophical truth shall finally emerge from its totality. We are therefore pressed to answer the obvious question, What does *The Octopus* prove?

The novel dramatizes the doctrine that although men in a given locality can be temporarily defeated by combined economic and political forces, which in themselves are temporary and contingent on a phase of a civilization, the *natural* forces, epitomized by the

²⁸ This theory, of course, is Poe's classical theory of the short story further refined for the purposes of the novel.

²⁹ See my "Theory and Practice of the American Novel, 1867-1903," chap. iv.

³⁰ *The Responsibilities*, p. 22.

wheat, which are eternal and resistless, will eventually bring about the greatest good for the greatest number. It is this doctrine which reconciles the alleged inconsistencies in the novel. Hence, when Shelgrim tells Presley that forces, not men, control the wheat,³¹ he unquestionably voices a deterministic doctrine, *but Shelgrim has by no means told the whole story*. The conclusion of the whole matter is voiced by Vanamee who has been endowed with this sixth sense which Norris has made the cardinal faculty of the novelist. The mystical Vanamee tells Presley:

"We shall probably never meet again . . . but if these are the last words I ever speak to you, listen to them, and remember them, because I know I speak the truth. Evil is short-lived. Never judge of the whole round of life by the mere segment you can see. The whole is, in the end, perfect."³²

These words, when correlated with the last two pages of the novel which are concluded with the idea that "the Truth . . . will, in the end, prevail, and all things, surely, inevitably, resistlessly [will] work together for good," unquestionably represent Norris's ideal philosophical truth which he has "drawn from a whole congeries of forces." And, to be sure, the truth is deterministic, not in the direction of naturalistic evil as in *McTeague* or *Vandover*, but rather in the direction of inevitable good.

It is very significant that Vanamee, the mystic, teaches Presley, the socialist-poet of the great struggle, the lesson to be found in the resistless flow of the wheat. Whether Norris believed in the mystical method of gathering truth is irrelevant to his conclusion, for Vanamee's mysticism is merely a technique used by Norris to get at "the larger view" of things: Vanamee is the only character in the novel whose temperamental equipment (his "sixth sense") permits him to look far enough into the future in order to perceive that the struggle and temporary defeat of the men *directly* involved are only segments of the whole.

The method by which Norris caused this romantic-realistic doctrine of the inevitable good to "leap" (as he said) from his pages can be described as follows. Since the novel treats of the struggle between the ranchers and the railroad and the social consequences involved, Norris presents in the first chapter a conversation between

³¹ *The Octopus* (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), II, 285.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 345.

Presley and Harran Derrick in which Harran complains that the ranchers have lost their rate-case to the railroad. He exclaims bitterly, "Why not hold us up with a gun in our faces. . . ?" (p. 9). Only six pages later Dyke describes his unfair treatment by the railroad; and before the action is well started the locomotive, the Octopus, kills the sheep, an act which is obviously symbolical of the future fate of the people in the valley. In the first fifty pages, therefore, we understand the unjust power employed by the Octopus, the various ways in which it is used, the various types of people who suffer because of its tyranny, and the extent to which this injustice can be applied before the victims will begin to fight back. All this is Norris's "beginning."

The "middle" is a moving organism which integrates a culminating series of dramas, each drama growing logically (or psychologically, which is more important always to Norris) from its predecessors, in which the struggle is intensified because the emotional reaction of these men to the increasing injustice develops in direct proportion to the weight of the impending tragedy involved. The pivotal event is Behrman's being drowned in his own unjustly-acquired wheat as it pours into the hold of the ship; and the truth—asked for by Norris—which "leaps" from the "end" of the action is that in the long run truth will prevail—briefly, whatever is, is right.

In *The Octopus*, then, Norris has given the truth as he sees it concerning (1) the immediate struggle between men and the railroad, and (2) the philosophical implications arising from the struggle of men against the elemental forces. He has shown us what lies beneath the clothes of men, and the nature of the heart of emotional desires of men. And he has selected and arranged the materials of these struggles in order to deduce from them their intrinsic meaning. Having done these things he has avoided pseudo-romance, commonplace realism, and pessimistic naturalism, giving us instead an example of his own concept of romantic-reality. Apparently, then, *The Octopus* does not miss greatness because of its confusion; rather, its greatness is heightened because of the novel's philosophical consistency.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HAWTHORNE SURVEYS HIS CONTEMPORARIES

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IN Lowell's and Carter's periodical, the *Pioneer*, for February, 1843, appeared a version of Hawthorne's "The Hall of Fantasy"¹ markedly different from that included three years later in *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Revising the tale for inclusion in *Mosses*, Hawthorne omitted the fullest notice and characterization of his contemporaries which he ever wrote for publication.² The suppressed passages have interest both intrinsically and with reference to the motives which probably led to their composition and later to their suppression.

Among the guests who throng the Hall of Fantasy in the revised version are two of Hawthorne's contemporaries, Professor Espy the meteorologist, and Father Miller, leader of the Millerites. Originally, however, there were many others, each introduced with brief comment: Bronson Alcott, Washington Allston, Orestes Brownson, Bryant, Cooper, the elder Richard Henry Dana, Emerson, Abigail Folsom, Rufus Wilmot Griswold, Fitz-Greene Halleck, George Hildard, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Irving, Longfellow, Lowell, John Neal, Charles Newcomb, John O'Sullivan, James Gates Percival, John Pierpont, Poe, Epes Sargent, Catharine Sedgwick, Charles Sprague, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, Jones Very, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and unnamed Brook-Farmers. There was also the mesmerist, Robert Collyer, who had sent several spirits to the hall in "magnetic sleep."

Some of the comment on these guests reveals merely Hawthorne's awareness of their activities. Although the spirits of Irving and of Longfellow are present, Irving is said to be in Spain, and Longfellow in Germany.³ Cooper, in somber mood, meditates a speech in a libel suit, "rather than a scene of such tales as have made

¹ I, 49-55.

² The fact of the omissions has been noticed (see Nina E. Browne, *A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Boston, 1905, p. 54).

³ These and several other allusions date the composition of the tale clearly. Irving sailed for Spain, April 10, 1842. Longfellow left for Europe, April 27, 1842, spent the summer in Germany, and sailed for home, October 22.

him a foremost man in this enchanted hall."⁴ Another troubled guest is Pierpont, come in hope "of allaying the angry glow of controversy [the Hollis Street Church affair]; a fire unmeet for such an altar as a poet's kindly heart."⁵ Percival is of a different temperament: Hawthorne finds him shrinking into the darkest shadows. To see him is "like catching a glimpse of some shy bird of the woods."⁶ Among guests on more friendly terms with the world are Sprague, with pen over ear, escaped for a moment from the Globe Bank in Boston,⁷ and Halleck, immersed like Sprague in business, and attracted to the hall through his taste for amusement rather "than because the strong impulse of his nature compelled him hither."⁸ Willis, of course, also presents a worldly appearance, although Hawthorne does not find him out of place in the hall.

Other visitors receiving casual notice are Epes Sargent and H. T. Tuckerman, who seek contributors to their magazines;⁹ the elder Dana, no longer enriched by his visits to the hall, although in earlier days he had "descended to its gloomiest caverns, and brought thence a treasure of dark, distempered stories";¹⁰ John Neal, whose

⁴ For Cooper's libel suits at this time, see Ethel R. Outland, *The "Effingham" Libels on Cooper . . . , 1837-1845* (Madison, 1929).

⁵ Pierpont had been vindicated by an ecclesiastical council in 1841, but friction with his congregation continued until his resignation in 1845. Public interest in the "Seven Years' War" at the time Hawthorne was writing is attested by the success of Theodore Parker's "Hollis Street Council," published in the *Dial* for October, 1842. Margaret Fuller said that the article sold the issue (Henry S. Commager, *Theodore Parker*, Boston, 1936, p. 87). Emerson had hesitated to publish any discussion of "that most unpoetic unspiritual & un Dialled John Pierpont" (*The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. R. L. Rusk, New York, 1939, III, 86).

⁶ Hawthorne notices several contemporaries whose shyness and isolation exceeded his own. See, below, the allusions to Very and to Newcomb. Like Very, Percival had been mentally ill. Van Wyck Brooks describes him as a typical "manic-depressive," a "walking suicide" (*The Flowering of New England*, New York, 1936, pp. 157, 162).

⁷ Sprague, known in literary circles for his odes and for the satirical poem, *Curiosity*, had recently (1841) published a collected edition of his works. He had been associated with the Globe Bank since its founding in 1824.

⁸ In "P.'s Correspondence," Halleck is said to be "defunct as a poet, though averred to be exemplifying the metempsychosis as a man of business" (*Mosses*, pp. 426-427). Unless otherwise indicated, references to Hawthorne's published works are to the Riverside edition. For Halleck's literary inactivity after accepting a position under John Jacob Astor, see Nelson F. Adkins, *Fitz-Greene Halleck . . .* (New Haven and London, 1930), pp. 257-258. At the time Hawthorne was writing, Halleck had published no new poetry of importance for fifteen years. There were new editions of the early poems, however, in the thirties; and in 1840 appeared his *Selections from the British Poets*.

⁹ Presumably the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion*, which Tuckerman edited for a time in 1843; and *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*, edited by Sargent from January through June of the same year.

¹⁰ The "dark, distempered stories" were probably among those published in Dana's *Idle Man* (1821); e.g., "Paul Felton," "Paul and Esther," "The Son," "Edward and

"rampant muse," once admired by Hawthorne, "belches wild-fire, with huge volumes of smoke";¹¹ and Lowell (at this time in his early twenties and an editor of the *Pioneer*), who is presented as the poet of the rising generation.

Among the devotees of fantasy are a number of reformers and transcendentalists. Hawthorne's comment is more generous than might be expected: he admits that the fantasies of one age may be the realities of another, and that even the wildest theorists may do some good. The only contemptuous reference is to Abigail Folsom, Emerson's "flea of conventions," whom Hawthorne offers "by no means as a type of the whole." Of the Brook-Farmers, with whom he had only recently severed relations,¹² he speaks courteously; they are the "old friends . . . with whom, though a recreant now, I had borne the heat of many a summer's day, while we labored together towards the perfect life. They seem so far advanced, however, in the realization of their idea, that their sun-burnt faces and toil-hardened frames may soon be denied admittance to the Hall of Fantasy." John O'Sullivan, editor of the *Democratic Review* and advocate of the abolition of capital punishment, receives a gracious compliment: "There was a dear friend of mine . . . who has striven with all his might to wash away the blood-stain from the statute-book; and whether he finally succeed or fail, no philanthropist need blush to stand on the same footing with O'Sullivan."¹³ Bronson Alcott, the "great mystic innovator," appears calm and gentle, impressive of look and manner.

Mary," "Tom Thornton." Dana's last important publication had been *Poems and Prose Writings* (1833), but in 1839-1840 he delivered lectures on Shakespeare.

¹¹ In "P.'s Correspondence," Hawthorne wrote of "that wild fellow, John Neal, who almost turned my boyish brain with his romances" (*Mosses*, p. 426). Neal confessed that there were "a multitude of absurdities," "monstrous follies," in his own novels, and described his *Logan* as crowded, incoherent, and "outrageously overdone" (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, XVII, 197, Feb., 1825).

¹² Hawthorne had left Brook Farm in the autumn of 1841, but he did not formally resign until October 17, 1842.

¹³ Longfellow and Emerson did not share Hawthorne's high regard for O'Sullivan. Longfellow thought O'Sullivan was a humbug (*The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart, New Haven and London, 1932, p. 289, n. 62). In the month in which "The Hall of Fantasy" appeared, Emerson wrote to Margaret Fuller: "The man is politico-literary and has too close an eye to immediate objects. *Washington* is supposed in every line of the 'Demo. Review' " (*The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, III, 146-147). Hawthorne may have had O'Sullivan in mind when he wrote in "The Procession of Life" of a man who might have succeeded in literature, but whom "outward tendencies" had drawn into politics, where he did not belong (*Mosses*, pp. 249-250).

"Here is a prophet," cried my friend, with enthusiasm—"a dreamer, a bodiless idea amid our actual existence. Another age may recognize him as a man; or perhaps his misty apparition will vanish into the sunshine. It matters little; for his influence will have impregnated the atmosphere, and be imbibed by generations that know not the original apostle of the ideas. . . . Such a spirit cannot pass through human life, yet leave mankind entirely as he found them!"¹⁴

Other transcendentalists are described with more reserve. Jones Very stands alone, "within a circle which no other of mortal race could enter, nor himself escape from."¹⁵ "The young author of *Dolon*," Charles Newcomb, is "involved in a deep mist of metaphysical fantasies."¹⁶ The portrait of Emerson recalls the well-known passage in the opening essay of *Mosses*.¹⁷ Since the essay was written several years later than "The Hall of Fantasy," the sketch which it contains may have been substituted for the material omitted from the revised story. The suppressed passage reveals Emerson

surrounded by an admiring crowd of writers and readers of the *Dial*, and all manner of Transcendentalists and disciples of the Newness, most of whom betrayed the power of his intellect by its modifying influence upon their own. He had come into the hall, in search, I suppose, either of a fact or a real man; both of which he was as likely to find there as elsewhere. No more earnest seeker after truth than he, and few more successful finders of it; although, sometimes, the truth assumes a mystic unreality and shadowyness in his grasp.

Of special interest are the comments on Brownson, Poe, and Griswold. The criticism of Brownson hints at the antagonism of personality and interests which made it impossible for either writer to appreciate the other. Although Brownson is credited with an "acute and powerful Intellect," he is subtly contrasted with Alcott, whom Hawthorne has just praised for his spiritual influence; and

¹⁴ This passage alone should refute Carl Van Doren's assertion that Hawthorne "was merely bored by Bronson Alcott" (*D.A.B.*, VIII, 426).

¹⁵ Hawthorne's respect for Very is apparent in "A Virtuoso's Collection," where he is mentioned as "a poet whose voice is scarcely heard among us by reason of its depth" (*Mosses*, p. 553).

¹⁶ On Feb. 1, 1843, about the time "The Hall of Fantasy" appeared, Hawthorne courteously rejected Margaret Fuller's suggestion that Newcomb live with the Hawthornes at Concord, but he added, "I should delight to anticipate long days with him on the river and in the woods." (The letter is in the Widener Library at Harvard.) For the impression which Newcomb made on Hawthorne about this time, see *The American Notebooks*. . . , ed. Stewart, p. 176.

¹⁷ Pp. 41-42.

Hawthorne's companion exclaims: "Pray Heaven he do not stamp his foot or raise his voice; for if he should, the whole fabric of the Hall of Fantasy will dissolve like a smoke-wreath! I wonder how he came here?" Brownson's extravagant assertiveness,¹⁸ his enthusiasm for reform, and his acceptance of many theories in rapid succession,¹⁹ were inevitably distasteful to the shy and skeptical Hawthorne, who avoided a dinner invitation to escape meeting Brownson, from whom, he exclaimed, "the Lord deliver us."²⁰ Brownson, in turn, was unappreciative of Hawthorne, denying him strength, dignity, and imagination of the highest order,²¹ and asserting that *The Scarlet Letter* should never have been written.²² He thought that Hawthorne, like Irving, was an author for the boudoir: "No man who has any self-respect will read either of them in the morning."²³

The suppressed passages contain Hawthorne's only mention, in works intended for publication, of Poe, who "had gained ready admittance for the sake of his imagination, but was threatened with ejection, as belonging to the obnoxious class of critics." In view of the praise which Poe had recently given *Twice-Told Tales*,²⁴ the comment is cool. But Poe's suggestion that in "Howe's Masquerade" Hawthorne had borrowed from "William Wilson" may have offended.²⁵ Hawthorne seems to have avoided with care such unacknowledged borrowings. Whatever the explanation, the passage in "The Hall of Fantasy" apparently caused no ill feeling;²⁶ for soon afterwards Poe asked Lowell to secure a contribution from Hawthorne for the projected *Penn Magazine*.²⁷ Apparently Hawthorne sent nothing, although he was writing regularly at the time.

¹⁸ Of his own style Brownson wrote, "I aimed to startle, and made it a point to be as paradoxical and as extravagant as I could, without doing violence to my own reason and conscience" (*The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, ed. Henry F. Brownson, Detroit, 1882-1887, V, 89).

¹⁹ For a defense of Brownson's notorious "shifts of belief," see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress* (Boston, 1939), pp. 281-282.

²⁰ *Love Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Chicago, 1907), II, 155.

²¹ *Works*, XIX, 367, 370.

²² Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

²³ *Works*, XIX, 367.

²⁴ In *Graham's Magazine*, XX, 298-300 (May, 1842).

²⁵ Professor T. O. Mabbott has made this suggestion. See Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe—The Man* (Philadelphia, 1926), I, 693.

²⁶ Poe must have known Hawthorne's story. It was the leading contribution in the issue of the *Pioneer* which contained, on pp. 60-61, Poe's "Leonore."

²⁷ *Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison (New York, [1903]), II, 139-140.

Upon the publication of *Mosses*, he ordered a copy sent to Poe, and wrote the well-known letter admitting that the latter's notices of his work had been "upon the whole, favorable," but repeating the substance of his earlier comment: he admired the author "rather as a writer of tales than as a critic upon them."²⁸

Moving among the guests is Rufus Griswold, "busily noting down the names of all the poets and poetesses there, and likewise of some, whom nobody but himself had suspected of ever visiting the hall." This was a fair hit at the selection of material in *The Poets and Poetry of America*, which had appeared in April, 1842. But the comment is at variance with the respect which Hawthorne professed for Griswold's critical powers three years later, when he sent the anthologist a copy of *Mosses* and wrote, "I hope you will like them; for nobody's favorable opinion would give me more pleasure."²⁹ In the interval, however, Griswold had accepted "Earth's Holocaust" for publication in *Graham's Magazine*, and he was now preparing a new work, *Prose Writers of America*. Hawthorne may well have desired representation in the new anthology, which, upon its appearance in 1847, did contain three of his tales. The revision of "The Hall of Fantasy" may have been motivated in part by Hawthorne's fear of offending Griswold and others whose favorable opinion he desired to further the success of *Mosses*.

An attempt to explain the revision more fully requires consideration of the circumstances which probably led Hawthorne to compose a narrative so different from anything he had previously written. His earlier tales had seldom touched upon the contemporary scene, and most of them had been received with indifference by the public.³⁰ In 1842 Hawthorne settled in Concord with a wife, but with no income from sources other than publication. It was time, certainly, to try a new mode of writing—something that would catch the interest of his readers. The few stories in which he had recorded glimpses of the actual world pleased him more than the others,³¹ and they had also pleased his public.³² Why should he

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 233.

²⁹ June 17, 1846. The letter is in the possession of The Pennsylvania Historical Society.

³⁰ Among Hawthorne's many comments on the neglect of his early work by the public, see especially the Preface to the 1851 edition of *Twice-Told Tales*.

³¹ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. . . , ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston, 1886), I, 255.

³² For the popularity of "A Rill from the Town Pump," with its relevance to the current temperance issue, see the Preface to the 1851 edition of *Twice-Told Tales*.

not experiment in the direction of a closer relation between his narratives and contemporary life? He had some materials to work with. For two years he had been employed in the Boston Custom-house; he had then joined Brook Farm; finally, he had married. By December, 1841, he had become conscious of the change which was coming over his life: "I do not believe that I shall ever write any more—at least, not like my past productions; for they grew out of the quietude and seclusion of my former life; and there is little probability that I shall ever be so quiet and secluded again. During the last three or four years, the world has sucked me within its vortex; and I could not get back to my solitude again, even if I would."³³

The stories written in the early forties reveal new interests and a new manner. There is little of the supernatural, little of American history and legend. Criticism of the businessmen, politicians, reformers, and enthusiasts of Hawthorne's time abounds; and satire, manifest sporadically in the earlier tales, especially in "The Great Carbuncle" and "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment," now becomes prominent.³⁴ "The Hall of Fantasy" written during Hawthorne's first summer at the Old Manse, marks the change; and its serious undercurrent of reflection on the relative worth of the world of actuality and of the world of imagination suggests that Hawthorne was making an effort to define his position. Although the tale affirms the superiority of fantasy over actuality, it insists on the dangers of ignoring actuality altogether. This time Hawthorne saw to it that his readers should not accuse him of losing himself utterly in dreams; for in introducing a large group of living persons, he went further than he had ever gone before in flavoring his fantasy with the spice of contemporary life.

But he must have felt misgivings with respect to this innovation when he thought of including the story in *Mosses*. Would the references to minor writers and to transitory circumstances interest readers at a later date?³⁵ There was also, no doubt, some question

³³ Letter to Cornelius Mathews and Evert Duyckinck, dated at Boston, Dec. 22, 1841. The letter is in the New York Public Library.

³⁴ See, besides "The Hall of Fantasy," "The Celestial Railroad," "The New Adam and Eve," "The Christmas Banquet," "The Intelligence Office," and "Earth's Holocaust."

³⁵ Hawthorne may have discussed this point with Robert Carter, one of the editors of the *Pioneer*. Writing to Hawthorne in 1853, Carter noted the danger of lessening the permanent value of a work by introducing allusions of only temporary interest, and added, "You doubtless remember that many of your friends and acquaintances who figured in

as to the wisdom of his selections, and as to his comments on those he had chosen. In the original version he had exclaimed, "But, woe is me! I tread upon slippery ground, among these poets and men of imagination, whom perhaps it is equally hazardous to notice, or to leave undistinguished in the throng." Hawthorne was cautious and politic by nature, and had not yet passed through the bitter experience of ejection from the Salem Customhouse, which was to give him motive and courage for the treatment of living persons in print.

If we add to these considerations Hawthorne's desire to secure a favorable reception for *Mosses*, intensified by acute need for money,³⁶ the explanation of the suppressions seems clear. It is unlikely that any delicate esthetic motive influenced the revision, since Hawthorne did not take trouble to mend the gaps which were left by the omissions. As the narrative appears in *Mosses*, praise and disparagement of reformers and writers stand awkwardly side by side, because intervening paragraphs have been dropped.³⁷

HAWTHORNE'S SUIT AGAINST RIPLEY AND DANA

ROBERT F. METZDORF

The University of Rochester

A LETTER RECENTLY discovered in the Charles A. Brown Collection of Autographs and Manuscripts in the University of Rochester Library throws additional light on Hawthorne's relations with George Ripley, Charles Dana, and the Brook Farm community. Writing from Concord on September 6, 1845, to George S. Hillard, Hawthorne instructed Hillard to bring suit against Ripley or the community.

"The Hall of Fantasy," as it appeared in the 'Pioneer,' have vanished from that structure in its present razed condition" (Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* Boston, 1885, I, 473).

³⁶ Charles Wentworth Upham annoyed Hawthorne in 1844 by carrying tales of the latter's poverty (*Love Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, II, 118). The *Democratic Review*, in which most of Hawthorne's work written in the early forties appeared, paid poorly. See Julian Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Circle* (New York and London, 1903), p. 3; and Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, 1897), p. 70.

³⁷ For example, on pp. 199-200 of *Mosses*, Hawthorne's expression of kinship and sympathy with a group of writers is followed by the exclamation, "Thank Heaven . . . we have done with this techy, wayward, shy, proud, unreasonable set of laurel gatherers." On p. 205 his assertion that he loves and honors the reformers about him is immediately followed by a passage of satirical disparagement. In both instances several paragraphs have been omitted.

CONCORD, Sep^t 6th. 1845.

DEAR HILLARD,

You told me, I think, that Geo. Ripley's note could not be held, except in a county wherein either he or myself is resident. The time is come when the note must positively be held. If it be within your Jurisdiction, and agreeable to your wishes, I should be glad to have you proceed with the matter, as promptly and forcibly as possible; and I should think, as I have already dunned him sufficiently, that a preliminary letter on your part would be unnecessary.

Otherwise, have the kindness to send me the note by return of post; and I will give it to Rockwood Hoar. Will you tell me whether the suit ought to be commenced against Ripley or the community?

Your friend,

NATH. HAWTHORNE.¹

In order to place this new letter in its proper relation to Hawthorne's career as already recorded, it is necessary to study the writer's friendship with Hillard as well as his association with Ripley and with Brook Farm, and also to investigate whatever materials have been published which throw light on the case.

Hillard and Hawthorne probably first met in the period 1839-1841, for at that time Hawthorne roomed at Hillard's home in Boston.² The friendship became an intimate one, and the Hillards often visited the Hawthorne family in Concord.³ It was natural that Hawthorne should turn to Hillard when he wished legal aid, even though Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar was practicing in Concord at the time.

Hawthorne's relationship with Brook Farm has been the subject of much discussion from the time he arrived at the community on April 12, 1841, until the present day. The young author intended to marry Sophia Peabody and bring her to live at the farm;⁴ to this end he bought two shares of stock in the enterprise, at \$500 a share. He lived at the farm from April until August, 1841, and then returned to Salem. Charles Dana in the meantime arrived on the scene, and had a galvanic effect on the little community. Formal

¹ The letter is written on the first page of a double sheet measuring 25.2 x 40.2 cm. Ripley's name is scratched out where it occurs, but can be read when held to the light. The address appears on page 4.

² *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 157, 187.

⁴ Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1893), p. 84.

organization took place on September 29, 1841, and the endeavor was named the "Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education."⁵ Hawthorne, on his return to the farm in September, was elected a trustee (the others were Ripley, Dana, and William B. Allen), and was made chairman of the Direction of Finance Committee.⁶

Brook Farm was organized as a stock company, with shares for sale at \$500 each. The consent of the trustees was needed in order to transfer stock, and upon giving a year's notice, a stockholder might withdraw his shares, with the interest due. The interest rate was 5 per cent, and interest was to be paid either in scrip or from unappropriated funds. Hawthorne paid in \$1,000, and held shares 18 and 19.⁷

Hawthorne left Brook Farm in the spring of 1842; the winter had proved to him that communal life was uncongenial to a nature so essentially retiring as his. He was on good terms with the other members, however, and returned occasionally to visit the community. On July 9, 1842, he married Sophia Peabody, and settled at the Old Manse in Concord, a home which had been brought to his attention by Elizabeth Hoar.⁸ It was from the Old Manse that Hawthorne wrote the present letter to Hillard.

Hawthorne cut himself adrift from Brook Farm on October 17, 1842, when he wrote to Dana, resigning as an associate of the Institute.⁹ In the following December he gave up his trusteeship.¹⁰ The financial success of the community had been far from spectacular; the Institute showed a loss for the first two years, but in 1844 there was a slight profit. In the financial report for 1844, Dana minimized the importance of the accumulated deficit, pointing out that interest was the sole charge, and that the joint stock would not be paid off; the community would go on paying "five per cent per annum forever."¹¹

In the spring of 1845, Brook Farm was reorganized as a Fourierite community, and the new Phalanx took over all the obligations of

⁵ Zoltán Haraszti, *The Idyll of Brook Farm* (Boston, 1937), p. 19.

⁶ Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm* (New York, 1900), pp. 18, 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ *American Notebooks*, p. 313.

⁹ James H. Wilson, *The Life of Charles A. Dana* (New York, 1907), pp. 45-46.

¹⁰ Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹¹ John T. Codman, *Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs* (Boston, 1894), p. 117.

the joint-stock company.¹² Hawthorne had written a slighting reference to Fourierites in his journal of June 27, 1844,¹³ and it is unlikely that his business sense approved of the elaborate building program which Ripley and the rest of the group embarked upon. Things went from bad to worse at Brook Farm until March 3, 1846, when the final blow came: the new building burned, and \$7,000 borrowed at high rates went up in smoke.¹⁴

Hawthorne's financial condition in the years immediately following his marriage was not prosperous. From the letter in the Brown Collection, and from legal records which throw light on the subject, it appears that Hawthorne had not only invested \$1,000 in Brook Farm stock, but had also loaned a sum in excess of \$500 to the Institute. Several writers have mentioned the lawsuit; Charles Dana and Horatio Bridge are the authorities for the tradition. In writing a notice of George Ripley's death for the *Sun* in July, 1880, Dana declared that Hawthorne "remained but a month or two [at Brook Farm], investing a few hundred, which he took care to recover by a lawsuit afterwards."¹⁵ This gives the impression that the debt was paid. Speaking at the University of Michigan on January 21, 1895, Dana said of Hawthorne,

He had also adopted the idea that he would like to work out-doors. He had got tired of the routine of literary life in his study, and of the more tedious routine of official life in the Salem custom-house; and so he started in by advancing money towards buying the farm along the brook.¹⁶

On May 9, 1845, Hawthorne's cash balance was so low that he borrowed \$100 from Horatio Bridge.¹⁷ His writings were not bringing in much money, but Hawthorne kept to the course he had laid out, and declined a \$900 a year position in the Charlestown Navy Yard which George Bancroft offered him.¹⁸ It was only natural that Hawthorne should try to realize on a note for \$524.05, signed by Ripley and Dana.

¹² Haraszti, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Swift, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

¹³ *American Notebooks*, p. 105.

¹⁴ Haraszti, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

¹⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 525. Dana, writing more than fifty years after the event, was mistaken; Hawthorne was in the Boston Customhouse. He went to Salem after leaving Concord in 1845.

¹⁷ *American Notebooks*, p. 110. The sum was repaid in 1846.

¹⁸ George E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902), pp. 160-161; Lloyd Morris, *The Rebellious Puritan: Portrait of Mr. Hawthorne* (New York, 1927), p. 191.

The present letter, with its reference to dunning Ripley, may indicate the missing name in Hawthorne's letter to Bridge, dated March 24, 1843: "—— is just as certain to disappoint me in money matters as any pitiful little scoundrel among the book-sellers."¹⁹ Bridge, who evidently knew the whole story of Hawthorne's finances at the time, wrote bitterly of the author's poverty. "Full of enjoyment in his home and family, he was only troubled by narrow means, which was all the more annoying because those who owed him money enough to make life comfortable would not (doubtless some of them could not) pay their debts."²⁰ Bridge evidently associated Hawthorne's purchase of stock in Brook Farm with the loan made to Ripley and Dana, for he did not distinguish between the two transactions. "He loaned Mr. Ripley \$1,000 or \$1,500, which money, when closing his connection with the association, he was unable to recover without resorting to legal measures, which he did through the agency of G. S. Hillard, Esq., with what ultimate result I do not know."²¹

Hillard took Hawthorne's case to the Court of Common Pleas; the records of the trial are now under the care of Mr. Frederic L. Putnam, Clerk of the Superior Court of Middlesex County. Mr. Putnam has kindly supplied a copy of record of the judgment rendered against Ripley and Dana, as well as the subsequent history of attempts to collect the debt.

The trial took place on March 9, 1846, in Concord, having been commenced at the previous term, held in Cambridge on December 8, 1845. The defendants did not appear. Hawthorne declared that on October 7, 1842, Ripley and Dana signed a promissory note for the sum of \$524.05, payable on demand, with interest. The judgment also sets forth that on November 7, 1842, Ripley and Dana were trustees of Brook Farm Institute, and that "on the same day there was due to the said Hawthorne from the trustees of said Brook Farm Institute the sum of five hundred and twenty-four dollars and five cents for so much money by the said Hawthorne before that time lent and advanced to the said trustees at their special request in consideration whereof the said Ripley and Dana promised the said Hawthorne to pay said last mentioned sum on demand with interest." The sum was evidently unrelated to Haw-

¹⁹ Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

thorne's stock purchase, for no mention of stock is made in the judgment.

Hawthorne claimed \$800 damages, and the court awarded him the sum of \$560.62, plus costs assessed at \$25.28—a total award of \$585.90. An execution was issued on April 11, 1846, and was returned unsatisfied in any particular. An alias execution was issued on May 26, 1847, and came back unsatisfied on June 8, 1848. The court then issued a pluries execution on June 12, 1848, which was returned, again unsatisfied in any particular, on August 6, 1849. Another pluries execution was issued on August 7, 1849; this was never returned to court, and the records do not show whether the judgment was paid, either in whole or in part.²² No writer who has examined the Brook Farm ledger of expenditures, now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has made mention of the payment of the judgment. It is possible that the debt was never paid.

The day after Hawthorne wrote the letter in the Brown Collection, instructing Hillard to begin suit, Mrs. Hawthorne wrote to her mother. This letter shows that the family intended at that time to leave Concord, and Mrs. Hawthorne speaks of their financial difficulties.

If such an involved state of things had come upon him through any fault or oversight on his own part there would have been a solid though grim satisfaction in meeting it. But it was only through too great a trust in the honor and truth of others. There is owing to him, from Mr. Ripley and others, more than thrice money enough to pay all his debts; and he was confident that when he came to a pinch like this, it would not be withheld from him.²³

Hawthorne took up his work at the customhouse in Salem, in the meantime continuing his writing. He lost the position in June, 1849, when the new Whig administration came in, and turned to Hillard for advice. In 1850 Hillard took it upon himself to gather from friends a sum which he placed at Hawthorne's disposal; Hawthorne did not cavil at the gift, which he repaid from his first receipts as consul at Liverpool, in 1853.²⁴

Dana's relations with Hawthorne seem to have been somewhat soured by the lawsuit, as his remarks which have been quoted tend

²² Mr. Putnam kindly supplied these details in a personal letter of March 25, 1939.

²³ Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 287.

²⁴ The details of this transaction are to be found in Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

to show, but Ripley and Hawthorne appear to have remained on good terms. Ripley assumed personal responsibility for Brook Farm's debts when the enterprise was liquidated in 1847, but it is not known whether or not the debt to Hawthorne was included. Ripley was the first critic to hail *The Scarlet Letter* as an important book,²⁵ and Hawthorne spoke kindly of him in the introduction to *The Blithedale Romance* (1852).

John T. Codman regarded Hawthorne as "the most ingenuous, the most simple-minded of all men in matters of ordinary business,"²⁶ but the present letter to Hillard shows the author in a most businesslike mood: money was due him, he needed it, and he took the most direct means at his command of assuring its recovery.²⁷

APROPOS OF JOHN THOREAU

MAX COSMAN

Thomas Jefferson High School, Brooklyn, New York

I SHOULD like to call attention to a minor inaccuracy in H. S. Canby's biography of Thoreau, in connection with the death of Henry's brother, John.

This is Dr. Canby's recital of the regrettable occurrence: "In January of 1842 John caught his hand on a nail while jumping a fence and tore the flesh and muscles, from his wrist to his fingers. Lockjaw set in and in spite of help from Boston he died in agony on January 11, with Henry beside him" (p. 177).

On page 469 Dr. Canby adds this note as to the source of his information: "Joseph Hosmer, in the 'Thoreau Annex,' *The Concord Freeman*, IV, 24 (May 6, 1880)." On checking this reference, I find that Dr. Canby has accepted Hosmer's statement with slight qualification: "John, his brother, in jumping a fence in 1840, I think, caught his hand on a rusty nail and tore the muscles and the flesh from his wrist to his fingers and died of lock-jaw,—a sad and terrible death."

The Hosmer version of this death, however, appears questionable for a number of reasons. His parenthetic *I think* may refer to the

²⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, "George Ripley," XV, 624.

²⁶ Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁷ I am indebted to Mr. Zoltán Haraszti for his help in gathering the facts set forth here, to Mr. Frederic L. Putnam for his search of the court records of Middlesex County, and to Professor Stanley T. Williams for his helpful advice.

date 1840—it was really in 1842 that the accident took place; it may also be a hint of Hosmer's uncertain memory. His recollections were printed in the *Concord Freeman* in 1880. Now forty years may, in this instance, have been to Mr. Hosmer too long a time for exact remembrance.

Moreover, in Volume VI of the Walden Edition of *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, F. B. Sanborn alludes to a cut sustained by John Thoreau during shaving, and attributes his death to the resulting infection (p. 74). The source of Mr. Sanborn's note is no doubt an anonymous letter that appears in "*Warrington*" *Pen-Portraits*, a biographic work on her husband published by Mrs. W. S. Robinson in 1877. Mr. Sanborn wrote the Introduction for the volume.

Mrs. Robinson's unnamed correspondent's report must be given in full if we are to appreciate its complete command of factual detail:

"FEB. 2, 1842

"I cannot close this hasty note without referring to the sudden death of our friend Thoreau, whom you knew and loved so well. The cause seems very simple. He was stropping his razor on Saturday afternoon, and cut off a little piece of the end of his finger next to the little one, on his left hand. It was very slight,—just the skin deep enough to draw blood. He replaced the skin, and immediately put on a rag, without letting it bleed. He paid no more attention to it for two or three days, when he found it began to grow painful; and on the next Saturday he found that the skin had adhered to the finger slightly on one end, but the other part had mortified. In the evening he went to Dr. Bartlett, who dressed the finger; and, with no apprehension of further difficulty, he went home. On his way he had strange sensations, acute pain in various parts of his body; and he was hardly able to get home. The next morning (Sunday) he complained of stiffness of the jaws; and at night he was seized with violent spasms, and lockjaw set in. On being told that he must die a speedy and painful death, he was unmoved. 'Is there no hope?' he said. 'None,' replied the doctor. Then, although his friends were almost distracted around him, he was calm, saying, 'The cup that my Father gives me, shall I not drink it?' He bade his friends all good-by; and twice he mentioned your name. Not long before he died, in the intervals of his suffering, he thought he had written something, and said, 'I will carry it down to Robinson: he will like to read it.' He died Tuesday, at two

o'clock, P.M., with as much cheerfulness and composure of mind as if only going a short journey" (pp. 12-13).

In view of the facts presented, especially the verisimilitude of the preceding letter, Dr. Canby's account should not be accepted.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1940, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

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J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Education of Henry Adams: A Critical Estimate.* Robert A. Hume (Cornell).
England and the United States in the Work of Paul Bourget. Jessie E. Manifold (Iowa, French).
A Comparison and Criticism of the Educational Philosophies of Plato and John Dewey. John M. Smith (Iowa, Philosophy).
Theodore Dreiser. Marie Hadley (Ohio State).
Emerson and Puritanism. Katherine M. Heaton (Iowa).
Self and Nature: A Study in the Evolution of Emerson's Idealism, with Special Reference to the Years 1833-1844. Stephen E. Whicher (Harvard).
A Critical Examination of the Works of Harold Frederic. William B. Thomas (Ohio State).
James Russell Lowell's *Biglow Papers*. Arthur Voss (Yale).
The Relation of Shakespeare and Melville. C. J. Olson (Harvard).
Wendell Phillips. Oscar Sherwin (New York University).
Mark Twain's Literary Development. Edgar M. Branch (Iowa).
Walt Whitman and Science. J. K. Forrest (University of Washington).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- The Breaking Away from Boston as a Literary Center. Mary Ella Brown (New York University).
Criticism of "Majority Rule" in American Literature, 1787-1860. Robert G. Walker (Michigan).
The Cultural Climate of Philadelphia at the Time of the Centennial. Dorothy E. C. Ditter (Pennsylvania, History).
Democracy and Imperialism. John Eric Nordskog (Southern California, Political Science).
Emigration to America as Reflected in the German Novel of the Nineteenth Century. Nelson Van de Luyster (Michigan, German).
The Georgia Sketch Writers. Lloyd W. Chapin (North Carolina).
The German Drama on the New Orleans Stage. Arthur H. Moehlenbrock (Iowa).
The History of Instruction in American Literature in American Colleges and Universities, 1827 to 1939. John Smith Lewis, Jr. (New York University, School of Education).
The Influence of the French Symbolist Poets on Modern English and American Poetry. Margaret Foster (Ohio State).

- Journalism in the Western Reserve during the Civil War. Clyde E. Feuchter (Western Reserve, History).
- Literary Culture in New York in the 1840's. John A. Kouwenhoven (Columbia).
- The Literature of the Oregon Territory. Herbert B. Nelson (University of Washington).
- Narrative Art in the Fiction of Eighteenth-Century American Magazines. Effie Jane Wheeler (Michigan).
- The Negro in Dramatic Literature. Helen D. Troesch (Western Reserve, Dramatic Literature).
- The Religion of Humanity: The Rise of Neo-Rationalism in America, 1865-1900. Stow S. Persons (Yale, History).
- Studies in Texas Folk Song. William Owens (Iowa).
- The Teaching of American Literature in American Colleges, 1870-1920. Harlan Hungerford (Michigan).
- The Use of Ethical Principles by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in *The Federalist*. Frederick W. Williams (New York University, Philosophy).
- Washington, D. C., after the Civil War, 1865-1878. Gibbs Myers (Yale, History).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The American Divorce Novel. James H. Barnett (Pennsylvania, Sociology, 1939).
- American Factual Narratives, 1815-1860. Moyle Francis Cedarstrom (University of Washington, 1932).
- American Reaction to the Literary Criticism of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1830-1860. Anna Whitmer (Ohio State, 1939).
- Constance Fenimore Woolson. John Dwight Kern (Pennsylvania).
- A Critical Study of the Writings of Mary Hunter Austin. Dudley Wynn (New York University, 1940).
- E. L. Godkin as Utilitarian. V. C. Christianson (University of Washington).
- The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Bronson Alcott. Dorothy McCuskey (Yale, 1936).
- Emerson's Mysticism. Myron F. Wicke (Western Reserve, 1940).
- Frederick Reynolds and the English Drama, 1785-1840. Merton H. Rapp (Iowa, 1939).
- The Frontier in the Poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier. Charles Doren Tharp (Pittsburgh, 1940). Note: Mr. Tharp's topic reported in progress in January, 1933, was "The Pioneer Spirit in American Verse."

- George Santayana: Man of Letters. George Washington Howgate (Pennsylvania, 1933).
- Godey's American Gentleman in Theory and Practice. Caroline Mattingly (University of Washington, 1940).
- Henry Armin Rotterman's Life and Poetical Work. Henry Willen (Pennsylvania, Germanics, 1939).
- The History of the Philadelphia Theater, 1890-1900. Edgar Leroy Potts (Pennsylvania, 1932).
- The Idea of Progress in the Writings of Franklin, Freneau, Rush, and Barlow. Macklin Thomas (Wisconsin, 1939).
- The Influence of Seventeenth-Century Thought upon Ralph Waldo Emerson. J. Russell Roberts (University of Washington, 1940).
- Italian Opinion of America, 1850-1900. Andrew J. Torrielli (Harvard, 1940).
- Life and Works of L. Virginia French. Virginia Lewis Peck (Vanderbilt, 1939).
- Mark Twain and William Dean Howells: Anti-Imperialists. William M. Gibson (Chicago, 1940). Note: Mr. Gibson was reported in November, 1937, as being engaged on a history dissertation on "American Letters and Imperialism, 1898-1904."
- Melville and the Idea of Progress. Egbert Samuel Oliver (University of Washington, 1940).
- The Northern Poetry of the Civil War. Edward W. Sine (Pennsylvania, 1931).
- One Hundred Years of American Etiquette (1776-1876). Mrs. Ruth M. Sloan (Western Reserve, History, 1939).
- The Perfectionism of John Humphrey Noyes. Russell Blankenship (University of Washington, 1935).
- The Philadelphia Stage from 1900 to 1910. Joseph Meconnahey (Pennsylvania, 1937).
- Regionalism in American Drama. George Milton Savage, Jr. (University of Washington, 1935).
- The Reputation of Herman Melville in America. Hugh Hetherington (Michigan, 1933).
- The United States of America and Post-War Literature in France. Armen Kalfagan (Iowa, 1932).
- William Allen White. Ora Everett Rich (Western Reserve, 1940).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

- American Biography. Henry H. Caldwell (Columbia).
- American Literary Dialects. George H. Genzmer (Columbia).
- American Little Magazines. Charles A. Allen (Iowa).
- Browning in American Universities. Hilda Hagstotz (Nebraska).

- Charles Chauncy. E. H. Dewey (Harvard).
 Chief Impersonators of the Yankee on the American Stage. S. J. D. Fendall (New York University).
 A Descriptive Bibliography of Historical and Imaginative Writings in Georgia. O. E. Horton, Jr. (Vanderbilt).
 The Early Life of Stephen Crane. Lyndon U. Pratt (Iowa).
 Edward Rowland Sill. Horace J. Kelly (Pennsylvania).
 George H. Miles. S. H. Fritchman (New York University).
 George Sterling. Mary Matheson Wills (Southern California).
 Herbert Quick: Social Historian of the Middle West. Geneva Waters (Iowa).
 History of the French Theater in New York. Sylvie Brodin (New York University).
 A History of the Philadelphia Theater from 1878 to 1890. C. Wesley Phy (Pennsylvania). Note: Mr. Phy died in 1936. The topic is being continued by Thomas F. Marshall (Pennsylvania).
 A History of the Pittsburgh Stage, 1861-1900. A. T. Cordray (Iowa).
 Joel Chandler Harris. Paul M. Cousins (Columbia).
 Joseph Glover Baldwin. Roger W. Jones (Columbia).
 The Precursors of Poe in the Ratiocinative Story. Amelia Reynolds Long (Pennsylvania).
 The Religious Development of Orestes A. Brownson. Jeremiah K. Durick (New York University).
 Rose Terry Cooke: Life and Letters. Katherine I. Tress (New York University).
 Royall Tyler. John A. Brandon (Columbia).
 Voltaire in Eighteenth-Century America. Helene Cassidy (Michigan).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor E. H. Eby (University of Washington) has completed, ready for publication, a concordance to Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and selected prose.

Mrs. Florence Freedman is continuing work on Walt Whitman and the Brooklyn *Evening Star* of 1845-46, a project begun in the Graduate School of New York University.

James D. Hart has completed work on a reference book to be entitled *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*, scheduled for publication in 1940.

Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny are working on a new edition of the *Bibliography of Edgar Allan Poe*.

University of North Carolina,
 Chapel Hill, N. C.

RAYMOND ADAMS,
 Assistant Bibliographer.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: *The Seventeenth Century*. By Perry Miller.
New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. xiv, 528 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Miller has attempted herein a task of breath-taking magnitude: nothing less than "defining and classifying the principal concepts of the Puritan mind in New England" and "accounting for the origins, interrelations and significances of the ideas." I can best testify to his success by saying that this book makes a large part of my own reading during the past ten years seem embarrassingly unintelligent. The only studies to which it is comparable are H. W. Schneider's *The Puritan Mind* (1930) and Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass* (1936); it strikes deeper than the former book, and is clearer than the latter. It merits, in short, the careful attention of students both of Puritanism and of the Renaissance; it will, furthermore, repay the most meticulous examination by all who are concerned with the methods of presenting the results of research in the history of ideas.

The general thesis is that Puritan thought in all realms was a reconciliation of opposing values and of latent tensions or antagonisms which at this distance often seem irreconcilable. The instrument for such fusion was the Ramist logic, by which the intellectual universe was neatly and completely mapped. Within its framework, the passionate piety of the Augustinian tradition and the passion for learning of Puritan humanism were blended harmoniously into a system of thought and a way of life which Mr. Miller regards as admirably fitted to the exigencies of the seventeenth century. The discussion is planned along

what seemed a logical method of topical organization, commencing with the basic theological doctrines and inherited philosophies, from which there promised to be a natural progression to a study of the cosmological system, cosmology in turn promised to lead to the conception of man as an integral part of the universe, and the doctrine of human nature to furnish the foundations for theories of human association in church and state (p. 484).

In other words, the reconciliation is described in four books, of four chapters each: "Religion and Learning," "Cosmology," "Anthropology," and "Sociology."

Among the dangers of this synthesis are two important ones: that a scholar may be led to perceive in the Puritan mind a fullness and a unity which it never really had; and that he may be led to interpret the seventeenth century in terms too largely not its own. Although Mr. Miller is keenly aware of these pitfalls, I am not sure that he has entirely escaped them. They both resolve themselves into questions of degree. The his-

torian must synthesize, and he cannot but write out of the preoccupations and perplexities of his own age. But he, too, must achieve a delicate balance of latent oppositions; most frequently he does not go far enough toward the necessary generalizations, but he can easily go too far.

Few will take exception, probably, to the statement that the Puritans were middle-class Englishmen engaged in New England in an eminently practical task of settlement, and they were men rather of action than of contemplation. None of them can be called original thinkers. Their thought was inherited and transported; their intellectual energies were devoted to learning what others had taught or at best to making novel combinations of ideas already enunciated. The writers achieved some startling effects by this method, but not until Jonathan Edwards was there a mind capable of sustained independent speculation (p. 48).

Nevertheless, the total effect of the book, which is avowedly written to emphasize abstract thought rather than social and economic motives, is to present the Puritans as thinkers of extraordinary foresight, who kept within the fixed limits of their universe because they were determined to hold it together. Mr. Miller, having emphasized the omniverous Puritan appetite for learning, is faced with the problem of why such realms of knowledge as physics and psychology were less explored than others, even deductively. His suggestion at several points (cf. pp. 243, 250, 256, 266-267) is that the Puritans consciously or subconsciously avoided pushing through to a conclusion in such fields lest they be led into difficulties elsewhere in their thinking. This explanation is thought-provoking, but it is not wholly convincing, especially after the reader has been persuaded to respect Puritan intellectual courage, and to observe Puritan confidence in the Ramist logic as a perfect instrument for the attainment of truth. Only original thinkers, or something pretty close to that, could be astute enough and well informed enough to perceive what sciences were best left uncultivated if their system were to be preserved.

Despite many qualifications, moreover, this book does not wholly avoid bestowing upon Puritan thought a "modernity" which I, for one, must regard with some suspicion. It is said, for example, that

"God" was a word to stand for the majesty and perfection which gleam through the fabric of the world; He was Being, hardly apprehensible to man, yet whose existence man must posit, not so much as *a* being but as *The* Being, the beginning of things and the sustainer, the principle of universal harmony and the guide. "Sin" was in effect a way of setting forth disharmony, of describing man's inability to live decently, his cruelties and his crimes, and also a way of accounting for the accidents, the diseases, and the sorrows which every day befall the good and the bad (p. 9).

Although there is some evidence in support of such subtleties as these (cf. p. 284), they seem hardly representative of Puritan writings, as most of us know them. Even when Cotton Mather is expelled from the fold (and Mr. Miller does expel him), the Puritan diaries and sermons appear to hold considerable of "*a* being," who walked and talked with the elect,

and sin is often uncomplicated pride or fornication. The day is past when Puritans were regarded as merely quaint and superstitious, but it does not seem just to make them thus profound.

The only matter of detail which I would venture to question is the degree of emphasis which Mr. Miller places upon the Ramist logic, as it relates to literary form. It seems to me that he may possibly give too much weight to James Fitch's *The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, a book whose importance he demonstrated in the preface to *The Puritans* in 1938. It might be argued, I believe, that the categories of Aristotelian logic had a greater effect upon sermon techniques than the dominance of Ramist doctrine seems to imply. The matter is highly intricate, but it seems unlikely that Mr. Miller's book settles the relation of logic to rhetoric in seventeenth-century America.

Certain problems of method are also raised by this book. The Foreword states that "the first three generations in New England paid almost unbroken allegiance to a unified body of thought, and that individual differences among particular writers or theorists were merely minor variations within a general frame"; the quotations, therefore, are to be considered representative. In such a sweeping summary as Mr. Miller has undertaken, something of this sort is doubtless necessary. It may be said, however, that it sidesteps one of the fundamental problems of method in the history of ideas: the proper representation and evaluation of minority opinions. Another technique of great concern to the present-day scholar is the use of books which the American Puritans read, whether as textbooks or as theological doctrine. It is impossible to determine precisely whether or not Mr. Miller would have been able to present as full a picture by using only the books which New Englanders wrote themselves. Nor are his reasons for using English books at one point, and American ones at another, always wholly clear. One is puzzled, for instance, that Chapter IX, on "The Nature of Man," should be based almost wholly upon English materials, while Chapter XVI, on "God's Controversy with New England," should consider only the American aspect of the "chosen people" attitude.

No one, however, can read *The New England Mind* without acquiring great respect for its clarity and learning. Sections which are particularly worthy of commendation are Chapter VIII, on the Puritan attitude toward nature, Chapter IX, a fascinating exposition of Renaissance psychology, Chapter X, on the means of conversion, based solidly upon the writings of Thomas Hooker, and Chapters XIII through XVI, which deal with the Puritan views of church and state. The book is often difficult reading, because of the subject matter, but it is never vague, even on the knottiest problems of seventeenth-century theology. One may ques-

tion the thesis, or quarrel with details, but the argument is invariably meticulous and lucid. When Mr. Miller speculates, he says so. 'His book, in brief, is an important contribution to American literary scholarship. It is likely to be the starting-point for many an article and special study which will improve our knowledge both of Puritanism and of the whole stream of Colonial literature and thought. Several further volumes, we are told, are to deal with the subsequent intellectual history of New England, down through the early nineteenth century.

In the presence of such a book as this, a reviewer may be permitted an appropriate Biblical text. It should be II Corinthians, 2:16: "And who is sufficient for these things." Thomas Clap, in 1732, preached a sermon on this text at the ordination of Ephraim Little. "Much study," he said, "and the Delivery of the Things studied, is *Weariness to the Flesh*, and the Want of Success in it, a *Trouble to the Spirit*." Mr. Miller has little reason to be troubled in spirit.

The University of Texas.

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, 1703-1758: *A Biography*. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. xii, 406 pp. \$3.50.

That a figure so commandingly important in American intellectual history as Jonathan Edwards has at last been delineated by an able biographer is an event of some moment. Miss Winslow has not only written a solid, thorough, and readable account of Edwards, but has wisely limited her task to the story of his life. "The sweep and complexity of [his] ideas, their roots, their relation to the thought of his own day, and their impact on the thought of the men who came after him make quite another story . . .," the author says by way of preface. The focus upon Edwards the man, the synthesis and appraisal of data that bear directly upon the events of his life—these are the objectives toward which Miss Winslow moves. She has achieved her purpose with admirable judiciousness, balance, and freedom from that insidiously apologetic tone which often unconsciously creeps into a sympathetic biography.

Edwards has been compelled to endure, until very recently, far more than his just share of opprobrious criticism for his staunch defense of Calvinistic principles that were out of fashion in his own century, and positive anathema in the next. It is good to see him finally released from the category of "fiery Puritans"; indeed, one can scarcely picture Edwards, observed rightly in his time and place, as other than a devoted son, husband, and father; a kindly and often guileless neighbor and pastor; a sensitive friend; and an uncompromising intellectual. It is

this picture of him which Miss Winslow skilfully limns, adding throughout the details which careful research make warrantable. The reader will do well to bear in mind her statement regarding Edwards in the opening Prologue: "The facts of his life are few, but revealing. As a panorama of incident, all is in the open, and clear to the naked eye . . . [with] few hidden corners and no unwelcome secrets."

In view of the fact that so little data exists—and that little to be found chiefly in gleanings—the biographer's task has been one of organization and appraisal. Every chapter gives evidence of competent and lucid evaluation. Miss Winslow has probably gone as far as possible in explaining the Edwards inheritance, especially in discussing the Tuttle strain, with its unmistakable taint of insanity. The early years and the boyhood interest in science are analyzed with what seem to this reviewer the final statement on Edwards as an observer of natural phenomena. The story of Whitefield and the Great Awakening is absorbingly told. So is that of the Northampton pastorate, ending so bitterly. The account of the Stockbridge years, and the light thrown upon the Edwards-Williams feud there, are particularly welcome. The reader finally lays down the book with a query which the author has most certainly intended to raise: why should Edwards, a really great man, so sensitive, so honest, so filled with loving kindness, have been embroiled so bitterly throughout his life in the very sort of personal contentions which he most abhorred? The author is never more sympathetic, yet uncompromisingly honest, than when she presents Edwards's failures. Thereby the pathos and drama of his career are enhanced. It is difficult to escape her conclusion that the man was greater than the sum of his parts.

It is pleasant to observe finally that the publishers have spared no pains to bring the book out in attractive format, liberally illustrated. The author's learning, never obtrusive, is clearly attested in the notes. A selected bibliography and an index conclude the volume.

The Lawrenceville School.

THOMAS H. JOHNSON.

WILLIAM PENN AS A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER. By Edward Corbyn Obert Beatty. With a Foreword by Marcus W. Jernegan. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xiii, 338 pp. \$3.50.

William Penn was a fascinating, a complex, and often an exasperating person. A Quaker idealist, he was also arrogant and domineering; a champion of liberty, he was yet no democrat; though he would suffer for his faith, he could also play the autocrat and, as Franklin said, be at once both naïve and subtle. His biographers have provided no clear or satisfactory portrait, yet it is obvious that some understanding of him is as important to the study of American culture as an understanding of

the Puritan and the planter. Dr. Beatty has undertaken a new approach: leaving aside the biographical or psychological problems, and avoiding Penn's amateur theological essays, he has made a detailed analysis of the social thought, upon the basis of a thorough knowledge of the works, with the leading ideas accurately distinguished and topically arranged. The Penn who left his impress upon America was the grand proprietor with a practical program for a society, and Dr. Beatty has here provided the material for a true judgment by bringing order out of the jumble of his ideas, and so has performed a valuable service for the student of American intellectual history.

In his conclusion Dr. Beatty dwells upon the essential greatness of Penn, his championship of liberty and justice, and enables us to see precisely what Penn meant by liberty and justice. However, Dr. Beatty everywhere stresses the fact that although endorsing these noble ends, the thought of Penn exhibits little internal consistency, and our final impression is of a confused or even a muddled mind. Dr. Beatty's careful tabulation of the passages underscores this impression, and often suggests that if "explanation" of Penn's philosophy is to be had, it must be sought not in his mind but in the mind of the age, not in his ideas but in the conventional ideas of the period. Except for instancing occasional analogies to contemporaneous figures, Dr. Beatty attempts no further comment upon the intellectual background or upon the reasons for inconsistencies in both it and Penn. He is inclined to ask for forgiveness on the plea that Penn was a practical man and not a systematic closet philosopher, yet the reader of the volume can hardly help wishing that something more had been said. The neat arrangement of the material into topical chapters inevitably raises the question of whether the incongruities among Penn's ideas do not point, for the historian at least, to some larger historical congruity.

Dr. Beatty indicates that there are often startling likenesses between Penn and the leaders of early New England, who at first sight would seem to have little in common with the prophet of toleration. Like them he commenced from the premise that government was an ordinance of God to rule the depravity of man. In coming to America he no less than Winthrop had in mind a "holy experiment" with a coercive authority to enforce obedience to the moral law. He conceived that rights mean duties, and that the magistrate should compel the performance of the duties in a spirit fully as "medieval" as John Cotton's; he envisaged a "planned society" that would have been the reverse of "liberal." The indulgence of pleasure was to be strictly limited and the secular arm was to be the servant of the church in enforcing the regulation. He conceived of himself in relation to his people as a patriarch and his policy was

distinctly paternalistic. Yet into this authoritarian, coercive philosophy he introduced the idea of toleration. In this one respect he broke with the "medieval" tradition, and any Puritan would have assured him that a holy experiment which attempted to enforce the moral law without a uniform and established church was doomed to failure. Penn believed that it would not fail, for he could see no reason why, because Protestantism had fallen apart into a variety of sects, the laws of God should be any less clear-cut and definite. They still remained simple, plain, universal rules to guide a government, even one that granted liberty of conscience. His ideal of toleration did not spring from a cynical indifference to religion or from a worldly forsaking of the ideal of holiness. "The freedom I recommend is no scepticism in judgment and much less so in practice." He was as positive, as aggressive as any theocrat in his determination to erect a Christian society, but he fondly believed that society could be made Christian through toleration rather than through uniformity. There was a latent antagonism in his philosophy between the old and the new, between the ancient concept of a government that enforced moral as well as political obedience and the emerging concept of a government that should surrender moral regulation to the churches and content itself with purely police powers. Penn himself could never recognize the divergent tendencies of his thought, and in this respect his inconsistency takes on a species of logical significance, the logic of development in the late seventeenth century.

Yet if Penn was distracted by the incompatible ideals of authority and toleration, there was one point upon which he was never confused: the rights of property. The libertarian never intended, as Dr. Beatty demonstrates, that anything should be permitted in the name of freedom which should endanger property and wealth. The leader of the holy experiment speaks on this score like any eighteenth-century Whig, and if his religious ideal may be said to reflect the last rays of a medieval philosophy, his healthy respect for property forecasts a much more secular epoch. It is true he would have had luxury and pride controlled by sumptuary laws and would have regulated buying and selling by the standards of righteousness, but as against the state he was certain that every man had a right to his own possessions. "Ownership," he said, was one of the "fundamentals comprehended and expressed to have been the rights and privileges of Englishmen"; he was careful at every point to safeguard the propertied classes in Pennsylvania and once announced in no uncertain terms, "property is sacred." At the beginning of the settlement he could permit some governmental interference with trade in order to remedy the unequal distribution of wealth, but in his later writings, as Dr. Beatty remarks, "he espoused the more comfortable

theory" and left the poor to be relieved, if at all, by charity. Here, just possibly, emerges most cogently the explanation of Penn's lack of consistency, a lack common to the age and therefore the more eloquent testimony of the direction in which it was moving. The authoritarian had espoused toleration; the causes of toleration and of property thus were united and advanced together. There was a still further step which Penn could not bring himself to take, but the people of Pennsylvania, once in the possession of liberty and property, could take it despite him, and that was the thrusting aside of the last vestiges of the holy experiment. The granting of toleration and inviolable property rights proved the undoing of the Christian Utopia. Government could no longer be an ordinance of God when its real excuse for being was the protection of sectarianism and wealth. Moral regulations and sumptuary laws fell to the ground, and the state, having granted toleration and pledged itself to defend property, could thereafter confine itself to these functions while Pennsylvanians increasingly devoted themselves to trade and commerce. The pattern of the age shines through the thought of William Penn, but Penn himself did not perceive it; only after his ideas have been submitted to Dr. Beatty's scrutiny and ordered in his categories does it become apparent to us. Dr. Beatty has refrained from endeavoring to make that pattern as explicit as it appears to me, but whether or not my statement of it, which seems to emerge unmistakably from his pages, is altogether correct, the reader may regret that so good an analysis was not carried one degree further.

Harvard University.

PERRY MILLER.

THE SPANISH ADVENTURES OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By Claude G. Bowers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. xvii, 306 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Bowers has given us a book with charm, to use one of his favorite words, and that is very nearly all. He writes pleasantly of Andalusian moonlight nights and flashing Spanish eyes, of fans and mantillas, and he retells sentimentally, with brief interludes of his own adventures, the familiar story of Irving's two stays in the Peninsula, as literary wanderer (1826-1829) and as Minister to Spain (1842-1846). It is a gracious story and Mr. Bowers is commendably in love with his subject. Perhaps, like one of Irving's own tales, it deserves still another retelling. Yet Mr. Bowers uses a heavy brush; there is a wearisome excess of glamor. This is a disappointing book, even if we remember that it was composed, as the author says in his Introduction, for his "own amusement." For after Mr. Bowers's opportunities as a historian and as Minister to Spain, surely he might have written something less destitute of the vertebrae of research and criticism. We have said the best of this narrative when we remind

ourselves that it is what the author intended primarily that it should be: mildly agreeable reading. It is a pretty book for the tourist or for the novice in the study of Irving.

The disappointment is more severe because the book, despite demurrals in the Introduction, lays claims to investigation. Mr. Bowers has, indeed, done detective work in uncovering new facts in the lives of the friends of Irving in Spain; we know more of the fascinating bibliographer, Obadiah Rich, of the O'Sheas, of D'Oubril, and the beautiful Leocadia Zamora. For this we are grateful, and also for some of the fresh illustrations. He has, moreover, drawn heavily upon the American state papers in Madrid. Yet all this material is so sentimentalized and so clouded in vagueness of ascription that it does not have its full value for the scholar. Substantial portions of the book are, indeed, merely dubious paraphrases of the letters in Pierre Munro Irving's biography of his uncle. In addition, the official letters have, in many instances, their counterparts in the State Department in Washington, and are easily accessible there or through copies in another collection in this country; those in Madrid have been liberally excerpted and printed; and I can discover no attempt to investigate the files of the Spanish government which contain, of course, many references to Irving. The products of the research are, therefore, often casual and repetitious.

Nothing need be said of these faults if this ambivalence did not bring the book into the category of seeming scholarship; if it were consistently a devoted appreciation of these romantic episodes in Irving's career. But the volume suggests a completeness which it has not, and a precision which it lacks—both weaknesses dangerous to our present study of American literature. It is guilty of carelessness in fact and in transcription; sketchy and unreliable documentation; failure to use important available materials, both published and unpublished; inadequate acknowledgment of debts to other books; and it never exhibits penetrative evaluation of Irving either as writer or as a diplomat in Spain. If we forgive such limitations, and if we are happily ignorant of Irving's life, we may enjoy an evening's reading of *The Spanish Adventures of Washington Irving*.

Yale University.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

LITERARY ESSAYS; ORIENTAL ARTICLES; BUYING CHRISTMAS TOYS; THE NEW RADIANCE; BARBAROUS BARBERS. By Lafcadio Hearn. Edited by Ichiro Nishizaki. Tokyo, Japan: The Hokuseido Press. (Sold by The Argus Book Shop, Inc., Chicago, Ill.) 209, 260, 166, 238, 319 pp. \$1.00 per volume.

Lafcadio Hearn's meticulous craftsmanship and exotic, sometimes grisly, preoccupations, gave to his journalistic contributions a decided

literary flavor that has survived the passage of time. For this reason the articles he wrote for the Cincinnati and New Orleans newspapers have been a mine from which many posthumous books were dredged.

The Hokuseido Press of Tokyo has published five new volumes of this material—some two hundred articles in all—which must about exhaust the vein. Although his work has been pretty well picked over and published, the editorials and sketches included in this series are interesting from various angles, especially because they show the catholicity of Hearn's likes and the breadth of his reading. The bits reproduced from the Cincinnati papers reflect his interest in macabre crime and bristle with the beginnings of the luxuriant vocabulary with which he constructed the stained-glass patterns of words that made his later books such marvels of his type of literary style. There are signs too of the influence of Baudelaire and de Maupassant, whose books he was translating as he waited at night in grimy police stations for news.

In the later articles copied from New Orleans journals one can trace the transformation of the reporter-pupa into the resplendent literary butterfly that fed on the exotic honey of many nations. Every new book he read, new interest he acquired, was reflected in his daily writing. In *Barbarous Barbers* and *Buying Christmas Toys*, he makes the trifling incident interesting—the small experience he encountered on his daily rounds; *Literary Essays* shows his expanding concern with French fiction and folklore, and his tentative excursions into Nordic, Germanic, and Talmudic writings. The great fascination the East held for him, even in those early days, is evident in *Oriental Articles*, all written before he considered going to Japan, and *The New Radiance* is a pattern of his interest in out-of-the-way scientific matters and the picturesqueness with which he invested them.

These articles appear to have a greater scholarship than Hearn actually possessed. Lack of leisure and the inadequate libraries in New Orleans made it impossible for him to consult primary sources. What he actually did in most cases was to cull the high lights from French and English literary and scientific reviews and turn them into fascinating leaders. Nevertheless, he performed an important cultural service through his ability to recognize sound learning of an unusual nature and to summarize it in a picturesque way that whetted his public's curiosity. Even in his journalistic work in New Orleans he proved himself the inspired teacher he afterwards became in Japan.

It is right that this material should be salvaged from the disintegrating files of old newspapers, but when the editor of the series, Professor Ichiro Nishizaki, insists that none of the articles have ever before appeared in book form; he is mistaken. "Gibbeted" was reprinted as

a separate volume in 1933; so was "Spirit Photography." John Murray of Los Angeles, California, published them both.

New York City.

EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER.

MAULE'S CURSE: *Seven Studies in the History of American Obscurantism: Hawthorne - Cooper - Melville - Poe - Emerson - Jones Very - Emily Dickinson - Henry James.* By Yvor Winters. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. [1938.] xii, 240 pp. \$3.00.

Beginning with *Primitivism and Decadence* (1937), a "study very largely of the forms of unconscious and of conscious obscurantism" in twentieth-century poetry, Mr. Winters has been working backwards in a praiseworthy effort to get at the truth about American obscurantism. The Foreword to *Maule's Curse* offers an amusing exhibit of the general confusion among both poets and reviewers, and links this present work intimately with its predecessor. For the author is digging further to find if possible the very roots of this annoying thistle of American letters. And on his way down he has halted in the mid-nineteenth century, and later, to uncover earlier "aspects of this state of mind in America," and "to suggest at least a part of the outline of the history of this state of mind."

The quest, then, is exploratory rather than definitive, and Mr. Winters is a proper scholar to undertake the task. Since the aim of the volume is to discover the origin of the obscurantist disease, we need not bother to argue about questions of literary taste. We may get this subject out of the way at once by making note of the fact that Mr. Winters on page 165 rates Melville first among American writers; Emily Dickinson second, and "one of the greatest lyric poets of all time"; and on page 117 calls the seventh chapter of *The Deerslayer* "faultless, limpid, and unforgettable prose." At least Mr. Winters avoids obscurantism in warning us fairly as to the manner of critic we are dealing with.

These matters are interesting but only incidental, and we must take care that Mr. Winters's occasional blind spots and unshared enthusiasm for the wretched prose of Cooper do not obscure the central thesis, plausibly taken, often brilliantly sustained and closely, at times even tediously, reasoned and documented. The essay on "Hawthorne and the Problem of Allegory" provides a good entrance to the thesis. When Maule on the scaffold cursed Colonel Pyncheon on horseback, he cried, "God will give him blood to drink." Mr. Winters quotes the episode as a text for the essay, and if I follow his own allegory it means that Puritan theology and its symbolism based upon the faith that once sustained the New England soul had lost its meaning and died, leaving men

like Hawthorne and James, however, still tugging at the hollow tradition, drinking the blood of Maule's curse.

This elaborate figure may be more of a contribution to obscurantism than to clarity, but Mr. Winters makes his case that *The Scarlet Letter* is Hawthorne's sole masterpiece because its allegory is the natural expression of the implied allegory inherent in the doctrine of "predestination and the inefficaciousness of good works." In practice, if you entered the church and obeyed the conventions, your salvation was self-evident; if you committed a sin, the act was equally symbolic of damnation. By setting his novel in this earlier age of simplicity, and choosing sexual sin for dramatic and historical reasons, Hawthorne could make full use of Puritan New England, where "allegory was realism, the idea was life itself." Hawthorne effected this happy synthesis only once, but he produced a classic; afterwards he lost his hold and degenerated as an artist. "He had looked for signals so long and so intently, and his ancestors before him had done so for so many generations, that, like a man hypnotized, or like a man corroded with madness, he saw them; but he no longer had any way of determining their significance, and he had small talent for rendering their physical presence with intensity." Therefore, argues Mr. Winters, *The House of Seven Gables* and *The Marble Faun* are both failures, and the last and unfinished *The Dolliver Romance* "is the most preposterous of all."

There is general agreement that Hawthorne is the best example of what Parrington called "the refined alienation from reality that in the end palsied the creative mind of New England." Now Mr. Winters sees in this palsy an important step in the direction of obscurantism, and uses this thesis as a loose thread upon which to hang the other essays. Cooper's connection with it seems to me to be tenuous indeed, but the essay makes a plea, often eloquent, for the social aspect of his work and for re-examination of the lesser known Littlepage novels, which Mr. Winters professes to find important. He discovers that Hawthorne's dichotomy of Good and Evil has its correspondence in Cooper in the Genteel and the Vulgar, but he works entirely too hard on this one. He does find some support for the thesis in the minor works of Melville where the sweeping power of *Moby Dick*, with its miraculous blending of reality and allegory, land and sea, known and unknown, good and evil, had spent itself and left the author in a "kind of moral limbo."

The longest, and in some respects the best, chapter goes to Henry James in whose works the problem of manners and the New England moral sense came to a focus as a theme and as a controlling element in the form of the novels. Here Mr. Winters has a clear case, and his critical analysis inspires admiration. He misses the point and goes

momentarily astray to find obscurantism where there is none in the paragraphs on *The Sense of the Past* which played with the concept of the co-existence of past, present, and future. The concept is rather faithfully presented in Bladerston's dramatization of James's story as *Berkeley Square*. He does not, I think, stress enough the point that the New England religious and social discipline survived in James's generation largely as a fastidiousness of taste, but he does show how central the belief in a sense of decency came to be in James's novels, giving rise at once to the best and the worst qualities in them. There is also much general and acute criticism of James as a novelist.

As for the other chapters, the violent attack upon poor Edgar Poe was certainly provoked by the excessive praise heaped upon his amateurish work by uncritical critics. Mr. Winters has gone extremist in the opposite direction, and scores point after point on Poe where his defenses are weakest. It was time somebody stated this case, but Mr. Winters has done it in the Malvolio manner in taking these bird-bolts for cannon-bullets. The obscurities of Poe, however, document the thesis of the book. Mr. Winters does a great service in presenting the poems of Jones Very. And he points out the astonishing defects and obscurantism of Emily Dickinson without losing his awe for the sacred lyricist. On the whole, he has attacked with bravery a rather new and difficult field. His work commands respect, and it should stimulate further consideration and clarification of the problems which he has so pertinently raised.

The Ohio State University.

HARLAN HATCHER.

ENEMIES OF PROMISE. By Cyril Connolly. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. viii, 340 pp \$2.75.

Mortality soon catches up with most books. Those that seemed great ten years ago are now less great, or forgotten. Strachey, Galsworthy, Bennett, Lawrence, Firbank "are dead and also out of fashion. They are as if they had never been." Shaw, Joyce, Douglas, and Huxley have declined. Of all the great names only Eliot, Yeats, Maugham, and Forster have grown in fame. Contemplating this mutability, Cyril Connolly goes on a critical expedition into recent literature to track down the enemies of promise, and formulate the conditions under which he and other writers might hope to be alive for a decade or longer.

The first part of the study centers on problems of style, for style is of first importance in the life-expectancy of a book. Proust, Woolf, and Beverley Nichols, and all the literary pundits, use what Mr. Connolly calls the "Mandarin" style, "the style of most artists and all humbugs,"

as unlike the spoken word as possible. The affectations of this style, the tendency, as in Proust, to overwrite, the hazards of betrayal into false sentiment or lies menace its chance for survival. Addison was, according to Mr. Connolly, the original sinner; he was "responsible for many of the evils from which English prose has since suffered. He made prose artful, and whimsical, he made it sonorous when sonority was not necessary, affected when it did not require affectation. . . ." Too many writers have spent their days and nights with this Mandarin.

At the opposite extreme are the Tough Guys writing the vernacular. This style is also an enemy of promise. It grows stale almost as quickly as that of Joyce or Ruskin. It is monotonous. Mr. Connolly makes a composite passage of sentences from Isherwood, Orwell, and Hemingway, and they run together without friction. He praises Hemingway, and observes, wrongly, that he "was aided by the talkies," and, rightly, that his difficulties as a writer "arise from the limitations of realism," and his "tragedy as an artist is that he has not had the versatility to run away fast enough from his imitators."

Both these styles bring on death within ten years. The safest alternative may be learned from Eliot, Forster (who has top rating with Mr. Connolly) and Landor. From Eliot one learns "not to be ashamed of borrowing, and to assimilate what we borrow"; from Forster, simplicity without barrenness; from Landor, "the real texture of prose, a texture now rarely seen, where syntax and a rich vocabulary are woven in a pattern to match the thought of the maker." Such a style, going against the current, making demands alike upon the language and the intelligence of the reader, is most likely to survive the lease of a house.

On the road to this conclusion, we stop for brilliant comment, and for analyses of Huxley as the Dandy in letters, of Firbank and the danger of homosexuality, of disillusionment and the Ivory Tower, and most of the fashions in letters of this century. The book concludes with a discussion of the enemies of the profession of letters—lecturing, teaching, reviewing, politics, conversation, success—and smart advice to the young author on how to meet them; and with an unreticent autobiography, as important in its way as *Testament of Youth*, showing the exact personal equation of this particular Irish, Eton, young-man-in-his-thirties critic.

Enemies of Promise is a scintillating critical journal, perhaps at times too clever for its final purpose. But in the grim and dreary monotony of so much of our critical writing, we may do with at least one bit of sparkle when it issues from so able a mind as Mr. Connolly's.

The Ohio State University.

HARLAN HATCHER.

JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND IN RELATION TO HIS TIMES. By Harry Houston Peckham. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. ix, 220 pp. \$2.50.

A short study of Dr. Holland is a welcome addition to the notable series of biographies of minor authors that the University of Pennsylvania Press has recently been issuing. As a poet, essayist, and novelist who commanded a huge popular following, as one of the most successful magazine editors of the seventies, and as a close and admired friend of Emily Dickinson, Holland is a figure of permanent interest. Hitherto the undocumented and uncritical life prepared by Mrs. H. M. Plunkett (1894) under the eye of his widow has been the chief source of information about him. It was high time for a rechecking of the facts and for a fresh critical appraisal.

Dr. Peckham has conscientiously verified all the facts and has systematically restudied Dr. Holland's books in their several categories. He should perhaps have mentioned somewhere the fact that Holland edited *Cut-Flowers* (1854), poems by Mrs. Shepard, *Christ and the Twelve* (1867), an anthology of religious poems, and the *Illustrated Library of Favorite Song* (1873), but these are bibliographical omissions of slight importance. He has interviewed at least one member of the family and has secured new and significant data. His book is minutely accurate and scrupulously documented, even to the point of crediting in a special footnote "a godly, righteous, and sober life" to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Probably his estimate of the permanent value of Dr. Holland's rather wooden poetry, overmoral essays, and stilted, impossible novels will not be seriously challenged, and his final view of Holland himself as an "apostle to the naïve" has much evidence to support it.

Yet with all this in its favor Dr. Peckham's biography fails in one important respect. It does not explain why Dr. Holland was so devotedly beloved and admired by contemporaries who were naïve only in accepting the standards and faiths of their day. It does not, for example, spend even one paragraph in discussing the relations of the Hollands and Emily Dickinson, a very serious omission. It remains outside the region and the period it undertakes to describe. Dr. Peckham's sympathies and his imagination are limited by his excessive modernity, and in spite of having read half a dozen reference books on the subject he does not know his New England. No one born in the tradition would speak of the villagers of Belchertown as "flesh-mortifying Calvinists," nor would be capable of making the notable discovery that the Congregational clergy were not an illiterate group, nor would be misled by the (correct) information that there were scarcely a dozen *high schools* in Massachusetts in 1840 and forget the *academies* that were then flourish-

ing in several scores of towns. These are examples of little ways in which Dr. Peckham betrays his unfamiliarity with the background of his biography. And there are more serious misunderstandings. He cannot quite forgive Holland for being seriously and outspokenly pious. He blames him offhand for hesitating to travel in Europe lest he lose his "familiarity with the convictions and manners and faith of his own people" which Holland rightly regarded as his stock in trade. A little more of the same ardent localism might have done wonders for Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller. What can be literally transferred to the printed page Dr. Peckham gives us in trustworthy fashion, but in what requires some imaginative feeling for a past era his touch is frequently unsure.

Amherst College.

GEORGE F. WHICHER.

CRUSADERS FOR AMERICAN LIBERALISM. By Louis Filler. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 1939. viii, 422 pp. \$3.50.

Except for a chapter or so of background and another of conclusion on the decade of the twenties, this volume is devoted almost entirely to the first fifteen years of the present century. In brief, it is the story of the rise, flowering, and decline of what Theodore Roosevelt once glibly called "muckraking." To some extent the field has already been covered. A doctor's thesis by C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (1932) blazed the trail, and John Chamberlain in the same year in *Farewell to Reform* attempted to appraise the era. Others in one way or another have developed the historical background. Nevertheless, Mr. Filler's book is a valuable contribution both to the history of American literature and to American social history. It is, in the first place, the most complete picture we have of the reform movement as it functioned in the literature of exposure. The work of the muckrakers separately and collectively is described and appraised from the point of view of literary technique and value of content. Many minor writers and magazines, now almost forgotten, are again recalled, and some effort is made to determine the results of the whole movement. Moreover, the book is written in a style sufficiently lucid to commend it to college undergraduates and the general public.

The book is also timely. In the disillusionment of the post-war reaction it was the fashion to discount the results of this reform era. The liberal movement of the muckraking days had burnt itself out in the World War; old evils had returned and reform seemed as futile as the war itself. During the golden glow of the so-called Coolidge prosperity anyone who questioned its beneficence was dismissed as an "uplifter." Many liberals, enthralled by the far-reaching changes of the Russian Revolution, were all too ready to bid farewell to reform. The last two

decades have indeed been hard for the liberals, but times have changed. Reaction ended in economic collapse, and the Russian experiment descended into dictatorship and terrorism.

Perhaps the chief contribution of this volume is that it restores perspective. Mr. Filler has made it perfectly clear that the early years of the century accomplished fundamental reforms in American civilization and that the muckrakers played an important part. Tarbell, Sinclair, Steffens, Russell, Adams, Baker, Phillips, and a host of others not only prodded the sore spots in the economic, social, and political life, but they were a mighty force in the demand for reform legislation. They left something permanent which the specious prosperity of the Coolidge years was unable to obliterate. It was in the true tradition of the "American dream." The reaction of the twenties, as it turned out, was but an interlude in the reform movement, the foundations for which were laid by the crusaders for liberalism, concerning whom Mr. Filler writes so well. This volume also ought to do much to restore the liberal morale. "These crusaders," says Mr. Filler, "did not transform the nation; they *modernized* it. No other band of social workers in any other country or time ever accomplished more."

Mr. Filler has not said the last word on the muckrakers any more than did Regier or Chamberlain, but he has said enough to make it impossible for historians to dismiss this phenomenon with a brief paragraph. He has also shown students of American literature what can be done in integrating one segment, at least, of the literary output of a period with the social and economic background.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: *The War Years*. By Carl Sandburg. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. 1939. 4 vols. xxxi, 660; xii, 655; xiii, 673; xii, 515 pp. \$20.00.

Carl Sandburg has more than fulfilled James Russell Lowell's prophetic comment in 1863 that a history rather than a biography would be required to record the life of Abraham Lincoln. He has written a dual masterpiece, a comprehensive history of the American people in civil war and a comprehensive biography of President Lincoln, skilfully blended and mutually illuminated. Carl Sandburg has sought this duality because of his conviction, established in his study of Lincoln's early life in *The Prairie Years*, that Lincoln can be more fully comprehended as a product of the American people in all the diversity and contradiction of their culture, and that the American people can be more fully comprehended in relation to all that Lincoln thought, believed, and was. He portrays in the man and in the people the conflict of ideas and emotions

inherent in the paradoxical philosophy of American democracy. The story is told with epic sweep and with perhaps the deepest understanding of human values underlying the conflict ever brought to bear upon the Civil War era. The result is a curious blend of poetic belief in and skeptical analysis of the folk and the folk-hero as enduring realities, torn and battered but never destroyed. This was Lincoln's mode of thought in the "Gettysburg Address." It is essentially poetic, and perhaps altogether fitting and proper as Carl Sandburg's mode, but one has the uneasy feeling after several months of slowly digesting these four volumes that their achievement is a gigantic anomaly.

The duality of Carl Sandburg's personality as poet—artist versus social historian—which has produced a mass of writing that is neither poetry nor social history, flanked on one side by a goodly number of genuine poems and on the other by some excellent social history, is paralleled by his duality of personality as biographer and historian. It is the duality of nearly all modern literature, but more acute in a poet of Sandburg's stature than in a novelist like Dos Passos. As literature, *The War Years* presents some of the anomalies found in Lincoln's own writings. In Lincoln we have the artist, constrained by economic and social circumstances and a dominant political tradition to deal with facts as facts, yet never able to free himself from his love of words and symbols and his eternal craving to entertain and to make beauty. In Carl Sandburg we have the artist forced by similar circumstances and the "scientific" temper of the age to deal with facts as facts when his apparent yearning is to make of them symbols to hang in the heavens. If he had wrought in an earlier age, his instinct as artist might have subdued the catalog of facts and created out of them an epic poem. He might have sung his hero as demigod, his folk as Myrmidons; have chanted the rhythms of epic struggle; have blended the whole with his epic theme: "Death was in the air. So was birth. What was dying men did not know. What was being born none could say." But living in the twentieth century, with its mania for facts, its utter belief that facts will make us free, he stultifies his art. One feels that these things should be said, for *The War Years* is not simply biography or history and cannot be so simply judged. It is essentially poetic in conception and creative in impulse. One even ventures that its chief claim to permanence lies in its magnificent failure to do with the matter of the Civil War what Shakespeare did with the matter of the War of the Roses or Homer with the matter of Troy. But instead of following his creative impulse Carl Sandburg wrote history and biography that is stultified by poetic theme and symbol and rhythmic language and occasionally by sheer bathos, and poetry that is stultified by dreary iteration of fact. The total effect of this mixture in *The War*

Years is less satisfying than in *The Prairie Years*, where Sandburg's dragnet has caught many an item of folk history and social history that is in itself priceless, and where sheer gusto breathes life into countless trivia. Yet perhaps this is, after all, a genuine people's epic in the manner proper to this age. Certainly as a work of art it achieves more satisfyingly than Dos Passos's *U.S.A.* or Romain's *Men of Good Will* the epic portrayal of an era in modern civilization with Man as its hero.

As a history of the American Civil War on all levels, in all phases, and through all sections of the country; revolving cosmically around the character of Abraham Lincoln; sprinkled with unforgettable thumbnail sketches of lowly citizen and great; illustrated with hundreds of photographs and engravings; balanced in treatment of military, political, economic, social, religious, and cultural forces in conflict: it is too large an achievement to be assessed satisfactorily except by the attrition of time. But for all its hugeness and minuteness, it does not pretend to be a definitive biography of Lincoln. Important, even crucial events, such as Secretary Seward's famous memorandum "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration" and Lincoln's historic reply, are not even mentioned. The ten-volume *Abraham Lincoln: A History* by Nicolay and Hay is supplemented rather than superseded. The student will have occasion to lament the lack of documentation and the occasional vagueness of reference. There is still a large place to be filled by a biography that carries on for Lincoln's Presidency the work that A. J. Beveridge did so ably in his *Abraham Lincoln 1809-1858*.

State Teachers College,
Florence, Alabama.

ROY P. BASLER.

PETER PORCUPINE IN AMERICA: *The Career of William Cobbett, 1792-1800*.

By Mary Elizabeth Clark. Philadelphia: Privately printed. 1939. For sale by Claude S. McIver, 6 South Brighton Avenue, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania. v, 193 pp. \$2.00.

To the controversial pen of William Cobbett, better known probably in his own day by his self-chosen pseudonym of "Peter Porcupine," the development of political journalism in the United States is in no small degree indebted. The story of Cobbett's evolution from an obscure tutor of French *émigrés* into one of the most influential of the many journalists and pamphleteers who kept the political brew boiling in Philadelphia during the last years of the century, is a dramatic one and one which merits more attention than it has so far received. Historical treatises and a number of biographical accounts, devoted mostly to Cobbett's connection with the Reform movement in England, have kept alive a few stock stories of his battles in the arena of local and national American politics.

Not until the present study, however, has an attempt been made to examine carefully the years of his apprenticeship.

As a result of Dr. Clark's effort "to reconstruct Cobbett's life in Philadelphia in as great detail as possible and to show the connection of the writing he did here with the general course of historical events," much that has seemed inconsistent in the reckless journalist, who early changed his coat of republican sympathies for one of Anglomaniac Federalism, now becomes plausible. A coherent picture of the man emerges—a human being with an intense love of all things English and an equally intense fear of the liberal ideas from France then sweeping through our country. In order to piece the story together the author has drawn heavily upon contemporary pamphlets and newspaper articles. Despite the difficulty of breathing life into this ephemeral literature, she has succeeded in guiding us, quite impartially, through the confusing crosscurrents of the struggle over Jay's Treaty, the clashes between the various factions of the Federalists and Democrats, the threat of war with France, and finally of the libel suits which drove Cobbett back to England.

To some other scholar Dr. Clark has admittedly left the task of evaluating the literary quality of Cobbett's work. In the partial summaries of his writings she has conveyed some idea of his technique, but practically no attempt has been made to account for the growth of his art—to trace, for example, the possible influence of Swift—or to estimate the extent of his influence on the development of satirical writing in America. Also, we could wish that the valuable results of Dr. Clark's research were not marred in places by some of the stylistic defects we are in the habit of associating with doctoral dissertations, and by the absence of an index. Should there not be a law prohibiting the publication of a scholarly work without a carefully prepared index?

Queens College, Flushing, New York.

CHESTER T. HALLENBECK.

BRIEF MENTION

KULTURKRITIK UND LITERATURBETRACHTUNG IN AMERIKA. By Viktor Lange and Hermann Boeschstein. ("Sprache und Kultur der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker," Germanistische Reihe, Band XXIX). Breslau: Verlag Priebatsch Buchhandlung. 1938. 77 pp.

This brochure contains two studies very unlike in scope and method: Dr. Lange's synthetic account of tendencies in cultural and literary criticism in America, chiefly in the period from 1900 to the present, and Dr. Boeschstein's analysis of Irving Babbitt's critical principles and the application of these throughout his work. Both studies will render service to the audience for which they were intended and Dr. Boeschstein's, in particular, is a notable addition to the bibliography of its subject.

The University of Toronto.

E. K. BROWN.

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS, PORTRAITS, PRINTS, BROADSIDES, AND MEMORABILIA IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF WALT WHITMAN: *From the Whitman Collection of Mrs. Frank Julian Sprague of New York City.* [Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress.] 1939. vi, 71 pp.

A number of manuscripts, books, etc., from the valuable collection of Mrs. Sprague are here described. Of special interest is the Gilchrist material, which has been featured in the exhibit by the Library of Congress. A letter from Whitman to Herbert Gilchrist, the rough draft of the poem "Going Somewhere," an etching of the poet's home in Camden by Joseph Pennell, and two paintings of Whitman by Gilchrist are reproduced as illustrations.

C. G.

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF EMERSON. Presented by Edgar Lee Masters. New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. 170 pp. \$1.00.

The Introduction by Mr. Masters adds to the information in *Across Spoon River* relative to the influence of Emerson upon himself. Otherwise it is of no value.

C. G.

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Presented by John Dewey. New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. 173 pp. \$1.00.

The prefatory essay comments on the "range and depth of Jefferson's interests" and then proceeds to a more specific discussion of his social philosophy.

C. G.

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF TOM PAINE. Presented by John Dos Passos. New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. 184 pp. \$1.00.

The Introduction is primarily biographical.

C. G.

THE LETTERS OF WILLIS GAYLORD CLARK AND LEWIS GAYLORD CLARK. Edited by Leslie W. Dunlap. New York: The New York Public Library. 1940. 165 pp. \$1.50.

Incidental additions are made to our knowledge of various writers for the *Knickerbocker*. A large number of the letters are addressed to Longfellow. A short biographical study of the Clarks serves as an Introduction and there is an Index.

C. G.

AMERICAN PORTRAITS 1620-1825 FOUND IN MASSACHUSETTS. Prepared by The Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Progress Administration. Boston: The Historical Records Survey. 1939. 2 vols. vi, 573 pp. (Mimeographed.)

The first in a new series, this work lists "the more important and better known" originals or copies of portraits as well as many less known reproductions in books. Descriptions of size and style, locations, and names of owners are all presented. To a biographer seeking illustrations this compilation will be of great service. The general value of the catalogue to the student of American culture is apparent.

C. G.

READER'S GUIDE TO PROSE FICTION. By Elbert Lenrow. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. [1940.] xi, 371 pp. \$3.00.

"An introductory essay, with bibliographies of 1500 novels selected, topically classified, and annotated for use in meeting the needs of individuals in general education." This work was prepared for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum.

C. G.

BOOKS AND YOU. By W. Somerset Maugham. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. 1940. 107 pp. \$1.25.

A reprint of three articles from the *Saturday Evening Post*. In the last article American books are treated.

C. G.

THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND 1815-1865. By Van Wyck Brooks. [New York:] E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1940. 550 pp. \$1.49.

"New and revised edition."

C. G.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS: *A History of American Morals and Manners as Seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs 1905 to the Present*. By David L. Cohn. With an Introduction by Sinclair Lewis. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1940. xxxiv, 597 pp. \$3.75.

A popular social history which frequently goes beyond the confines of the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs but is very uneven in quality and power to amuse.

C. G.

PERIOD PIECE: *Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Her Times*. By Jenny Ballou. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. xiii, 287 pp. \$3.00.

A popular biography based on inadequate materials.

C. G.

AMERICAN IMPRINTS INVENTORY No. 9: *Check List of New Jersey Imprints 1784-1800*. By Lucile M. Morsch. Baltimore: The WPA Historical Records Survey Project. 1939. xvii, 189 pp. (Mimeographed.)

"The presentation of this list is in continuation of the program of the American Imprints Inventory . . . to issue basic check lists of state or local imprints as such material becomes available. The purpose of these check lists is to facilitate the recording of their titles as found in libraries throughout the country and to stimulate the search for and the recording of additional titles" (Preface). Not a "final and definitive list," the present work is nevertheless of great value to literary historians.

C. G.

THE GOSPEL OF EMERSON. Edited by Newton Dilloway. Reading, Mass.: Newton Dilloway Books. [1940.] ix, 82 pp. \$1.50.

"This volume may be seen as a digest of Emerson's gospel of the real." Second edition, revised.

C. G.

LETTERS BY T. W. PARSONS. Edited by Zoltán Haraszti. With an Essay by Austin Warren. Boston: Trustees of the Public Library. [1940.] 126 pp.

Reprinted, with additions, from *More Books*, there are a few letters from Emerson, Longfellow, R. C. Winthrop, and others. Parson's own letters, as Professor Warren points out in his introductory essay, are possessed of a "charming urbanity."

C. G.

ELBERT HUBBARD GENIUS OF ROYCROFT: *A Biography*. By David Arnold Balch. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1940. viii, 320 pp. \$2.50.

A popular biography with incidental mention of Emerson, Stephen Crane, and other authors more distinguished than Hubbard.

C. G.

MARK TWAIN AND I. By Opie Read. Chicago: Reilly and Lee. [1940.] 75 pp. \$1.00.

Sketches of Clemens's conversations enlivened with anecdotes.

C. G.

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY. Edited by Roy Heffner, D. D. Griffith, C. C. D. Vail, F. M. Padelford, and H. L. Nostrand. Seattle: University of Washington Press. March, 1940. \$2.00 per year.

The first number of the new West-Coast quarterly makes its appearance with an interesting group of essays, including one in the field of American literature, "Herman Melville's 'Tartarus of Maids,'" by Professor E. H. Eby.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the November, 1940, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Seeber, Edward D. "Franklin's 'Drinkers Dictionary' Again." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 103-105 (Feb., 1940).

Benjamin Franklin's *Drinkers Dictionary* (1737) "is disappointing as a source of words of American origin," because only "90 expressions (from the entire 228)" are "possibly not of English usage."

Van Doren, Carl. "The First American Man of Letters." *Mich. Alumnus: Quar. Rev.*, XLV, 283-298 (Summer, 1939).

The 1939 Avery Hopwood Address at the University of Michigan. A discussion of Franklin's stylistic range, with examples.

Wykoff, George S. "Problems Concerning Franklin's 'A Dialogue Between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony, and America.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 439-448 (Jan., 1940).

"Instead of having been written in 1777, in France, for continental readers," as generally accepted since 1819, "the 'Dialogue'—on the basis of all available evidence—was written early in 1775, in England, to influence British public opinion."

[PRINCE, THOMAS] Tilton, Eleanor M. "Lightning-Rods and the Earthquake of 1755." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 85-97 (March, 1940).

An account of a four-months verbal duel between Thomas Prince and John Winthrop over the causes and significance of the 1755 earthquake—a skirmish in the war between science and religion.

II. 1800-1870

- [ALCOTT, BRONSON] Carpenter, Frederic I. "Bronson Alcott: Genteel Transcendentalist—an Essay in Definition." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 34-48 (March, 1940).

Alcott was not a typical American transcendentalist, because of his lifelong vacillation between two opposing ideals: the transcendental morality of self-reliance and the genteel respect for conformity and tradition. "He praised self-reliance and tradition; radicalism and conservatism; . . . individualism and society; rural simplicity and urban gentility; . . . populism and privilege; frankness and reticence. . . ."

- [BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "William Cullen Bryant and the American Press." *Journalism Quar.*, XVI, 356-365 (Dec., 1939).

A survey of Bryant's reactions to newspaper practices (especially abuses) in his day, an account of his campaigning for a free and enlightened press, and a list of the leading movements in which Bryant as editor participated.

- Hoyt, William D., Jr. "Some Unpublished Bryant Correspondence." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXI, 63-70; 193-204 (Jan., Apr., 1940).

The publication of eighteen letters written by Bryant from 1849 to 1878 to Mrs. L. S. M. Moulton, who was his neighbor at Roslyn on Long Island. Although most of the correspondence is personal, there are some comments on public affairs, especially the Civil War.

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Forsythe, Robert S. "Emerson and 'Moby-Dick.'" *Notes & Queries*, CLXXVII, 457-458 (Dec. 23, 1939).

In 1834 Emerson heard, in a stagecoach, the story of a white whale, known as Old Tom, which attacked boats, and was finally taken by the *Winslow* or the *Essex*. Thus the legend of a ferocious white whale was told five years before J. N. Reynolds's account of Mocha Dick.

- Hoeltje, Hubert H. "Emerson, Citizen of Concord." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 367-378 (Jan., 1940).

From references in town, parish, and church records, Emerson is revealed as having taken an active part in the life of Concord. Of all the Concord celebrities—Channing, Alcott, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Emerson—certainly Emerson stands out conspicuously as having lived the most active and perhaps the most normal life.

- [HASTINGS, SALLY] Howard, Leon. "Literature and the Frontier: The Case of Sally Hastings." *ELH*, VII, 68-82 (March, 1940).

A descriptive consideration of Sally Hastings's volume of poems and appended journal, 1808, resulting from her trip into the West; an interpretation of the influence of such frontier experience, as contrasted with literary convention, upon her thought and literary ex-

pression; and a speculation as to how typically representative of the influence of the frontier her case may be.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Buckingham, Leroy H. "Hawthorne and the British Income Tax." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 451-453 (Jan., 1940).

A hitherto unpublished letter shows him protesting against the payment of the British income tax during his term as consul at Liverpool (1853-1857).

Hawthorne, Manning. "The Friendship between Hawthorne and Longfellow." *Eng. Leaflet*, XXXIX, 25-30 (Feb., 1940).

A review of their relationship over a period of twenty-seven years.

———. "Parental and Family Influences on Hawthorne." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXVI, 1-13 (Jan., 1940).

The picture of Mrs. Hawthorne as a recluse, started by Elizabeth Peabody and embellished by G. E. Woodberry, is not borne out by the testimony of relatives, who tell about her business and family activities. To "this romantic tale of seclusion" has been erroneously attributed "her son's love of solitude."

[KENNEDY, J. P.] Forman, Henry Chandler. "The Rose Croft in Old St. Mary's." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXV, 26-31 (March, 1940).

In *Rob of the Bowl* J. P. Kennedy told of the beautiful Blanche Warden who lived with her father in the Rose Croft mansion.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Hawthorne, Manning. See above, *s.v.* HAWTHORNE.

Thompson, Lawrance. "An Inquiry into the Importance of 'Boston Prize-Poems.'" *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 4, 55-62.

Evidence to show that Ode II in *Boston Prize-Poems* is by Longfellow.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Eby, E. H. "Herman Melville's 'Tartarus of Maids.'" *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, I, 95-100 (March, 1940).

An interpretation of the second half of Melville's "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1855). "Melville's main intention is to represent the biological burdens imposed upon women because they bear children. This is conveyed by symbolism remarkably consistent and detailed."

Forsythe, Robert S. See above, *s.v.* EMERSON.

Sackman, Douglas. "The Original of Melville's Apple-Tree Table." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 448-451 (Jan., 1940).

Melville added the touch of the literary artist to a familiar story which he might have read in Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York* and in D. D. Field's *History of Berkshire County*.

- [SCHOOLCRAFT, H. D.] Orians, G. Harrison. "The Souvenir of the Lakes." *Quar. Bul. Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio*, XI, Nos. 2 and 3, 1-24 (Apr., July, 1939).

A reprint of an annual for 1831, containing selections by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Captain Henry Whiting, and others, which was "one of the early gestures toward literary culture in the Great Lakes region."

- [THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "Thoreau at Harvard: Some Unpublished Records." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 24-33 (March, 1940).

A reinterpretation of Thoreau's college years, based on two of Thoreau's letters to undergraduates and an episode related in a manuscript autobiography of J. S. Keyes. Thoreau is here depicted, not as a recluse, but as "friendly and gay toward those whom he had singled out as friends."

- White, William (comp.). "A Henry David Thoreau Bibliography, 1908-1937." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVI, 181-182 (May-Aug., 1939); 199-202 (Sept.-Dec., 1939).

Parts V and VI, completing the bibliography.

III. 1870-1900

- [BYRN, M. L.] Masterson, James R. "The Arkansaw Doctor," *Annals of Medical Hist.*, 3d series, II, 30-51 (Jan., 1940).

A study of the literary career of the versatile humorist, Marcus Lafayette Byrn (1826-1903).

- [EGGLESTON, EDWARD] Rawley, James A. "Some New Light on Edward Eggleston." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 453-458 (Jan., 1940).

Reprinting of a letter of 1886 from George Cary Eggleston on the environment and youth of his brother, with comments on the origin of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*.

- [EVANS, AUGUSTA] Calkins, Earnest Elmo. "St. Elmo: or, Named for a Best Seller." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXI, 3-4, 14, 16-17 (Dec. 16, 1939).

The plot and popularity of *St. Elmo*, and a sketch of the author.

- [HARRIS, J. C.] English, Thomas H. "In Memory of Uncle Remus." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, II, 77-83 (Feb., 1940).

An appreciative sketch of Joel Chandler Harris which includes brief mention of the Harris collection at Emory University.

- Harris, Julia Collier. "Uncle Remus at Home and Abroad." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, II, 84-86 (Feb., 1940).

A running account of several rare printings of the Uncle Remus stories.

- [LANIER, SIDNEY] Billing, Beatrice Mary. "On Wings of Song." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, II, 13-18 (Jan., 1940).

An appreciation of Sidney Lanier.

- Hankins, J. DeWitt. "Unpublished Letters of Sidney Lanier." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, II, 5-11 (Jan., 1940).

Six letters to "Ginna" Hankins; part of a larger collection in the possession of descendants of Miss Hankins's younger sister.

- Orr, Oliver. "Sidney Lanier's Fame and Memorials." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, II, 28-32 (Jan., 1940).

The article is intended to "recall to Americans the places that have given him recognition."

- [PARKMAN, FRANCIS] Schramm, Wilbur L. "A New Englander on the Road to Oregon." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 49-64 (March, 1940).

Although Francis Parkman indicates that he missed both the drama and the significance of the westward movement in *The Oregon Trail*, he brought back a rich harvest from his five months in a strange country.

- [PORTER, W. S.] Long, E. Hudson. "O. Henry's Christmas Stories." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, I, 795-797 (Dec., 1939).

Principally in praise of "The Gift of the Magi."

- [RILEY, J. W.] Price, Robert. "James Whitcomb Riley in 1876." *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, XXXV, 129-140 (June, 1939).

The receipt of a letter from Longfellow in 1876 seems to have been the turning point in Riley's life, though the author prefers his earlier, less imitative, productions.

- [STODDARD, R. H.] Fenn, William Purviance. "Richard Henry Stoddard's Chinese Poems." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 417-438 (Jan., 1940).

Stoddard was not a translator but rather an adapter of translations of Chinese poems, and almost always improved on his sources.

- [WHITMAN, WALT] Wells, Carolyn. "On Collecting Whitman." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 4, 47-54.

Information about books by and about Whitman.

- [WOOLSON, CONSTANCE FENIMORE] Richardson, Lyon N. "Constance Fenimore Woolson, 'Novelist Laureate' of America." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXIX, 18-36 (Jan., 1940).

Miss Woolson's nineteenth-century title of "novelist laureate" arose from the recognition of her wide range of diverse scenes (New Hampshire, Vermont, Ohio, the Lake Superior region, the Blue Ridge country, the Deep South, and the coastal sections from Washington to St. Augustine).

IV. 1900-1940

- [BATES, E. S.] Calverton, V. F. "Ernest Sutherland Bates." *Modern Quar.*, XI, 2-4 (Fall, 1939).

Tribute to Bates as champion of civil liberties and of intellectual freedom.

- [CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Carmichael, Peter A. "Jeeter Lester." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 21-29 (Jan., 1940).

An examination of agrarianism, showing the leading character of *Tobacco Road* as a symbol of what threatens in the rationalization of Southern rural conditions as they now exist.

- [CATHER, WILLA] Adams, Frederick B., Jr. "Willa Cather. Middle Years: The Right Road Taken." *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, I, No. 4, 103-108.

Various editions of Miss Cather's works.

- [DREISER, THEODORE] Walcutt, Charles Child. "The Three Stages of Theodore Dreiser's Naturalism." *PMLA*, LV, 266-289 (March, 1940).

First stage, conviction of the purposelessness of life and an attack on conventional ethical codes as having no rational basis in fact; second, addition of the idea of the superman; third, the author's conversion to socialism, though he still remains a naturalist.

- [FROST, ROBERT] Eckert, Robert P., Jr. "Robert Frost in England." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 14-16 (Spring, 1940).

Fletcher, John Gould. "Robert Frost the Outlander." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 5-8 (Spring, 1940).

Frost is "at least one modern artist . . . who has resisted all 'movements.'"

- Newdick, Robert S. "Robert Frost and the Classics." *Classical Jour.*, XXXV, 403-416 (Apr., 1940).

Biographical details about Frost's steady interest in and study of the Greek and Roman classics, a review of Frost's classical references and allusions in his poems, and a brief discussion of the kinship between Frost's poems of the out-of-doors and farm life and Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

- [GLASGOW, ELLEN] Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan. "Regional Literature of the South." *College Eng.*, I, 381-389 (Feb., 1940).

The only valid, creative approach to regional writing is that of the sincere writer "who has something to say and who uses a specialized locale—a region—as a logical or fitting background for the particular thoughts or emotions that cry out for articulation." In this generation, Ellen Glasgow stands alone as "the creator of the only unmistakable regional literature of the South."

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Allen, Hugh. "The Dark Night of Ernest Hemingway." *Catholic World*, CL, 522-529 (Feb., 1940).

The "dehumanization of man" seen in his work, as in much modern art and literature, is traceable to "Kantian gnosiology," and ultimately to the Protestant Reformation.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Carpenter, Frederic I. "The Values of Robinson Jeffers." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 353-366 (Jan., 1940).

"Jeffers, even in denying the authority of a purely humanistic morality, has sought to preserve certain of the old values, and to harmonize these with the 'new' morality of the 'natural world.'"

Wronecki, Jeanne. "Un Poète Américain d'Aujourd'hui: Robinson Jeffers." *Revue de France*, II, 283-286 (March 15, 1939).

Jeffers is not only the most representative poet writing in English, but also of a decisive phase in the history of American thought—the change wrought by the war of 1914-1918 on a philosophy till then "impregnated by an incurable optimism."

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Calverton, V. F. "Steinbeck, Hemingway, and Faulkner." *Modern Quar.*, XI, 36-44 (Fall, 1939).

Hemingway, "Hobbes' man of nature, the undisciplined primevalite," is standing still; Faulkner, who "has yet to create a single character of emulative quality," entertains a "futilitarian" conception of life; Steinbeck, on the contrary, is optimistic about the future.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "E. A. Robinson and the Cosmic Chill." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 65-84 (March, 1940).

A review of pertinent details showing Robinson's lifelong struggle against the unyielding despair of scientific determinists—an account of his preoccupation with and changing reactions to the revelations of science as to the nature of the world and of man.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Berrey, Lester V. "Southern Mountain Dialect." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 45-54 (Feb., 1940).

A vocabulary study affording a "general description of the speech ways" in the Southern Appalachian and Ozark mountains.

Boggs, R. S. (comp.). "Folklore Bibliography for 1939." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, IV, 23-50 (March, 1940).

Bolinger, Dwight L. "Word Affinities." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 62-73 (Feb., 1940).

"This inquiry has to do with one type of verbal affinity—the grouping of similar meanings about similar sounds."

Clark, John D., and DeCamp, L. Sprague. "Some Alaskan Place

Names." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 60-61 (Feb., 1940).

The oddness of Alaskan place names is due to the many terms "bestowed by Russian explorers and settlers," and to "an enormous number of names of aboriginal origin."

Dondore, Dorothy. "The Children of Eve in America: Migration of an Ancient Legend." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 223-229 (Dec., 1939).

This folk tale, from an Eclogue of Alexander Barclay, has been retold by Ibáñez, and by Samuel G. Stoney and Gertrude Shelby in *Black Genesis* (1938).

Eckstorm, Fannie Hardy. "Two Maine Texts of 'Lamkin.'" *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 70-74 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

The two texts of this ballad (Child 93) are given in full, and some interpretive observations seem to indicate an antiquity greater than has hitherto been assigned to it.

Emsley, Bert. "Progress in Pronouncing Dictionaries." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 55-59 (Feb., 1940).

If the projected Kenyon-Knott *American Pronouncing Dictionary* "is accompanied by key-discs or recordings of key words . . . there will be a new road to lexicography."

Farr, T. J. "Tennessee Folk Beliefs Concerning Children." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 112-116 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

A list of 105 such beliefs.

Halpert, Herbert. "Some Ballads and Folk Songs from New Jersey." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 52-69 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

Thirteen songs with melodies (some with variations), selected from the author's growing collection of ballads and folk songs, most of them found in Burlington and Ocean counties, south-central New Jersey.

Hauptmann, O. H. "Spanish Folklore from Tampa, Florida: (No. VII) Witchcraft." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 197-200 (Dec., 1939).

How the commercializing witch doctors of Tampa's Latin district, Ybor City, practice.

Heflin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott M. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 95-102 (Feb., 1940).

Of articles, pamphlets, and books on "Present-Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Kenny, Hamill. "The Synthetic Place Names in West Virginia." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 39-44 (Feb., 1940).

The coal industry accounts for the majority of synthetic place names in West Virginia. The railroad names are the oldest among the industrial terms.

Locke, W. N., and Heffner, R.-M. S. "Notes on the Length of Vowels (II)." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 74-79 (Feb., 1940).

Longini, Muriel Davis. "Folk Songs of Chicago Negroes." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 96-111 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

Texts (without music) of selected songs of Southern origin.

McJimsey, George Davis. "Topographic Terms in Virginia." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 3-38 (Feb., 1940).

The first installment of a study of topographic terms used in Virginia.

Neely, Charles. "Four British Ballads in Southern Illinois." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 75-81 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

"The Brown Girl" (a variant of "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet"), "Barbara Allen," "Black Jack David" (variant of "The Gypsy Laddy"), and "William and Margaret" (variant of "Margaret's Ghost").

Treat, Asher E. "Kentucky Folksongs in Northern Wisconsin." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 1-51 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

Fifty-six songs (mostly ballads), with musical notations, all collected from the Jacobs family, originally of Carter County, Kentucky, but since 1906 living near Bryant, Wisconsin.

Umble, John. "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes." *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, LII, 82-95 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

Historical and descriptive comments on the people (with a baptized membership of nearly ten thousand) and their hymns (some of them over four hundred years old).

Veltman, Peter. "Dutch Survivals in Holland, Michigan." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 80-83 (Feb., 1940).

Dutch flavor of the English spoken in the neighborhood of Holland, Michigan, is preserved by annual festival, "Tulip Time," and by the influence of the active Netherlands Pioneer and Historical Foundation.

Whitehall, Harold. "America's Language: A to Dew." *Kenyon Rev.*, II, 212-225 (Spring, 1940).

An essay-review of *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, Parts I-VI.

VI. GENERAL

Baker, Joseph E. "Provinciality." *College English*, I, 488-494 (March, 1940).

American culture must choose between regionalism and provinciality.

Bestor, Arthur E., Jr. "Fourierism in Northampton: A Critical Note." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 110-122 (March, 1940).

The Northampton Association did not consider itself a Fourierist community, and the Fourierites did not so regard it.

Caughey, John Walton. "Shaping a Literary Tradition." *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 201-215 (June, 1939).

An account of the literary activities of Californians during the early decades of the American period.

Flanagan, John T. "American Literature in American Colleges." *College English*, I, 513-519 (March, 1940).

The present status of American literature in American colleges, based upon an examination of the bulletins of some twenty-five institutions, shows the gains made in the last twenty-five years.

Forbes, Allyn B. "A Bibliography of New England, 1939." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 168-185 (March, 1940).

Hawley, Charles Arthur. "Gerald Massey and America." *Church Hist.*, VIII, 356-370 (Dec., 1939).

The English poet and exponent of Christian Socialism lectured in the United States in 1873-1874 and 1884.

Jourda, Pierre. "L'Exotisme dans la Littérature Française depuis Chateaubriand." *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, Dec. 30, 1939, pp. 150-160; Jan. 15, 1940, pp. 212-223.

Stresses the French conception, as seen through literature, of the strenuous and spectacular American way of life, and of striking American figures—financiers, jurists, captains of industry, and of other types of men.

Jones, Howard Mumford. "New England Dilemma." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXV, 456-467 (April, 1940).

A detailed expression of opinion concerning New England's loss of prestige in the nation. What is the New England point of view? What is the New England philosophy? What is the New England way of life? Who are the heirs of Alcott, Emerson, Thoreau?

O'Brien, Justin. "American Books and French Readers." *College English*, I, 480-487 (March, 1940).

Knowledge of America and American literature is visibly increasing in France.

Pollard, Lancaster. "A Check List of Washington Authors." *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, XXI, 3-96 (Jan., 1940).

A list of the books, but not contributions to periodicals, of several hundred writers.

Randall, Randolph C. "Authors of the *Port Folio* Revealed by the Hall Files." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 379-416 (Jan., 1940).

The Hall files of the *Port Folio* are those once owned by John Elihu Hall and his brother Harrison Hall, the magazine's editor and publisher from 1816 to 1827. The annotations allow attribution of authorship to over ninety authors.

Shockley, Martin Staples. "The Proprietors of Richmond's New Theatre of 1819." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XIX, 302-308 (July, 1939).

Names the proprietors—the stockholders—of "the Theatre" (1819-1838), and attributes its financial failure to the granting of free season tickets to stockholders.

Tate, Allen. "Understanding Modern Poetry." *College English*, I, 561-572 (April, 1940).

Tweito, Thomas E. "Pioneer Mental Pabulum." *Palimpsest*, XXI, 1-5 (Jan., 1940).

What Iowans read in 1858.

Wheeler, Joseph Towne. "The Layman's Libraries and the Provincial Library." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXV, 60-73 (March, 1940).

A history of the Maryland parochial and laymen's libraries established by Thomas Bray at the close of the seventeenth century.

Wright, Luella M. "Culture through Lectures." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXXIX, 115-163 (April, 1940).

A study of lecture associations and lectures in Iowa, principally between 1866 and 1869.

TOWARD A NEW HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

NO STUDENT who has ever gone to *The Cambridge History of American Literature* in search of information or illumination is in any doubt that we need a new history of our literary past. Useful as are some of the individual essays in that work, it shares with its model, *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, the faults of disparate treatment of disconnected topics, and uneven quality. More recent single-volume histories are either so limited in treatment that they provide little more than handbook information for students, or they attempt to take cognizance of so many points of view that they become thin and diffuse. For the periods they treat, Moses Coit Tyler's *A History of American Literature During the Colonial Period, 1607-1765* (1878) and *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (1897) are still the most informative and the wisest histories of American literature. Clearly we need a new comprehensive history and a fresh interpretation of American literature. But what kind of history we shall find most useful and how we shall attack the problem of attaining it are important questions that must be answered by any group of editors before the project can take definite shape.

Only the omniscient would hazard all the answers as to how a good history can be written, but a few elements contributing to the worth of such an undertaking might be mentioned at the outset. We can ask ourselves what we want in a history, how we can gather the necessary material, and how we can present most intelligibly a synthesis of what we know. More than that lies in the hands of Fate, which conceivably might bring forth a genius to carry on the work. At the moment, however, it seems desirable to put our faith in careful advance planning and a realistic program of research.

American literature is a part of the infinite complex of American cultural development and must be treated in relation to the rest of cultural phenomena if it is to have any real significance as history. The weakness of literary history in general, and of American literary

history in particular, has been a tendency to interpret presumed masterpieces *in vacuo*, or against an artificial background of the author's own derivation. A new history of American literature should realize its purpose to be first of all *history*, history which supplies adequate information about our literary past as well as a critical evaluation of the significance of the literature to the period for which it was written. Additional critical appraisal on a basis of absolute aesthetic values—if these values can be discerned and deduced—has its place, of course, in literary history, but such criticism is secondary to historical values.

In order to understand the significance of literature to its contemporary audience, it is necessary to increase our own comprehension of the whole corpus of literary production. A study of the literary culture of an age, as distinguished from the history of beltristic writings, should be concerned with all literary manifestations, not merely with the "best" works, the masterpieces that have survived. In this conception, the term *literature* would embrace the total output of the printing press and the reading of the age. Its history should attempt an examination into the nature of all the writings of the period, with an analysis of their importance in the development of the social, intellectual, and aesthetic life of the times.

From the earliest period of colonization of this country, books have had an incalculable influence in shaping American ideas and ideals. But many of the most influential books have been so completely forgotten that they are scarcely mentioned in conventional literary histories. Some books, widely read and important in their effect, do not fit readily into any classification and are overlooked entirely by the specialist. Certain types of writing—sermons and orations, for example—have become so unfashionable and dull to modern taste that they are hardly tolerated in the categories of "literature," and modern histories huddle them up in catch-all chapters, if they mention them at all. The reading habits of our ancestors and their taste in literature are almost completely neglected by historians who concentrate on writers who still seem "alive" to our age. From most earlier histories we learn almost nothing, in any period, of the literary interests of the American public as a whole. We hear much about certain bookish groups; and, if we follow these historians, we conclude that literature was the concern

of a few Brahmins and that the populace had nothing to do with the production or consumption of books. More recent works have tried to avoid this pitfall, but in some instances they have fallen into another trap, an inclination to selectiveness based on some particular thesis of the writer. In many cases a factitious importance has been given writings which appear entirely out of historical perspective.

The literary historian, it may be, has been confused as to his purpose and function. He has not known whether he was writing history; whether he was merely compiling a chronological and critical guide to the "best literature" as his own age understood it; or whether, perhaps, he was revealing evidences of some social philosophy. Because he has confined his observations largely to belles-lettres, or to material fitting his own peculiar thesis; because he has neglected the types of literature no longer appealing to modern taste and overlooked the reading habits of the public, he has failed to give a really comprehensive picture of the literature and too often has distorted the truth and produced a caricature of real history.

The history of literature ought not be conceived as a work merely for the student of belles-lettres. It should be an essential contribution to the history of civilization; and as such it should be of interest to all students of our cultural heritage. The importance of the kind of literary history which is related to the whole stream of cultural development was recognized long ago by Sir Francis Bacon, who remarked that history which did not present a proper interpretation of literature "seemeth to be as the statue of Polyphemus with his eye out; that part being wanting which doth show the spirit and life of the person." If we could produce a history of American literature that not only marshaled the essential facts of our total literary expression but also interpreted them in relation to the rest of our cultural development, then indeed we should make a worthy contribution to the understanding of American civilization.

The insistence on the need for an adequate study of the totality of literary expression is not to say that we want merely a vast classified catalogue. Nor do we want to try to breathe new life into writers deservedly dead, to "build up" mediocrities to masquerade as American Miltons and Wordsworths. But we do want the historian to project himself into the age that he writes about. We want to un-

derstand the writers of that age as their contemporaries understood them. And we want to know what were the literary interests of the less articulate groups of the day, what were the books read for entertainment and edification by the average sort of men, and what these books meant in their lives. Of course, the history of forgotten literature is not to take the place of an elucidation of timeless works that endure in any age. On the contrary, this more comprehensive treatment of all aspects of literary activity will make more intelligible and give a deeper insight into the masterpieces themselves.

We need to think of American literary history, not in terms of models that have previously been followed—the well-worn histories of English literature, which themselves need revamping—but in realistic terms of this country's cultural development. No good will come of trying again to fit American literature into the old period patterns of English literary history, faintly disguised to suit American conditions. No amount of remodeling will make the old frames fit accurately. We must plan a history of what we had in this country, not what someone may think we ought to have had.

Whatever sort of history the committee may decide to attempt, it will be necessary to formulate a plan of campaign that will include a great deal of exploratory study. For unless we are willing to perpetuate old errors and hand on crystallized fallacies, we must do an extraordinary amount of original research. The facts are that a great deal of accepted dogma in American literature is scandalously erroneous; many treatises which have been accepted as standard are superficial and filled with errors. The texts of many of the major writers would not bear critical examination. The really first-class biographies of American writers can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Hosts of minor writers, important in their day, are virtually unknown to scholarship. Regional history, furthermore, has been so inadequately studied that we can as yet get no conception of literary activity in the country as a whole. For example, the literary history of the South is still a wilderness, and, though we are beginning to realize that this region was not the intellectual desert described by the uninformed, we can make few generalizations about it until further detailed studies are produced. The same is true of other great sections of the United States. It will be objected that there are many more studies available than these remarks im-

ply, but we should realize that their quality is often exceedingly poor, not to say amateurish. Only in the last decade have we begun to apply the same critical standards to research in American literature that we have grown to expect in English literature and in other older fields of investigation. Recent studies of New England have shown that even there, where the greatest part of our research has been lavished, we need a reappraisal of the literature in the light of new historical facts and interpretations.

An inventory of what is known about American literature should be the first task of a committee of editors of the proposed history. Then a plan could be made for filling in gaps in our knowledge before actual composition of the history is undertaken. By enlisting the help of the graduate schools where research in American literature is carried on, it would be possible to make a systematic program of investigation which would gradually build up the necessary background for the history project. Biographical, textual, and critical studies could be planned and executed in graduate seminars. Regional investigations could be suggested to graduate students in state and local universities where material would be accessible. It is possible that such a co-operative plan might revolutionize graduate research in American literature. Certainly it would be worth attempting, for without some concerted effort to explore the unknown terrain, it will be many years before we are ready to make a synthesis. In too many fields we have almost nothing yet to synthesize.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

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I AM GLAD to accept Professor Wilt's invitation to be among those who are attempting to set down possible plans for the new history. The problems are difficult and complicated, and I make no pretense of having solved them all in the following plan; it will have served its purpose if it furnishes a basis for discussion leading to something better.

I

It would, of course, be relatively easy to provide a history which would be merely a collection of essays embodying the caprices of individual scholars, a history without unity or focus. It would be easy, also, to provide a history which would be regimented from the point of view of one sect, such as the Marxists, or a history narrowly concerned with one thing, such as form or biography. The real problem as I see it, however, is something like this: How can we secure a reasonable balance, proportion, and integrated unity in a comprehensive collaborative history of American literature, as it involves an explanation of its historical origins, a sympathetic and accurate interpretation, and a judicial evaluation—a task which will have to take into consideration, among other things: (1) European cultural ideas and the history of their reception in this country, a subject which needs much more systematic study; (2) the American environment and our social-political history; (3) the personalities of the individual artists and the light which biography can cast upon their genius; (4) the development of literary forms and their quality; (5) the history of ideas; and (6) judicial evaluation. Historical explanation thus involves the interplay of European ideas and the American environment as they impinge upon the personality of the artist; interpretation involves both form and ideas; evaluation begins with these two elements as they relate to time and place and eventually winnows our writings until there is sifted out that very small body of genuine literature which transcends time and place

and which possesses universal qualities of form and beauty which represent our contribution to the body of world-masterpieces whose enduring power is proved by their continued acceptance by many different times and places and nations—by the *consensus gentium*. Less than this we cannot ask, it seems to me, if we would have a really adequate history which is reasonably comprehensive and balanced, which deserves to be called the “official” expression of so august a body as the MLA.

II

Since there are pessimists among us who doubt whether the CHAL can be improved upon, it may be well to pause for a moment to point out in what general ways we should be able to improve on this work, which is now a quarter of a century old.

First as to more obvious matters. If the new history runs to twelve or fourteen volumes, as contrasted to the CHAL’s four volumes, we shall begin with the initial advantage of having four or five times as much *space*—a by no means negligible matter—in which to develop our aims. This should enable the history to be documented, succinctly but precisely, so as to render its interpretations more convincing than those of the relatively undocumented CHAL. Next, the passage of time itself enables us to make a very important fresh contribution by the inclusion of a treatment of the virile and many-sided writings of the quarter of a century since the CHAL appeared. We can draw upon fresh and vastly helpful mechanical aids unavailable to the CHAL, such as the exhaustive bibliographies being assembled by Dr. Edward O’Neill and his associates, as well as the monumental *Dictionary of American English* and the forthcoming *Dialect Atlas*. And finally we can draw upon the great host of scholarly investigations, doctoral dissertations published and unpublished, and collateral studies by historians, philosophers, economists, sociologists, educators, scientists, and aestheticians, which have accumulated rapidly in the last quarter of a century. Where our predecessors were often obliged to generalize on the basis of guesses, we can now in many cases rest our conclusions on exhaustively assembled evidence.

Second, we ought to be able to plan the work better. If the

main charge against the CHAL has always been its lack of unity, of articulated plan and streamlined focus, it should be possible through the administrative and discussion facilities of the MLA, and of *American Literature* and the *New England Quarterly*, to explore possibilities democratically and to arrive at an agreement regarding fundamental aims and objectives and methods of procedure which should dominate the work as a whole. After such an agreement has been arrived at by democratic means, I would suggest that the acceptance by any individual of an assignment be conditioned upon his willingness to co-operate in carrying out, to the best of his ability, that portion of the objectives which relate to his own work. The initial adoption of such a plan, with the prestige of a majority of the American Literature Group of the MLA behind it, should go far toward giving the completed work an integrated unity representing the best scholarly opinion of our day. In a literary history of this sort it would seem desirable to place considerable emphasis upon the history of American taste, criticism, literary theories and aims and parallel developments in the other arts, drawing upon minor as well as major authors and the magazines. And in general, the work can surely be made superior to the CHAL by a greater fullness and precision applied to the six matters listed above in the second paragraph, as well as in more specific matters to which I now turn.

III

Much of the controversy between exponents of various approaches simmers down to the conflict between those who regard literature as a segment of social or intellectual history and those who regard it as belles-lettres with an emphasis on form and beauty. The followers of Mr. Parrington, the Marxians, and many of the intellectual historians take the former view; and the older traditionalists, the judicial critics, and probably the vast majority of the "general readers" interested in enjoyment take the latter view. The social historians, interested in the practical influence of "applied" literature, tend to interest themselves in tracts such as Hamilton's "Report on Manufacturing," *The Federalist*, or Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, and they would minimize "pure" literature dedicated to delight, such as that of Poe, Longfellow, or Henry

James. They are irked by the aesthetes' tendency to treat condescendingly from the belletristic angle things of such weighty influence in the practical political world as *The Federalist*. On the other hand, those devoted to literature as an art providing enrichment and enjoyment, find little of this in "applied" literature cherished by social historians and they feel that they are perversely leading us astray. Instead of ruling out the claims of either one of these respectable groups, it would seem best in a democratic project to try to reconcile them and to enrich the history with the co-operation of both groups, for after all our literature and our scholarship would be impoverished if either kind were eliminated. Toward this end, I have a suggestion to make which might, if carried out in a not too doctrinaire fashion, bridge the chasm. Why not revive the distinction which DeQuincey, and to some extent Coleridge and Emerson, and Lowell, made between what they called "the literature of knowledge" (written to win assent, logically or otherwise, as a means of furthering direct action for some specific practical purpose) and "the literature of power" (possessed of a partially inexplicable exhilarating and "quickenning" quality which enlarges our vision, adds to our enjoyment of living, or elevates our spirit). The first is dominated by what the Transcendentalists called the logical Understanding, the second by the intuitive Reason. The first, vast in bulk, being strongly conditioned by social and political and environmental factors, can best be interpreted in the stream of social or intellectual history, and judged by what Arnold called "the historical estimate," that is, relative to time and place. The second, limited in extent, being conditioned by personality and the inscrutable gift of genius, can best be interpreted by the genetic study of the development of the individual's mind and art-forms, and judged by what Arnold called "the real estimate," that is in the light of universal standards, of spiritual ideas and forms of beauty, which have met the consent of nations, transcending time and place. For the sake of concrete illustration, I would cite such "applied" literature of knowledge, written to convince us of the need for adopting specific courses of action in a given time and place, as *Common Sense*, *The Federalist*, *The Biglow Papers*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Progress and Poverty*, *The Octopus*, *Main-Travelled*

Roads, Grapes of Wrath. And to illustrate what I mean by the "pure" literature of power, I might cite such works as "Thanatopsis," *Deerslayer*, "The Raven," *Nature*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *Moby Dick*, *The Portrait of a Lady*, "Passage to India," "The Marshes of Glynn," *Ethan Frome*. Surely the list representing the first sort is definitely timely; while that representing the second sort is relatively timeless, usually tending not so much toward specific programs of action as toward springing our imaginations, enlarging our visions, and quickening spiritual understanding. Social or political events are not of as much use in helping us interpret or evaluate these types of the "literature of power," as are a knowledge of religious and ethical ideas and an analysis of literary form and craftsmanship. There will naturally be many borderline cases in which a given book could be classified in either section, and critics of the plan suggested can quibble. I do believe, however, that the plan would do much to solve one of our main problems.

Turning to the question of the "literature of knowledge," I would suggest that we begin by defining successive periods more or less in the conventional manner, and that after a section sketching comprehensive formative factors (including events and environments) has been devoted to each of these periods, chapters should be provided sketching the political-social, religious-ethical, and aesthetic-literary ideas of the authors in each period. Special emphasis should be placed on those pamphlets or books (such as *Common Sense*, *The Federalist*, etc.) which have actually had a strong immediate influence and which posterity has not allowed to die. Note that I say the "ideas of the authors" and not "the main currents of American thought," for the two are by no means synonymous, and it seems hazardous—in view of more scientific means of plotting fairly exhaustively public opinion by such means as the Gallup Poll—for us to try to assert that what literary men think (literary men being probably less than one per cent of any population) is what all Americans think.¹ We can render a real service, however, by avoiding speculation as to ultimate origins and by pro-

¹ If, as we are told, the United States now produces 40 million newspapers in a single day and 200 million books in a single year, it should be obvious that it is ludicrously impossible to make the history exhaustive or claim that it represents "The American Mind" in any scientific manner.

viding expositions of what leading pamphleteers, magazine writers, and minor authors actually did think, along with some indication of what literary qualities (form and technique) enabled them to get themselves widely read; and, if we entertain the hypothesis that ideas can influence public opinion and hence events (cf. abolition of slavery), we can make a modest contribution to American social history. In these sections, brief reference might be made to the ideas of the few *major* figures in each period—the representatives of “literature of power”—but full treatment of the ideas of such figures should be reserved for full-length genetic studies which might follow the chapters in each period on (1) formative factors, (2) social-political ideas, (3) religious-ethical ideas, (4) literary-aesthetic ideas. These chapters might well follow Perry Miller’s method in the monumental *New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, although a bit more attention might be given to environmental and biographical factors so as to make the work more concrete. Possibly this “literature of knowledge” might be placed in its natural historical contexture and viewed in proper perspective more readily if a committee composed of both social historians and literary scholars were appointed for each period, charged with deciding upon what movements, crises, or themes attention should be focused. In particular, the new history should be able to far surpass the CHAL in dealing fully with Puritanism and the Enlightenment (1607-1809), two fields in which scholarship during the last quarter of a century has made great progress. But all along the line we should be able to demonstrate afresh the very considerable role which “applied” literature has played in helping to mould public opinion and to influence (for one thing) legislation. (Cf. the multitude of writings on abolition, on capitalistic exploitation, etc.) Since the drama as a form is somewhat distinctive in being dependent upon the interest of large social groups whose taste it reflects, and since much has already been done on the merely theatrical aspects of the drama, the history of the drama might well be woven into the sections of this work which deal with the history of ideas and taste. The frank recognition of the claims of the “Understanding” as well as those of the higher “Reason,” and of the qualities proper to the genre of ordered argument or emotional appeal, might help to eliminate the somewhat condescending and capricious treatment

of documents such as *The Federalist*, which social historians find distasteful in so many literary histories. And we can contribute something fairly new by studying the literary theory underlying the work of the most successful propagandists and pamphleteers, and by showing how their effectiveness depended in part not only upon ideas but on the technique of developing and expressing them. A didactic, moralistic, and utilitarian people, our writers have been especially prolific in literary work aimed at some practical purpose; and it is high time that such literature should be accorded the systematic and dignified treatment it deserves.

Let us now turn to the "literature of power." Here we may well be guided by the verdicts of capable critics over a long period of time, and limit full-length treatment to about twenty-five or thirty of the recognized masters, beginning with Edwards and Franklin. While the "literature of knowledge" can perhaps best be treated in relation to broad periods and movements focused on a succession of "causes" or "crises" which stirred the masses, this higher "literature of power" can be approached best by isolating the individual masters (indicating, of course, probable formative factors of all sorts) and studying in genetic manner the development of each man's ideas and art in all their interrelations. (Recent studies of Edwards by C. H. Faust and T. H. Johnson, of Poe by Miss Alterton and Hardin Craig, and of Bryant by Tremaine McDowell might be cited as examples of this sort of study.) These genetic studies of the history of ideas executed within the framework of an individual's life, with some attention to the life and controversies of his period, should not be confused with conventional biography, for the latter is apt to be largely a chronicle of external events and the former emphasizes the logical articulation of ideas. In many cases by drawing on uncollected or freshly discovered writings, letters, editorials, etc., an old master can be reinterpreted in fuller and sharper outline. (Cf. the vast new evidence about Whittier and Emerson revealed by T. F. Currier and R. L. Rusk.) Since the higher reaches of artistic inspiration² are inexplicable, the environmental and economic-political factors being common to great multitudes of men while only a very few produced great literary art, this

² For an acute analysis of the fallacies of Marxist assumptions in literary interpretation, the reader is referred to Morris R. Cohen in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I, 241-251 and 369-374 (April and June, 1940).

division of our subject might well begin with the consideration of a third factor beyond the American environment and European cultural ideas: the *personality* and genius of the literary artist. What light can biography and psychology cast on that all-important margin which distinguished him from his mediocre contemporaries subject to the same general conditioning factors? In these special individuals put under a microscope, we should follow the trail of their thought wherever it may carry us, following up all the hints and leads the authors give us as to their reading, contacts, and reactions, recording inductively the genetic interrelations of their ideas, and the logical articulation and cross-fertilization of political, religious, social, economic, humanitarian, and aesthetic ideas, as well as the sequence of their development and the manner in which they were modified by the impact of political and social events and experience. And art should be emphasized as well as ideas. To this end, special attention should be devoted to interpreting each of the major authors in the light of the development of his own peculiar aesthetic and literary theories and aims, which deserve careful study. (Where, for example, will one find any exhaustive study of Mark Twain's literary theories and aims?) Such an approach should do much to eliminate subjective bias and to further sympathetic understanding and appreciation. And, realizing that spokesmen of the Golden Day such as Emerson and Thoreau, not to mention Henry James, accepted the doctrine that form and content are organically related, we ought to pay special attention not only to ideas but to form—to structure and craftsmanship, prosody and movement, imagery and connotation. If a given idea or attitude was common to hundreds of poems, for example, what qualities of form in a given poem explain the fact that this one alone has had the vitality to endure?

Finally, after having striven for historical explanation and sympathetic interpretation, the history will have provided a necessary basis for the judicial evaluation of these master-artists. This evaluation should be more absolute than in the case of that of the exponents of "literature of knowledge," to whom time and place mean more; it should be based on the fairly universal standards embodied in world literature which has endured from the Greeks down. And it should render its verdict not only on individual

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A CO-OPERATIVE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

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I BELIEVE that there are certain serious fallacies abroad, at present, among those who make the study of American literature their profession, and they violate all of what seem to me the most important principles which ought to govern the study of the history of literature. I can best deal with these principles, I think, by pointing to their violation.

I suppose that many scholars recognize the weakness of Parrington; yet Parrington's history¹ is apparently the text most widely used in the teaching of American literature, so that the number of scholars unaware of the exceptional badness of the text must be appallingly large. The text is wholly dependent upon two serious errors; namely, that one can write the history of a culture with reference only to one intellectual tradition, in this case a tradition of extremely small influence in the first hundred and fifty years, that is, during the formative period, and that one can determine the ideas governing a work of art without making any attempt to understand the art as art. I should like to enlarge upon these points.

Parrington writes as follows in his first chapter:

Unless one keeps in mind the social forces that found it convenient to array themselves in Puritan garb, the clear meaning of it all will be lost in the fogs of Biblical disputation, and some of the ablest men the English race has ever bred will be reduced to crabbed theologians involved in tenuous subtleties and disputing endlessly over absurd dogmas. But tenacious disputants though they certainly were, pursuing their subtleties into the last refuge and cranny of logic, those Puritan dogmatists were very far from being vain practitioners of eccentricity. It is the manner and dress and not the matter of their arguments that is strange; and if we will resolutely translate the old phrases into modern equivalents, if we will put aside the theology and fasten attention on the politics and economics of the struggle, we shall have less difficulty in discovering that the new principle for which those old Puritans were groping was the later familiar doctrine of natural rights; and the final end

¹ *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols.; New York, 1927-30).

and outcome of their concern for a more equitable relation of the individual to society was the principle of a democratic commonwealth, established in the conception of political equalitarianism. Here are liberalisms in plenty to reward the search for the inner core of Puritanism.²

In other words, if we will resolutely neglect ninety-nine hundredths of what the Puritans wrote during their first century and a half, we shall arrive at a true understanding of what they were trying to say, and we shall have made a clear and undeceptive beginning to a history of American literature. This is a view of history to which I am unable to subscribe; but it is the view of Parrington, and, whether they realize it or not, of his disciples and admirers. To those who believe with Parrington that we may safely put aside the theology, let me recommend the latest work of Perry Miller;³ and to those who believe that the Puritans were greatly concerned with the later familiar doctrine of natural rights, the latest work of Professor Andrews.⁴ A consideration of these two works alone should make it evident that Parrington and his point of view should be discarded.

Of Parrington's two initial fallacies, however, the one which I have just considered is the less serious. The more serious is to be found clearly stated in the first two sentences of his introduction:

I have undertaken to give some account of the genesis and development in American letters of certain germinal ideas that have come to be reckoned traditionally American—how they came into being here, how they were opposed, and what influence they have exerted in determining the form and scope of our characteristic ideals and institutions. In pursuing such a task, I have chosen to follow the broad path of our political, economic, and social development, rather than the narrower belletristic; and the main divisions of the study have been fixed by forces that are anterior to literary schools and movements, creating the body of ideas from which literary culture eventually springs.⁵

The term *belletristic*, here as elsewhere in Parrington, is a term of contempt for any interest in art as art. Parrington assumes that the best way to understand a work of art is to neglect entirely its nature as a work of art, and to deal with its ideas. He believes that we can

² *Ibid.*, I, 6.

³ *The New England Mind* (New York, 1939).

⁴ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols.; New Haven, 1934—).

⁵ Parrington, *op. cit.*, I, iii.

know what an artist thinks, without knowing what he does. This is almost brutally crude thinking. At an obviously ridiculous level it leads to identifying the theories of Ahab with the theme of *Moby Dick*, or the morality of Iago with the morality of Shakespeare. I suppose that serious scholars no longer do this sort of thing. But it also leads to identifying the paraphrasable content of a poem with the meaning of the poem; to neglecting entirely the quality of feeling with which the paraphrasable content is stated, to neglecting, that is, the final irreducible act of judgment which *is* the poem, and which gives the poem any value it may possess. It leads in general to fastening on the idea lying detached before the eye and to neglecting its function in the unified work, to neglecting, that is, what the artist does with the idea; it thus avoids carefully the possibility of understanding what a writer means when he states a given idea. And too many serious scholars, I regret to say, possess the talent to do nothing better; so that the temptation offered by Parrington is a serious matter—Parrington's method offers what appears to be a short-cut to history, though unfortunately it is a short-cut which avoids nearly all of the proper subject matter of the history in question.

Parrington, then, deals with literature only in so far as literature is a matter of fragmentary ideas clearly visible to the innocent eye; furthermore, he deals only with a limited range of ideas, and relegates the rest to the region of illusion. Had Parrington written, as he seems to imply that he meant to write, a history of Jeffersonian liberalism, and neglected all matter irrelevant to his subject, he might have been more or less successful. But he unquestionably did not do that: he wrote what purports to be a history of American literature, but treated wholly in the terms of what he conceives to be the development of Jeffersonian liberalism. The result could easily have been forecast. His framework of ideas has no serious relationship to most of the great writers, and, since he thus has no way of understanding them, his treatment of them is almost purely impressionistic. His treatment of Cotton Mather is, I should judge, notorious among specialists in Colonial history, and it ought to be equally notorious among men of letters, for Mather was in his way and in his best passages one of the great masters of English prose; his treatment of Poe, or rather his confession that he has no way

of treating Poe, that he is literally rendered helpless by his method, is also notorious. But the handling of Melville, Henry James, and Henry Adams, to name only a few of the more obvious failures, is almost as bad. The essay on Melville, for example, is merely a pseudopoetic summary of the sensational and uncritical book by Mr. Raymond Weaver. One coming upon it, with no knowledge of Melville, would receive no clue whatever to the subject matter or to the form of any of Melville's books, to Melville's own intellectual history, or to the intellectual history of which Melville was in some part the product. The value of the essay, if it has any, lies wholly in the soundness of Parrington's unguided personal impressions (not to mention Weaver's), and in the beauty of his prose; the virtues are purely belletristic. I prefer to leave the praise of this aspect of Parrington to an admirer. William T. Utter has written as follows of Parrington's artistry:

It must have been apparent to all who knew him that Parrington was essentially an artist. To all classes it was shown in the care, almost meticulous, with which he polished his phrases, the search in his interpretation for harmonious balance and proportion, as if it were a structure of stone, rather than of ideas, which he was erecting. Those who knew him intimately were aware of his interest in architecture and painting; that he had studied in those fields during his first European residence; that he had even considered entering them professionally. He had more than ordinary ability as a poet, according to his friends, although his own judgment did not permit of publication. In his writing, this artistic temperament was to be demonstrated not only in his constant effort to attain unity but also in the care with which each phrase was turned—care which brings to mind the artistry of the eighteenth-century conversationalist.⁶

We have already considered the methods by which Parrington achieved unity; it is perhaps worth a moment to examine one of the carefully turned sentences, a more or less representative sentence, on the subject of Herman Melville: "The golden dreams of transcendental faith, that buoyed up Emerson and gave hope to Thoreau, turned to ashes in his mouth; the white gleams of mysticism that now and then lighted up his path died out and left him in darkness."⁷ The mixed metaphor of the first clause is an out-

⁶ William T. Utter, "Vernon Louis Parrington," in *Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (Chicago, 1937), p. 396.

⁷ Parrington, *op. cit.*, II, 258.

standing example, I imagine, of the error, and not only are mixed metaphors bad but they are frequently amusing; but what I wish to mention especially is this: that the subject of the sentence is Melville, that the sentence tells us nothing whatever about him, and that it is therefore, if for no other reason, pretentious and bad.

Such are the short-cuts to history. One could gather an interesting and curious garland of comments upon Parrington, with very little labor, by specialists in various fields upon which he touched. Michael Kraus, whose estimate of Parrington is far higher than my own, makes this interesting comment: "Historians complain that Parrington did not know enough history, while students of literature often disagree with his estimates of literary figures."⁸ Even within either field, however, the comment very often is somewhat as follows: "Parrington's work is noble and in the main admirable, but he is unfortunately very ignorant of my particular field." Yet such a comment—a common one—is unfair and imperceptive. No historian of a literature—or of anything else—can fairly be expected to be a specialist in every field upon which he touches; Parrington's defect was a defect not in specialized knowledge but in common sense—it was a defect which made it impossible for him to use the work of specialists intelligently.

And this brings me to the other great danger, one which seems to me to beset the way of co-operative historians in particular, the danger of unenlightened specialization.

Let me cite, as illustrations, certain examples of specialization which seem to me fairly typical. I have talked with a well-known specialist in Emerson, a man who knows in detail, I believe, the whole Emersonian text and very nearly everything that has been written about Emerson, but who has not read Cooper since childhood, who knows only a small part of Hawthorne, and who has a vague conviction that Melville was a transcendentalist in oilskins and Miss Dickinson a transcendentalist in dimity. The gentleman is almost wholly ignorant of Emerson's contemporaries and also of later American literature. I have talked with a well-known specialist in Poe, who shares all of the ignorance listed above, and who is wholly unfamiliar with the French Symbolists as well. Now I respectfully submit that only a minute portion of what has been written on Poe or Emerson, or on any other subject, has any con-

⁸ Michael Kraus, *A History of American History* (New York, 1937), p. 480.

siderable value, and that a good deal of what has been written and very respectably published is unmitigated twaddle; and further that no man will ever understand either writer who has not read his major contemporaries thoroughly and with comprehension; and further still, that no man will have done his best to understand either writer who has not done his best to understand not only the writers who led up to the subject of study but the writers who developed from him. To understand Emerson, it is more important to understand both Cotton Mather and Hart Crane than it is to have bibliographical notes on a multitude of monographs. I do not deny that many of the monographs have value, and that one ought to read as many of the best of them as possible; I merely insist on a proper scale of values. It is with the history of literature that we are concerned, not with the history of monographs, and either one by itself is a tremendous subject. We must choose between history and antiquarianism, between civilization and pedantry. If we were dealing with a field, such as the history of eighteenth-century literature in England or in France, of which the main outlines had already been intelligently plotted, we should be relatively—though not wholly—safe in indulging in extreme specialization; but we are not dealing with such a field, and extreme specialization can only lead, as it has led so far, to a kind of learned and chaotic dullness.

Let me illustrate the point in question by an example far from extreme, by reference to what seems to me the whimsical vagary of one of the most distinguished scholars living. Professor S. E. Morison, I suppose, is one of the three or four greatest living authorities on the Colonial history of New England. Any man who neglects him is both ignorant and foolish. Yet Professor Morison is one of those who have done most to minimize and even deny those aspects of the Colonial New England mind which differentiate it most sharply from the contemporary mind in England. His attitude, I presume is in some part a reaction against the attitude—an attitude in itself long familiar—to be seen in *The Puritan Mind*, by H. W. Schneider.⁹ Professor Schneider emphasizes the peculiar and dramatic elements in the Puritan mind by treating them more or less in isolation; but those elements were real, it would seem, and they existed relatively in isolation in New England, and for the

⁹ H. W. Schneider, *The Puritan Mind* (New York, 1930).

student of American literature it is more than likely that they are the most important elements. From a reading of *The Puritan Pronaos* by Professor Morison, however, one gets the general impression that the New Englander of the seventeenth century was not much different from his contemporary in England, even from his contemporary in the established church; that the piety of Cotton Mather differed from that of Izaak Walton, let us say, in no essential quality. It is plausible up to a certain point if one confines one's attention to the seventeenth century, even though the Cotton Mather of Professor Morison appears to be a spiritual contemporary and next-door neighbor of W. H. Prescott, even though Professor Morison's account of Mather's relations with the Goodwin girl, for example,¹⁰ bears no evident relation to Mather's account in the *Magnalia*.¹¹ But if one steps briefly and simply to the middle of the nineteenth century, not only beyond Puritanism but beyond the Unitarianism which descended from it, and of which Prescott and C. F. Adams were such distinguished and such placid representatives, one is confronted with a group of writers of very great magnitude, who resemble each other in certain spiritual obsessions which are very obvious and which at the same time differentiate them sharply from anything in nineteenth-century England. I refer especially to Hawthorne, Melville, Henry James, Henry Adams, and Emily Dickinson; incidentally to Emerson, Very, and Thoreau. If there were only one of these, one might account for him biographically and psychologically (if one possessed the temerity), but one will hardly account for *The Awkward Age* or *Pierre* by an account of Adams's small stature coupled with the peculiar qualities of the Grant administration; nor will one explain the *Education* and above all the marvelous and ever so faintly perverse history of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison by Mr. Weaver's theories of Melville's devotion to his mother. We shall have to study history if we are to account for the similarities; and the aspects of New England history which are emphasized by Professor Schneider appear to be more helpful in this connection than the aspects emphasized by Professor Morison. What I am trying to emphasize is this: that Adams, Hawthorne, and Melville are data of the utmost

¹⁰ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Pronaos* (New York, 1936), especially pp. 250 ff.

¹¹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Bk. VI, Chap. VII, The Ninth Example.

importance if one is bent on understanding the mind of Cotton Mather.

This brings me to a subject upon which I hesitate to touch in addressing professional scholars, the subject of twentieth-century literature. Curiously enough, the literature of the twentieth century really exists, and we have already, for better or worse, had forty years of it. In fact we have already come to the close of what I should judge to be a subordinate period, and we can examine it more or less fully, and, I trust, dispassionately. I refer to the period dominated by the experimental poets—Pound, Eliot, Marianne Moore, H. D., W. C. Williams, and Hart Crane—and by the various dramatists and novelists of less importance, such as O'Neill, Wolfe, and Faulkner, who have followed in their wake. It is unpopular in academic circles to suggest that the poets whom I have just named are the most important poets, and perhaps the most important writers, between Robinson and a few writers now forty-five years of age or less; yet such they are. It is equally unpopular in literary circles to suggest that these writers show defects which prevent all of them from being writers of the first order, and which if encouraged and continued in a literary tradition would be sufficient to destroy it; yet this also is true. And above all it is unpopular in academic and in literary circles alike to suggest that the defects in these writers are demonstrably a continuation and fuller development of the defects to be found in the nineteenth-century writers whom I have previously mentioned; yet this again is true, and from the standpoint of the historian might prove to be the most enlightening truth of all.

It is a commonplace, I suppose, to assert that one must know something of Jonathan Edwards in order to understand Emerson; it is not exactly a commonplace to assert the reverse, yet if there is a relationship, its helpfulness should be equally great either way. The study of an historical movement cannot safely proceed, like the movement itself, from a beginning to an arbitrary conclusion, determined by accident, by the limits of our interest, or by the defects of our talents. In the past, the events are permanently spread before us, and we must, if we would examine them with intelligence, examine them in all possible relationships. There is only one principle—or perhaps it is merely a fact—which will justify negligence: that

life is short and history very long. But I will venture to assert dogmatically that no man will ever understand Emerson, who does not understand Emerson's disciple Whitman, and Whitman's disciple Crane. To know what led to Emerson is important; to know that to which Emerson leads is if anything more important, especially if it appears that Emerson leads to destruction.

An understanding of the literature of our own century would be less nearly indispensable to the historical scholar, were American literature not so nearly a single movement. The American literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is small in bulk, if we confine our attention to work of a high quality, but it displays a particular kind of religious thought and feeling which gave to the romantic movement in America a quality notably distinct from the romantic movement anywhere else, and which affected with a similarly unique quality all American reactions against the romantic movement; and, in spite of increasingly great foreign influence, the literature of our century is primarily a continuation of that nineteenth-century tradition. I do not wish to sin, with Parrington, by simplifying the whole matter to a single outline: there are many subordinate traditions, even that of Jeffersonian liberalism, which must be examined. But the outline which I have indicated is the only one into which the most important aspects of the most important writers, from the beginning to the present, will fit: one will scarcely understand even such writers as Mrs. Wharton, Miss Glasgow, or Miss Cather without a clear view of it. The scholar whose knowledge of the later literature is too fragmentary to see this will fail to understand the full implications of the earlier literature, in spite of all the monographs he may have mastered; and the history, whether co-operative or not, which is the product of specialization without such an historical view will be of value chiefly for the biographical and bibliographical information which it may happen to contain.

THOMAS PAINE AND THE FRANKLINS

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IT HAS BEEN supposed that Thomas Paine met Benjamin Franklin at some time during the winter of 1772-1773, when the exciseman from Lewes was in London trying to get before Parliament a measure for the relief of his fellow civil servants.¹ Paine's interest in electricity—reflected later in his articles under the signature of "Atlanticus" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*—and his keen, forthright, skeptical mind probably recommended him to Franklin's notice. At any rate, after Paine's dismissal as exciseman and his decision to start life anew in America, Franklin on September 30, 1774, wrote him a letter of introduction to Richard Bache describing the bearer as "an ingenious worthy young man."² Upon Paine's arrival in Philadelphia on the last day of November after a tedious voyage and a severe illness,³ it appears that he owed the ministrations of Dr. Kearsley and possibly the saving of his life to possession of this letter from Franklin.⁴ His first report to Franklin from the *New World*, dated March 4, 1775, reflects a strong personal gratitude to the sage as his sponsor and advocate in America; this was a sentiment which colored all his future relations with Franklin.⁵ Paine's introduction to America bore of course its most

¹ Moncure D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, cited hereinafter as *Life* (New York and London, 1893), I, 36.

² *Writings of Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905), VI, 248-249.

³ Cf. Frank Smith, "The Date of Thomas Paine's First Arrival in America," *American Literature*, III, 317-318 (Nov., 1931).

⁴ Frank Smith, *Thomas Paine: Liberator* (New York, 1938), pp. 11-12.

⁵ His letter to Franklin will be found in *Life*, I, 40-41. To Franklin on September 23, 1785, Paine wrote: "In making you this address I have an additional pleasure in reflecting, that, so far as I have hitherto gone, I am not conscious of any circumstance in my conduct that should give you one repentant thought for being my patron and introducer in America" (*Life*, I, 212-213). Franklin replied on September 27: "Be assured, my dear Friend, that instead of Repenting that I was your Introducer into America, I value myself on the Share I had in procuring for it the Acquisition of so useful and valuable a Citizen" (*Writings of Franklin*, IX, 467-468). Paine's sentiment as a protégé of Franklin is likewise reflected in the hitherto unpublished letters, reporting his activities, which are edited below. The fact that Paine "was sent to this Country by old Franklin"—with the imputation of a deliberate purpose, as later events suggested—was well noted by the Loyalists; cf. B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of MSS . . . relating to America 1773-1783* (London, 1890), No. 115.

notable result soon after Franklin's return to Pennsylvania later in 1775, when under the growing political tension Paine was inspired to write *Common Sense*—a pamphlet so clear, telling, and homely in its persuasion that perhaps its highest praise was its frequent ascription to Franklin.⁶

The hearty collaboration of these two men in the cause of American independence need not blind us to a fundamental difference in their attitude as revolutionaries. It is best illustrated by the traditional story that Franklin once remarked, "Where liberty is, there is my country," whereupon Paine retorted, "Where liberty is not, there is my country."⁷ Paine was a born rebel, although it took him some years to discover that dissent was his true intellectual climate and the pen of propaganda his most effective weapon. At his best a Cromwell in the realms of thought, and at his worst a gadfly to Church and State,⁸ Paine was a man whose keen though superficial genius included a rare personal gift for irritating all save a minority of kindred souls. Franklin's deeper and more stable character radiated a characteristic serenity; he was a master in the art of mollifying, with a pervasive charm as well as an essential common sense which Paine—despite his *nom de plume*—conspicuously lacked. Indeed, Paine had an ingredient of fanaticism wholly absent from the make-up of Poor Richard. Their roles in the American Revolution were appropriately very different—Paine being the incendiary pamphleteer, and Franklin the diplomat to the most suave court in Europe. The few known letters which passed between Paine and Franklin during the Revolution, reflecting both official and personal concerns, are therefore of substantial interest to the student of American literature and history. Two hitherto unpublished and apparently unknown letters from Paine to Franklin in 1777—earlier than any letters of their Revolutionary correspondence previously printed—and one letter written in the autumn of 1778 and carried to Paris by Lafayette, are found among the Bache Papers lately acquired by the American Philosophical So-

⁶ Cf. *Life*, I, 67, which relates also the familiar anecdote of the Loyalist lady who reproached Franklin for using in *Common Sense* such an epithet as "the royal brute of Britain," and his rejoinder that he would never have so dishonored the brute creation.

⁷ Cited without source by Smith, *Thomas Paine*, p. 1.

⁸ The traditional nineteenth-century hostility to Paine as a purely destructive force, a prophet of nihilism, was of course an exaggeration which later criticism has sought to correct; see, for example, Harry Hayden Clark, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine," *American Literature*, V, 132-145 (May, 1933).

ciety. The first, addressed "The Hon^{ble}. Benⁿ. Franklin LL D / Commissioner from the American States / at the Court of / Versailles [*sic*]" and marked "Private," is endorsed on the back "T Payne to BF. 20 June 77."

Philadelphia June 20th. 1777—

My Dear Sir

I have just Time to write you a Word or two, and have the pleasure of acquainting you of my being appointed Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs.⁹ I conceive the honor to be the greater as the appointment was only [*sic*] unsolicited on my part but made unknown to me.

The News of your safe arrival in France was received here with inexpressible satisfaction. The New-York Gentry were very early acquainted with your setting off, I was at that Time, at Fort Lee¹⁰ and saw the account of it in the New York papers the fourth day after your departure from Philadelphia,¹¹ which greatly encreased my anxiety for your safety, as I apprehended they would endeavor to make some use of the Information—There has been such a Wonderful and visible Chain of Matters, without the disorder of a s[ingle? *MS damaged*] link, in bringing this Important Affair to an Issue, that a Man must be an Infidel not to think heaven has some hand in it.¹²

I send you two or three Setts of a little Production of mine (the Crisis) being all which are left at the Printers out of eighteen Thousand

⁹ For Paine's appointment to this office on April 17, 1777, see *Life*, I, 89. Paine held this post until January 8, 1779, when he resigned under fire following his vigorous attack on Silas Deane and his supposed indiscretion in revealing secret correspondence. On March 4, 1779, he reported his resignation to Franklin (*Calendar of Franklin Papers in American Philosophical Society*, II, 36-37).

¹⁰ Paine was stationed there as volunteer aide-de-camp to General Greene; see Smith, *Thomas Paine*, pp. 36-37.

¹¹ Franklin's embarkation on October 27, 1776, was relayed almost immediately to the British authorities in New York, despite precautions of secrecy. From that city on October 28 Sir Grey Cooper wrote: "The Arch— Dr. Franklin, has lately eloped under a cloak of plenipotentiary to Versailles" (quoted by James Parton, *Life and Times of Franklin*, New York, 1864, II, 205).

¹² Notwithstanding his later reputation for "infidelity," Paine at this period of life rather frequently alluded to the interposition of Heaven upon the side of American independence; see *Crisis No. I* (*Writings of Paine*, ed. Conway, New York, 1894, I, 171), *Crisis No. V* (*ibid.*, I, 247), and *Life*, I, 232. The evolution of his religious opinions toward deism "soon after I published the pamphlet *Common Sense*" (*Writings*, IV, 22), has been recently and ably treated by Robert P. Falk, "Thomas Paine: Deist or Quaker?" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXII, 52-63 (Jan., 1938), and "Thomas Paine and the Attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution," *ibid.*, LXIII, 302-310 (July, 1939). The topic is not without interest to a student of the Paine-Franklin correspondence because of Franklin's celebrated letter to an unnamed infidel author, seeking to dissuade him from "unchaining the Tyger" (*Writings of Franklin*, IX, 521). Jared Sparks's identification of the recipient as Paine has been seriously doubted by later editors.

besides what have been printed in the other States, you will see by the first Number and date that it was written in a Rage when our affairs were at their lowest ebb and things in the most gloomy State.¹³ I think Almon might venture to publish the Second Number but if any of them be published in France, some republican expressions should be omitted.¹⁴

I intend next Winter to begin on the first Volume of the Revolution of America, when I mentioned it to you the Winter before last you was so kind as to offer me such Materials in your possession as might be necessary for that Purpose.¹⁵ As I imagine you will appear in a New Edition by some Capital engraver at Paris I beg to be favored with a Copy and shall be exceedingly obliged if you could by the next Conveyance send me the Gentlemen & Universal Magazines for 74. 75 and 76—the two Reviews & Parliamentary debates for the same years,¹⁶ and such

¹³ In the *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 20, 1779, Paine wrote: "I had begun the first number of the *Crisis* while on the retreat, at Newark, with a design of publishing it in the Jerseys, as it was General Washington's intention to have made a stand at Newark, could he have been timely reinforced; instead of which nearly half the army left him at that place, or soon after, their time being out." In his "Journal of the American Army, from the taking of Fort Washington" Paine wrote of the capture of Fort Lee: "The fortune of our arms was now at its lowest ebb—but the tide was beginning to turn" (*The Remembrancer*, London, 1778, p. 29).

¹⁴ John Almon (1737-1805), London printer and bookseller, intimate friend of John Wilkes and chronically *persona non grata* with the British Government, published material sympathetic to the American cause in his annual *Remembrancer; or, Impartial Repository of Public Events*; the issue for 1777, published in 1778, pp. 28 ff., contained Paine's "Journal," as cited above, n. 13. *Crisis No. II*, to which Paine alludes in the present letter, was dated January 13, 1777, and addressed to Lord Howe and by implication to the British sponsors of the war. *Common Sense* had been translated promptly into French, with the expurgation of antimonarchist passages, and published in Paris on May 4, 1776, in an edition now exceedingly rare (F. Rabbe's translation of Conway's *Life*, with amplifications, entitled *Thomas Paine et la révolution dans les deux mondes*, Paris, 1900, p. 170 and n.). However, the earliest French translation of *The Crisis* which I am able to find listed in catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum is *La crise américaine . . .*, Paris, Frimaire, l'an II^e [i. e., 1793]; this was published while Paine himself was in the thick of the French Revolution, and of course called for no such expurgation as here proposed.

¹⁵ In this same year, 1777, Paine wrote: "In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin proposed giving me such materials as were in his hands towards completing a history of the present transactions, and seemed desirous of having the first volume out next spring" (*Life*, I, 67). To Franklin on May 16, 1778, Paine expressed his continued interest in the project, and his thanks for pamphlets Franklin was then sending (*ibid.*, I, 112). Concerning Paine's absorption in the proposed history, see his letters to Henry Laurens on Sept. 14, 1779, and to George Washington, April 28, 1784 (*ibid.*, I, 148-149 and 203). Conway conjectures that such materials as Franklin gave Paine were destroyed in the Bonneville fire in St. Louis (*ibid.*, I, xxi).

¹⁶ "The two Reviews" are the *Whig Monthly Review*, founded in 1749, and its Tory rival, *The Critical Review*, begun in 1756. Paine's request for "Parliamentary debates for the same years" (1774-76) refers doubtless to the series called *Debates and Proceedings: 1743-1774*, and continued from 1774 onwards by Paine's acquaintance John Almon as *The Parliamentary Register*. There seems to have been no series published during these

as are come out since and the last Court Register—please to make the Charge and I will pay it to M^r. Beache [*sic*]¹⁷

I am Honored Sir

y^r. Obligated and Affectionate

Hbl Servant

T P

The Hon^{ble}. Benⁿ. Franklin LL. D

P. S. Please to present my Respect to your Colleagues

I send you the last Paper

The second letter, directed to "The Hon^{ble}. Benⁿ Franklin LL D / Commissioner from Congress / at / Paris," and endorsed "T. Payne to BF. / July 9th 77," was written less than three weeks later:

Philadelphia July 9th. 1777

My dear Sir

The dispatches being made up yesterday I herewith inclose you the papers of last night and this morning. Gen^l Howe, by every preparation, is about leaving N. York as he has already retreated from the Army which it was his business to conquer, it is impossible to say what may be his next movement—some suppose the North River to effect a junction with Burgoyne:¹⁸ but there are, I think, too many reasons against this Project; one of which is, that as they have no other army than this, they are obliged to make use of it as an Army of observation on the motions of the French & Spaniards in the West Indies, and for that reason will, If they have any discretion, keep it somewhere about the Coast: another objection agst the North River is, the leaving our Army and a River of near 150 miles in their rear, which Circumstances render the safe return of their fleet a matter of great doubt, and any considerable damage done to them in that Quarter would be like wounding an Eagle in the wing.¹⁹ M^r Gross in his English Antiquities mentions fire arrows being used for disabling or destroying fleets but the Extract, which I have seen, gives no discription [*sic*] how the Machine was constructed

years which bore the exact title "Parliamentary debates"; cf. Judith Blow Williams, *Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History 1750-1850* (New York, 1926), I, 42.

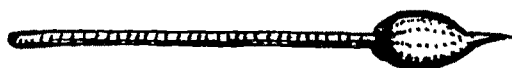
¹⁷ Richard Bache, Franklin's son-in-law, to whom Paine had borne the well-known letter of introduction.

¹⁸ In *Crisis* No. V, March 21, 1778, Paine looked back upon recent events and thankfully wrote of "the miseries we are so graciously preserved from" by the failure of Burgoyne in the heyday of his power to join forces with Howe (*Writings of Paine*, I, 242).

¹⁹ Just a week after the present letter Paine wrote to William Bingham more explicitly describing the hopeful outlook for American military strategy; see *Life*, I, 93.

by which they were thrown. He says Sir Richard Hawkins did incredible damage to the whole Squadron of Spanish Men of War on the Coast of Peru, and that admiral Watson in the East Indies last War used them in an engagement with Mons D Ache, with great success.²⁰

I have made a draft of a Bow, something on the Plan of the Steel Cross by which I think will [*sic*] throw an Iron Arrow across the Delaware. I purpose, enclosing the fire in a bulb near the Top



I have shewn it to Mr Rittenhouse who joins me in getting one made for experiment.²¹

Gen^l Howe will probably give an Air to his retreat from the Jerseys by saying that he endeavoured in vain to bring Gen^l Washington to a Gen^l Action—If this reason be admitted it proves the Impossibility of his ever Conquering. The fact, however is this, Gen^l Washington does not *immediately* command much more than half the Army, and could Gen^l Howe with his whole force bring General Washington to an action with little more than half he w^d have done it²²—but whenever the latter collects his whole force together, either to receive or attack Gen^l Howe, he leaves the field to him.—

In my former I informed you of my being appointed Secretary to the Committee for foreign Affairs, and requested you to send me the Reviews, Gentlemans & Universal Magazines and Parliamentary Registers for 74. 75. 76 and that I would account for them to Mr Beach [*sic*]. lest that Letter should miscarry I renew my request in this, with any such other Pieces as you may be so kind as to favor me with—I intend towards

²⁰ Francis Grose in 1773 published the first volume of *Antiquities of England and Wales*: "The manner of using these fireworks was, by throwing them from petraries or cross bows, or fixing them to the great darts and arrows, and shooting them into the towns; a method . . . used with good success by the English, the last war, in a naval engagement in the East Indies, between the squadron of Monsieur d'Ache and Admiral Watson" (London ed., 1787, I, 26).

²¹ David Rittenhouse, an intimate friend of Franklin, was a familiar of Thomas Paine as early as 1755, according to the testimony of Dr. Rush (cited in that generally untrustworthy book, Cheetham's *Life of Paine*, New York, 1809, p. 39). Conway, *Life*, I, 201 n., mentions an experiment with gases in which Paine collaborated with Rittenhouse. I find no record of Rittenhouse's experiments with fire arrows, although his tireless investigation of ballistics and of telescopic sights on rifles, during the Revolution, is mentioned by M. J. Babb, "David Rittenhouse," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVI, 216 (July, 1932).

²² Cf. *Crisis* No. V, in *Writings*, I, 239.

the latter End of the Year to send for your approbation the plan on which I intend to conduct the History of this Revolution

I am Dear Sir

with every wish for your health & happiness

Your obliged Humble Serv^t.

T P—n²³

Please to present my best respects to your worthy colleagues

From Yorktown, Pennsylvania, on May 16, 1778, Paine wrote Franklin what appears to be the next letter in their known correspondence—answering a letter of the previous October 7 which seems not to have survived, and giving Franklin a long résumé of military events during the past winter.²⁴ Again in October of this year Paine wrote to Franklin. This letter, here first presented from the Bache Papers, is franked "Mr. Paine" and directed to "His Excellency / Benjamin Franklin / Paris / Favor / Marquis de Fayette," with the endorsement in Franklin's hand "Mr Paine / Oct. 24. 78." Lafayette had reached Philadelphia on October 13, 1778, and remained a fortnight before traveling northward; however, he did not sail from Boston until January 11, 1779.²⁵

Philadelphia Oct^r. 24th. 1778

Dear Honored Sir

I congratulate you on your accession to the State of Minister Plenipotentiary.²⁶ Could you have lived to fill a particular point in the Circle of human Affairs, it would have been that to which you are now so honorably called.

We rub and drive on, all things considered, beyond what could ever be expected, and instead of wondering why some things have not been done better, the greater wonder is we have done so well.—As I wish to render the History of this Revolution as compleat as possible I am unwilling to begin it too soon, and should be glad to consult you first, because the *real Motives* of the British King in commencing the War will form a considerable political Part. I am sufficiently perswaded myself that they wished for a Quarrel and intended to annex America to the Crown

²³ The initials *T* and *P* are interwoven in an elaborate device; the signature "P—n" recalls the story told by Oldys and other generally hostile biographers that the name was correctly spelled "Pain." Cf. Smith, *American Literature*, I, 352.

²⁴ *Writings*, I, 384-394.

²⁵ According to the itinerary in J. Bennett Nolan, *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore, 1934).

²⁶ Franklin's appointment had been made on September 14, 1778 (*Journals of the Continental Congress*).

of England as a Conquered Country: they had no doubt of Victory and hoped for what they might call a Rebellion, but we have not, on this side the water, sufficient proof of this at present. I intend to embellish it with plates of heads Plans &c which likewise cannot be perfected here.

I enjoy thank God a good share of health and hopes and tho' my situation is no ways advantageous, it is nevertheless agreeable. I have the pleasure of being respect[ed *MS torn*] and I feel a little of that satisfactory kind of pride that tells me I have some right to it. I am not much hurried in the Secretary department, and have sufficient leisure for any thing else.²⁷

At this Time the public expectations run high on the Enemy quitting New York, but for what or where is all uncertain, neither do I believe they know what to do themselves.

The Marquiss de Fayette returns with the warmest Thanks from this Country. His amiable and benevolent Manners have been a living contradiction to the narrow spirited declarations of the British Commss^{rs}.²⁸ He happily returns in safety, which, considering the exposures he has gone thro', is rather to be wondered at.²⁹

A large Detachment sailed from N York Destination unknown—probably for Boston, but as you will receive later Information than this Letter can convey, any thing which I may mention will be of little use.

I am, with every wish for your happiness

Your obliged and affectionate

Humble Serv^t.

T. Paine

Please to present my Comp^{ts}. to your Grandsons—³⁰

The remaining items in the known correspondence between Paine and Franklin may be briefly reviewed. On March 4, 1779, Paine sent his friend an account of his feud with Deane which had

²⁷ In his Memorial to Congress a short time later, January 7, 1779, Paine wrote: "I have obtained fame, honor, and credit in this country. I am proud of these honors" (*Life*, I, 130); to Washington on November 30, 1781, Paine wrote of his years in America as "the most honorary time of my life" (*ibid.*, I, 178).

²⁸ To the British Commissioners Paine had addressed *Crisis* No. VI, dated just four days before this letter, and rebuked them for styling France "the late mutual and natural enemy" of both England and America (*Writings*, I, 267-268). "The Creator of man did not constitute them the natural enemy of each other," wrote Paine. "He has not made any one order of beings so."

²⁹ Lafayette had taken part in various military expeditions and had been wounded at Brandywine. Greene wrote to Washington from Haddonfield, November 26, 1777: "The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger" (Nolan, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

³⁰ Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Temple Franklin; the latter, as his grandfather's secretary, is found on at least one occasion acting as amanuensis in Franklin's correspondence with Paine, and enclosing his own greetings (*Life*, I, 213 n.).

occurred the previous winter and had led to Paine's resignation.³¹ In February, 1781, Paine sailed for France; although little seems to be known of his contacts with Franklin in Paris,³² he is found writing his next recorded letter to Franklin on May 28, 1781, from Brest, to take leave of the elder statesman and to assure him of the writer's desire to serve him.³³ Hearing the rumor that Franklin wishes to resign, Paine writes with a characteristic touch of self-importance: "I beg leave to assure you that every wish of mine, so far as it can be attended with any service, will be employed to make your resignation, should it be accepted, attended with every possible mark of honor which your long services and high character justly merit." Paine's activities during the next four years were not so remarkable as those of his first triumphant months as a polemic writer, and, having furthermore lost his secretaryship, he appears to have had no direct communication with Franklin. Not until September 23, 1785, do we find Paine writing again to Franklin, from New York, to welcome the sage back to his native land. Franklin dispatched a cordial note to Paine from Philadelphia on the next day; his letter, however, answers certain inquiries which do not occur in Paine's missive, and suggests that perhaps an earlier message of welcome has not survived.³⁴ This assumption seems even more likely when we find Franklin inditing another letter to Paine on September 27; it is an unmistakable answer to the letter of September 23. We note a blunder of Paine's latest and most careless editor, William M. Van der Weyde, in dating this letter September 27, 1775, and making it read—by means of omissions which

³¹ A summary will be found in *Calendar of Franklin Papers in A. P. S.*, II, 36-37.

³² Cf. *Life*, I, 171.

³³ *Calendar of Franklin Papers*, II, 375; quoted in part by Conway, *Life*, I, 171-172. Two undated notes from Paine to Franklin, from their content almost certainly despatched from Brest about this time, are found among the unpublished Bache Papers. Matters of business routine with scant personal interest, they seem hardly to justify transcription here. One, written "Sunday morning," transmits a request from Col. John Laurens of an inventory of articles shipped on board the *Marquis de Lafayette*, and the wish of Jonathan Williams to recover a French grammar left at Passy. The second, apparently sent with the first, adds a postscript about commercial matters and on behalf of Col. Laurens acknowledges a letter just received from Franklin. In these letters Paine appears to be merely the secretary of his traveling companion Laurens.

³⁴ Franklin's letter of this date states that "Ben [i. e., Benjamin Franklin Bache] is very sensible of your politeness," although no mention of him is made in Paine's message of the twenty-third. The close of Franklin's letter, apparently in W. T. Franklin's hand, remarks also without visible connection: "Mr. Williams whom you inquire after accompanied us to America, and is now here" (*Life*, I, 213 and n.).

destroy its real import—as though it were written in answer to a welcome home following Franklin's return from England on May 5, 1775. When we read also in Mr. Van der Weyde's edition that "the letter has not been published before" and that the original is "in the archives of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia," we are no longer reluctant to quarrel with his accuracy.³⁵ The letter was catalogued long ago by Worthington C. Ford, *List of Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1905), and a full text under the correct date was made available to students by Albert H. Smyth's *Writings of Franklin* (New York, 1905, IX, 467), from the Congressional manuscript.

Paine wrote to Franklin on December 31, 1785, concerning experiments with the combustion of candles,³⁶ and on June 6, 1786, regarding Paine's absorbing hobby of bridge-building.³⁷ He again wrote to Franklin on March 31, 1787, to announce his imminent departure for Europe, and from Paris on June 22 of the same year to report the many hospitalities which Franklin's friendship had procured for him there.³⁸ This letter closes his known correspondence with Benjamin Franklin. Some seven years later, after the sage's death, Paine paid his final tribute to Franklin, in *The Age of Reason*, by describing him as the paragon of rational existence.

A final letter, written after Franklin's death to the philosopher's grandson, may serve to round out the history of Paine's correspondence and relations with that family. It is among the unpublished manuscripts in the Henry E. Huntington Library (HM 6937). The recipient was Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, that notable Democratic-Republican newspaper filled with abuse of Washington's administration; at the time this letter was dispatched

³⁵ For the close verbal correspondence of Paine's letter of September 23, and Franklin's of September 27, see the passage quoted above, n. 5. Van der Weyde, *Life and Works of Thomas Paine* (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1925), I, 25, in dating this letter 1775 omits passages in the original in which Franklin expresses his yearning for "the Ease and Rest" which "I purposed to myself in resigning my late Employment"—words hardly suitable to a Franklin just embarking on the struggle for independence—but adds that his wish has been overruled by "the unanimous Wish of the different parties that divide the State," in calling him to public office (i.e., as Councilor for Philadelphia; cf. Parton, *op. cit.*, II, 542). Van der Weyde also excises Franklin's remarks on his suffering with the stone and the gout, another evidence of his age and state of health when this letter was written. Conway's *Life* makes no mention of this letter by Franklin.

³⁶ Given in full in *Life*, I, 214-215.

³⁷ This letter and an undated note from Paine to Franklin on the same subject will be found in *Life*, I, 218-219.

³⁸ Summary in *Calendar*, III, 346.

to Philadelphia, in the summer of 1795, Bache was in the maelstrom of controversy because he had published the terms of Jay's secret treaty with England. It was in his care that Paine some six weeks later, on September 20, 1795, sent his celebrated letter of reproachful bitterness to President Washington.³⁹ Bache likewise was the publisher in the next year of Paine's *Letter to George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1796; dated Paris, July 30 of that year), in which the disgruntled patriot publicly attacked the President of the United States. At the time that the present letter was written, Paine lived with James Monroe, seeking to recover his health after his term of imprisonment in the Luxembourg. His mention in this letter of U. S. Consul Fulwar Skipwith is of more than casual interest, because Skipwith figures in the Washington correspondence as a man whose connection with certain abusive anonymous letters emanating from Paris was suspected by Monroe's enemies.⁴⁰ The immediate purpose of Paine's communication to Bache was the desired circulation in America of the writer's *Dissertations on First Principles of Government* (Paris: Printed at the English Press, rue de Vaugirard, No. 970). Paine had composed this pamphlet in hopes of influencing the decision of the National Convention of France in respect to the Constitution; the French edition, to which he here alludes, was published as *Dissertation sur les premiers principes de gouvernement* (Paris: Imprimerie de la rue de Vaugirard, an III).⁴¹ The pamphlet included Paine's speech in the Convention on July 7, 1795, and seems to have been published within that month.⁴²

M^r. Bache⁴³

Paris August 5. 1795

Sir

I have lately published a small tract entitled *Dissertations upon first principles of Govern^t*. —As the Press was set in English as well as in

³⁹ *Life*, II, 170-171; for its background see chap. x, "The Silence of Washington."

⁴⁰ In a communication to President Washington on July 2, 1796, Pickering, Wolcott, and McHenry sought to implicate Consul Skipwith and his Chancellor, Major Montflorece, and indirectly their friend the Minister, James Monroe, in the writing of these hostile letters from France; see *Writings of Washington*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, XIII, 216-217 n. Cf. George Morgan, *Life of Monroe* (Boston, 1921), pp. 190 and 200. Skipwith later went to Louisiana, instead of settling in his native Virginia; there he became President of the State Senate, but in the course of his quest after preferment was charged by Andrew Jackson with treachery at the time of the British attack on New Orleans (*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams, Philadelphia, 1875, VII, 201).

⁴¹ This edition, apparently very rare in American libraries, is listed in the *Catalogue générale de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.

⁴² Cf. *Writings*, ed. Conway, III, 256 n.

⁴³ The letter is directed "Benjⁿ. Franklin Bache / Philadelphia / N. America."

French I have struck off an additional quantity. You will receive a Package containing 5000 about three hundred of which are French — Please to advertise them at not more than twenty cents and wholesale according to what the Custom is with you— If there are more than you have occasion for send some to M^r. Fellows of New York—⁴⁴

The Package was sent from the Printers to the care of M^r. Skipwith American Consul at Paris. Two other Packages which belong to the Printer, Mr. Stone, were sent at the same time, intended for M^r. John Vaughn, Philadelphia⁴⁵— I believe that the clerk at M^r. Skipwith's has put your address on all three— should this be the Case, please to rectify the mistake— and send the packages that do not contain the publications that are mine, to M^r. Vaughn— I have enclosed you a letter in the Package— I do not yet learn what vessel they are shipped on, but the Packages were sent to Havre. I hope to be in America before next spring—

Your Friend &c

Thomas Paine

Paine probably desired the circulation of this pamphlet in America because it explained anew his revolutionary creed, and reviewed his old arguments against hereditary right—a right which he suspected Washington and Adams of wishing to perpetuate in the Federalist regime.⁴⁶ His intention of visiting America in the spring of 1796 was doomed to disappointment; in his caustic letter to Washington on September 20, 1795, he alluded to his former “intention to have returned to America the latter end of the present year; but the illness I now suffer prevents me.”⁴⁷ It was not in fact until October, 1802, under the inviting liberalism of President Jefferson, that Paine at long last returned to America—four years after the death of Benjamin Franklin Bache in the yellow fever epidemic of 1798.

⁴⁴ John Fellows of New York, former military officer, sometime newspaper editor, Freemason and deist, was “intimate with Paine during the whole time he lived after returning to this country, and boarded for a year in the same house with him” (Judge Tabor's recollections, in *Life*, II, 398). Paine wrote him letters under the salutation of “Citizen”; cf. *ibid.*, II, 340, 352, 354.

⁴⁵ The name of John Vaughan occurs among Philadelphia merchants at the close of the eighteenth century; see E. P. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People* (Philadelphia, n. d.), I, 438; in the same work he appears also as a stockholder in 1790 in the company which sponsored the “New Theatre” in Philadelphia. Whether he is to be identified with a patriot named John Vaughn (a spelling conformable to Paine's here) who enlisted on December 29, 1776, in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser., II, 902), I do not know.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Dissertations on First Principles of Government* (Paris, 1795), pp. 7 ff., and *Letter to Washington* (Philadelphia, 1796), pp. 11-12.

⁴⁷ *Life*, II, 170.

THE SOURCES OF MERCEDES OF CASTILE

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IN 1840 James Fenimore Cooper entered upon a decade of great creative activity, during the first two years of which he produced two of his most successful romances—*The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer*.¹ Most students of Cooper are agreed on the merits of these last two Leatherstocking Tales; but it is significant that all avoid mentioning in the same breath the novel that appears midway between *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer* in a chronological list of Cooper's works.² For its many literary faults *Mercedes of Castile* has suffered well-deserved neglect. Yet it seems strange that no one has hitherto considered it worthy of study simply for the light which it throws on Cooper's use of source material.

Before looking at specific passages in the text, let us consider briefly the plot of the novel. Luis de Bobadilla, a happy-go-lucky young nobleman, seeks the hand of Mercedes, the ward of Luis's own aunt, Beatriz de Bobadilla, and a favorite of Queen Isabella. Mercedes, however, has promised to marry no man of whom the queen disapproves; and because of his carefree ways, Luis falls under the royal ban. In Columbus's projected voyage to Cathay, Luis sees a means of proving his worthiness. Therefore, when the cause of Columbus finally wins the support of the queen and the expedition actually gets under way, Luis is aboard the *Santa Maria*. On the voyage out the hero plays an insignificant part. But following the discovery of land and the exploration of several islands, he visits a native settlement, where he unwittingly wins the heart of his host's sister, Ozema, and saves her from an unwelcome suitor. To complicate matters, Ozema accompanies the expedition on its return voyage to Spain. Luis's behavior is unimpeachable; but when in the midst of a storm he places about her neck a chain bearing a

¹ *The Pathfinder* was published in London on Feb. 25, 1840, and in Philadelphia on March 14, 1840; *The Deerslayer* was published in Philadelphia on Aug. 27, 1841, and in London on Sept. 7, 1841. See Robert E. Spiller and Philip C. Blackburn, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1934), pp. 107 and 113.

² *Mercedes of Castile; or, The Voyage to Cathay* was published in Philadelphia on Nov. 24, 1840, and in London on Dec. 5, 1840. See Spiller and Blackburn, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

cross, hoping thus to insure her salvation, his remark, "That cross is a sign of undying love," leads Ozema to believe that she is now his wife. The misunderstanding which ensues on their arrival at the Spanish court and the horrified protests of Isabella, Beatriz, and Mercedes threaten to destroy Luis's reputation and his hope of happiness. But at length he proves his innocence, and the situation is straightened out to the satisfaction of everyone but Ozema. After Luis and Mercedes have been married in the room in which she is lying ill and after she herself has accepted Christianity, Ozema calmly announces that she wishes to become Luis's second wife. Amid the consternation thus aroused Ozema expires. At the conclusion of the novel Luis, his roving days over, is a happy husband and father.

In his preface to *Mercedes* Cooper leads his reader directly to the authorities on whom he depends throughout.

So much has been written of late years, touching the discovery of America, that it would not be at all surprising should there exist a disposition in a certain class of readers to deny the accuracy of all the statements in this work. Some may refer to history, with a view to prove that there never were such persons as our hero and heroine, and fancy that by establishing these facts, they completely destroy the authenticity of the whole book. In answer to this anticipated objection, we will state, that after carefully perusing several of the Spanish writers, from Cervantes to the translator of the journal of Columbus, the Alpha and Omega of peninsular literature, and after having read both Irving and Prescott from beginning to end, we do not find a syllable in either of them, that we understand to be conclusive evidence, or indeed to be any evidence at all, on the portions of our subject that are likely to be disputed.³

At the opening of the novel Cooper presents a summary of the political situation in Spain in the year 1469 together with thumbnail biographies of John of Aragon, Henry of Castile, and the latter's family. Here he is attempting to condense into two paragraphs material to which Prescott devotes thirty-three pages.⁴ In the following paragraphs, however, he reverses the procedure. Whereas the biographer says of the movements of Ferdinand of Aragon merely, "It was at length determined that the prince should under-

³ *Mercedes of Castile* (Household ed.; New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), p. ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16; William Hickling Prescott, *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (Boston, 1838), I, 29-62.

take the journey [to Castile], accompanied by half a dozen attendants only in the disguise of merchants,"⁵ the novelist's development of the incident covers ten pages.⁶ The passages describing Ferdinand himself are sufficiently brief to justify quotation. Prescott's will be given first.

Ferdinand was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age. His complexion was fair, though somewhat bronzed by constant exposure to the sun; his eye quick and cheerful; his forehead ample and approaching to baldness. His muscular and well-proportioned frame was invigorated by the toils of war, and by the chivalrous exercises in which he delighted. He was one of the best horsemen in his court, and excelled in field sports of every kind. His voice was somewhat sharp, but he possessed a fluent eloquence; and when he had a point to carry, his address was courteous and even insinuating. He secured his health by extreme temperance in his diet, and by such habits of activity that it was said he seemed to find repose in business.⁷

In Cooper, it will be noted, this description is expanded somewhat by the introduction of comparisons and specific details.

Here the more luxurious Castilians had an opportunity of observing the severe personal discipline by which Don Ferdinand, at the immature years of eighteen, for he was scarcely older, had succeeded in hardening his body, and in stringing his nerves, so as to be equal to any deeds in arms. His delight was found in the rudest military exercises; and no knight of Arragon could better direct his steed in the tourney, or in the field. Like most of the royal races of that period, and indeed of this, in despite of the burning sun under which he dwelt, his native complexion was brilliant, though it had already become embrowned by exposure in the chase, and in the martial occupations of his boyhood. Temperate as a Mussulman, his active and well-proportioned frame seemed to be early indurating, as if Providence held him in reserve, for some of its own dispensations that called for great bodily vigour, as well as for deep forethought and a vigilant sagacity. During the four or five days that followed, the noble Castilians who listened to his discourse, knew not of which most to approve, his fluent eloquence, or a wariness of thought and expression which, while they might have been deemed prematurely worldly and cold-blooded, were believed to be particular merits in one destined to control the jarring passions, deep deceptions, and selfish devices of men.⁸

⁵ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 106.

⁷ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 109.

⁶ *Mercedes*, pp. 16-26.

⁸ *Mercedes*, p. 26.

Early in the second chapter Cooper gives a picture of Isabella which is not strikingly different from that by Prescott; but for less than two hundred words in the latter's description, there are nearly five hundred in the former's.⁹ The companion of Isabella in this scene is Beatriz de Bobadilla, a lifelong friend. The two young women are discussing the various unsuccessful suitors for Isabella's hand, recalling the qualities, chiefly bad, of each. Among them is Don Pedro Giron, Master of Calatrava, whom Isabella had been urged to marry by her half brother Henry, then King of Spain. The mere recollection of her friend's narrow escape stirs Beatriz to impassioned speech: "Oh! what days of anguish were those, my gracious lady, when your knees ached with bending in prayer, that this might not be! But God would not permit it—neither would I! That dagger should have pierced his heart, before ear of his should have heard the vows of Isabella of Castile!"¹⁰ For the melodramatic quality of these lines Cooper is not entirely responsible: he is only touching up a little a passage in Prescott:

She [Isabella] confined herself to her apartment, abstaining from all nourishment and sleep for a day and a night . . . and imploring Heaven, in the most piteous manner, to save her from this dishonor, by her own death or that of her enemy. As she was bewailing her hard fate to her faithful friend, Beatriz de Bobadilla, "God will not permit it," exclaimed the high-spirited lady, "neither will I;" then drawing forth a dagger from her bosom, which she kept there for the purpose, she solemnly vowed to plunge it in the heart of the master of Calatrava, as soon as he appeared.¹¹

The name of Don Pedro Giron completes the catalogue of discarded villains, and Isabella begs Beatriz to speak of more worthy suitors. Coily her friend lingers over the possibilities, reserving until last the one whom Isabella obviously favors: Ferdinand of Aragon.¹² Although Cooper is drawing all of his material from Prescott,¹³ his method is reminiscent of Shakespeare's in the well-known scene in *The Merchant of Venice* in which Portia and Nerissa discuss the former's suitors.¹⁴ But Cooper's attempts at wit, so mild as to be hardly noticeable, are put into the mouth of Beatriz,

⁹ *Mercedes*, pp. 27-29; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 109-110.

¹⁰ *Mercedes*, p. 32.

¹² *Mercedes*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁴ Act I, scene 2.

¹¹ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 85.

¹³ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 84-85.

the less important figure, whereas in Shakespeare, Nerissa merely gives Portia the cue line.

Merchant of Venice

Nerissa: How say you by the French lord, Monsieur Le Bon?

Portia: God made him, and therefore let him pass for a man.

Mercedes of Castile

Beatriz: What if Don Fernando is the most youthful, the handsomest, the most valiant and the most agreeable prince in Christendom, it is no fault of yours, since you did not make him, but have only accepted him for a husband!

If one reads the entire passage in *Mercedes*, he will be struck by the resemblance to the Shakespearean scene.

The greater part of the third chapter is devoted to the meeting between Ferdinand and Isabella, in which they exchange their views about each other, agree upon their duty to Spain, and decide to unite Aragon and Castile by marrying. This scene is introduced in Cooper by the following paragraph.

On the evening of the 15th of October, 1469, however, every obstacle being at length removed, Don Fernando threw himself into the saddle, and, accompanied by only four attendants, among whom was Andres de Cabrera, he quietly took his way, without any of the usual accompaniments of his high rank, toward the palace of John of Vivero, in the city of Valladolid. The Archbishop of Toledo was of the faction of the princess, and this prelate, a warlike and active partisan, was in readiness to receive the accepted suitor, and to conduct him to the presence of his mistress.¹⁵

Prescott, who gives only two pages to the entire incident, begins with a sentence with which the paragraph in *Mercedes* should be compared. "Agreeably to these arrangements, Ferdinand, on the evening of the 15th of October, passed privately from Duenas, accompanied only by four attendants, to the neighbouring city of Valladolid, where he was received by the archbishop of Toledo."¹⁶ The conversation itself, which occupies seven pages in the novel, concludes with a generalizing paragraph containing this sentence: "After the interview had lasted two hours or more, the King of Sicily returned to Duenas, with the same privacy as he had ob-

¹⁵ *Mercedes*, p. 41.

¹⁶ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 108-109.

served in entering the town."¹⁷ Prescott devotes only one sentence to the meeting: "The interview lasted more than two hours, when Ferdinand retired to his quarters at Duenas, as privately as he came."¹⁸ It is evident that Cooper is merely rephrasing the original.

The first five sentences of the fourth chapter will further illustrate the novelist's method of adapting borrowed material:

The morning of the 2d of January, 1492, was ushered in with a solemnity and pomp that were unusual even in a court and camp as much addicted to religious observances and royal magnificence, as that of Ferdinand and Isabella. The sun had scarce appeared, when all in the extraordinary little city of Santa Fe were afoot, and elate with triumph. The negotiations for the surrender of Granada, which had been going on secretly for weeks, were terminated; the army and nation had been formally apprised of their results, and this was the day set for the entry of the conquerors.

The court had been in mourning for Don Alonso of Portugal, the husband of the Princess Royal of Castile, who had died a bridegroom; but on this joyous occasion the trappings of woe were cast aside, and all appeared in their gayest and most magnificent apparel. At an hour that was still early the Grand Cardinal moved forward . . . at the head of a strong body of troops.¹⁹

Except for one detail, all of this is taken from the following passage in Prescott:

It was thought best . . . to anticipate the appointed day of surrender; and the 2d of January, 1492, was accordingly fixed on for that purpose.

Every preparation was made by the Spaniards for performing this last act of the drama with suitable pomp and effect. The mourning which the court had put on for the death of Prince Alonso of Portugal, occasioned by a fall from his horse a few months after his marriage with the Infanta Isabella, was exchanged for gay and magnificent apparel. On the morning of the 2d, the whole Christian camp exhibited a scene of the most animating bustle. The grand cardinal Mendoza was sent forward at the head of a large detachment, comprehending his household troops.²⁰

There is no mention here of the sun. That touch Cooper found in Irving's *Conquest of Granada*.²¹ And to the same writer he is in-

¹⁷ *Mercedes*, p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 110.

¹⁹ *Mercedes*, p. 53.

²⁰ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II, 95-96.

²¹ *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (Philadelphia, 1829), II, 291.

debted for the features of the Alhambra described in this chapter and the next.²²

Not until Luis de Bobadilla, the hero, is introduced does the main action of the novel begin; and up to that point there is nothing in *Mercedes* that cannot be found in Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* or Irving's *Conquest of Granada*. Luis, however, appears to be Cooper's creation. Although two people bearing the name of Bobadilla—Beatriz and Francisco—did play an important part in Columbus's life,²³ no Luis de Bobadilla is mentioned by either Prescott or Irving. Nevertheless, Cooper takes the liberty of identifying his hero with an actual person. In his farewell conversation with Mercedes, Luis explains that at the request of his aunt he is to keep his identity a secret during the voyage, and that if Mercedes hears word of one Pedro de Munos or Pero Gutierrez, she must understand.²⁴ Throughout the months that follow, these names are applied to Luis interchangeably. And when on the night of October 11 Columbus sees a light in the distance, he cries: "Pero Gutierrez—Pedro de Munos—Luis—whatever thou art termed . . . tell me if thine eyes accord with mine. . . ."²⁵ If we turn to the journal of the voyage or to Irving's account, we learn that it was indeed one Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, whom Columbus had called to him.²⁶ Later in *Mercedes* appears the statement that the admiral "was willing that the young noble should pass as the gentleman of the king's bedchamber."²⁷

In the novel, Luis, accompanied by one other Spaniard, goes inland with a young native chieftain to visit the latter's tribe.²⁸ Although this chieftain is not mentioned by name in either the journal or the *Life and Voyages*, Cooper intends him to be in the retinue of the "principal servant" sent by the grand cacique Guacanagari to invite the Spaniards to visit him.²⁹ In Irving's words, "The wind preventing an immediate compliance with this invitation, the admiral sent the notary of the squadron with several of

²² *The Alhambra* (Philadelphia, 1832), I, 50-59; *Mercedes*, pp. 67-69.

²³ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II, 124, 471-485; Washington Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus* (New York, 1828), I, 100; II, 305 ff.

²⁴ *Mercedes*, p. 160.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

²⁶ *Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus to America*, trans. Samuel Kettell (Boston, 1827), p. 33; *Life and Voyages*, I, 146.

²⁷ *Mercedes*, p. 210.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-374.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351; *Personal Narrative*, pp. 157-158; *Life and Voyages*, I, 202-203.

the crew, to visit the cacique."³⁰ Cooper's sentence is strikingly similar: "The wind preventing an immediate compliance, a messenger was dispatched with a suitable answer, and the ambassador returned."³¹ In giving Luis permission to go to the native village, Columbus is departing from his own rigid laws governing the conduct of his companions; therefore Luis leaves secretly. "It is owing to these circumstances," explains Cooper, "as well as to the general mystery that was thrown about the connexion of the young grandee with the expedition, that the occurrences we are about to relate were never entered by the Admiral in his journal."³²

According to the *Personal Narrative* and the *Life and Voyages*, the first conflict between white men and natives which resulted in bloodshed did not occur until more than two weeks later, when the Spaniards stopped at another island.³³ But after a native battle in which Luis engages, Cooper states: "This was the first occasion on which the Spaniards had come to blows with the mild inhabitants of the islands they had discovered, though it is usual with the historians to refer to an incident of still later occurrence, as the commencement of strife, the severe privacy which has ever been thrown over the connexion of Don Luis with the expedition, having completely baffled their sight and superficial researches."³⁴ What is of especial interest here is the fact that Caonabo, the Carib chieftain whom Luis subdued, was the very man who killed the real Pedro Gutierrez.³⁵

Ozema, the princess whom Luis rescued from Caonabo, owes her name to a river which flowed through a part of Hispaniola.³⁶ Although to a certain extent she is a composite of a Princess Anacaona and her daughter, to whom Irving gives much attention in several of the later books of the *Life and Voyages*,³⁷ it would be difficult to trace the story of Ozema to any one source. The tragic consequence of an attachment between a white man and a dark-skinned savage or semisavage had been the theme of a great number of dramas and poems from the middle of the seventeenth century;³⁸

³⁰ *Life and Voyages*, I, 203. ³¹ *Mercedes*, p. 351.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352.

³³ *Personal Narrative*, p. 200; *Life and Voyages*, I, 233.

³⁴ *Mercedes*, p. 372.

³⁵ *Life and Voyages*, I, 335.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 178, and *passim*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 87, 290 ff., and *passim*; III, 139-146.

³⁸ Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage* (New York, 1928), pp. 80-86.

and what can be called the Pocahontas motif appears frequently throughout the eighteenth century.³⁹ Therefore the episode in which Ozema throws herself before Luis in order to halt the attack of his assailants is merely one more in a long line.⁴⁰ It is not likely that Cooper received his inspiration for Ozema from any character in particular.⁴¹

For Mercedes de Valverde, the heroine of the novel, there is no model, except in the previous works of Cooper. She is typical of his female characters. He presents her as one of the noblest and richest heiresses of Castile; the relative, ward, and adopted daughter of Beatriz de Bobadilla; the kinswoman of the Duke of Medina Celi, of the Admiral of Castile, and of even the king himself.⁴² Neither of his sources provided Cooper with the name or the family tree of his heroine; on the other hand, there is nothing to show that she could not have been related to all the important persons mentioned. Since she herself, however, is hardly more than a name in the novel, the reader is not likely to be stirred to an endless search for her prototype.

Anyone who knows the Columbus of the *Life and Voyages* will find the Columbus of *Mercedes* a familiar figure. Occasionally, as Lounsbury has noted,⁴³ the latter takes on an added significance as the mouthpiece of Cooper himself. Two passages, not quoted by Lounsbury, will suffice to illustrate this fact. For example, when Columbus leaves the conference of prelates, he is "filled with the noble character of his own designs, . . . with the bearing of one whose self-respect was not to be lessened by clamour, and who appreciated ignorance and narrowness of views too justly to suffer them to change his own high purposes."⁴⁴ And later we read: "He had thought his motives understood, his character appreciated, and his high objects felt; but he now found himself still regarded as a visionary projector, his intention distrusted, and his promised

³⁹ *Ibid.* Also Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1925), pp. 85, 99-100, 138-140, and *passim*.

⁴⁰ *Mercedes*, p. 371.

⁴¹ The account of Ozema's behavior during Luis's participation in the native games (*Mercedes*, p. 364) may be compared with a scene in Samuel Rogers's *The Voyage of Columbus* (*Complete Poetical Works*, Boston, 1860, pp. 141-142), which was first published in 1812 and with which Cooper was undoubtedly acquainted.

⁴² *Mercedes*, pp. 69, 79, 94.

⁴³ Thomas R. Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston, 1882), p. 382.

⁴⁴ *Mercedes*, p. 110.

services despised. In a word, the bright expectations that had cheered his toil for years, had vanished in a day, and the disappointment was all the greater for the brief but delusive hopes produced by his recent favour."⁴⁵ That these remarks as well as those given by Lounsbury describe the relations between the novelist and his countrymen in 1840 Cooper would probably be the last to deny; but there is no reason to believe that he wished us to see in Columbus merely a Byronic dramatization of himself. His main object is to reproduce Columbus as he found him described by Irving, and he is careful to take no liberties.

According to the London *Athenaeum*, "The one character in the book is the shrewd, courageous, covetous Sancho Mundo."⁴⁶ Although this mercenary sailor is Cooper's own creation, he is connected in the novel with an actual historical incident. On a visit to an island village Sancho is presented with "certain dark-looking and dried leaves," which, in imitation of the natives, he rolls "in the form of a rude segar," puts into his mouth, and lights. A number of puffs result in his "reeling back to his party with the pallid countenance of an opium chewer, and a nausea that he had not experienced since the day he first ventured beyond the bar of Saltes, to issue on the troubled surface of the Atlantic."⁴⁷ "This little scene," adds Cooper, "might be termed the introduction of the well-known American weed into civilized society. . . . Thus did Sancho . . . become the first Christian tobacco smoker."⁴⁸

That incident, like most of the other scenes in the novel, is based on an entry in the journal and a passage in Irving.⁴⁹ The purely fictitious episodes are few. Of these the most exciting is the fight on the island. In this one instance Cooper deliberately makes a choice which gives his plot precedence over the narrative of Columbus. He sends Luis inland to meet Ozema and to engage in battle with Caonabo instead of permitting him to be on hand, as is the Pedro Gutierrez of the journal, when the *Santa Maria* is wrecked.⁵⁰ If he had thus taken matters into his own hands more frequently, he might have created a piece of fiction that would have been more pleasing to his contemporaries.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴⁶ *Athenaeum*, No. 686, p. 1005 (Dec. 19, 1840).

⁴⁷ *Mercedes*, pp. 348-349.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁴⁹ *Personal Narrative*, p. 78; *Life and Voyages*, I, 181.

⁵⁰ *Personal Narrative*, pp. 165-169; *Mercedes*, pp. 352-375.

The average reader today would be quick to echo the opinion of the reviewer who said: "On the whole, this novel is a poor invention, altogether feeble in execution, and contains but little to repay the reading of it through."⁵¹ But the student of American fiction, or more particularly of the American historical novel, will not find a careful reading of *Mercedes* wholly boring. At a time when publishers are flooding the world of books with volumes of fictionized history, many of which have been compiled by writers who respect facts and sources, an examination of this novel, unique in method among the works of the first important American novelist, is of considerable interest.

⁵¹ *The Iris or Literary Messenger* (New York), No. III, p. 137 (Jan., 1841).

THE GENESIS OF BILLY BUDD

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AFTER a decade of prolific authorship as a young man, Herman Melville abandoned his pen in mid-career for reasons not yet altogether clear. The long quietus of thirty years that followed was unbroken save by two ventures into poetry: the thin and halting *Battle Pieces* (1866) and the unhappy *Clarel* (1876). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find literary aspiration still latent in the former author who, nearing his biblical allotment of years, emerged from the New York Custom House in 1886. It is still more surprising that for his swan song he turned back once more to prose and to his first chosen and best milieu, the sea. For even at the close of his early period of authorship he had been casting about for new *matière* in the miscellaneous tales and essays collected in two posthumous volumes, in *Pierre* and *The Confidence Man*, and in most of *Israel Potter* and *The Piazza Tales*—forsaking the sea for philosophy, grasping at straws, and finally turning in desperation to verse. But now the harassed artist of the fifties had made his peace with ambition. *Billy Budd, Foretopman*, was the child of his old age, completed less than six months before his death.¹ Melville was in reminiscent mood.

Several facts in the record of these last years witness this nostalgia for his seafaring days. The first use that Melville made of the leisure afforded by his retirement was to collect some sea pieces he had been writing during the past ten years, add a few new ones, and issue them in 1888 as a slender poetic offering entitled *John Marr and Other Sailors*, in a privately printed edition of twenty-five copies. The prose introduction, setting forth the career and old age of the fictitious sailor, seems but thinly disguised autobiography. John Marr, says Melville, retired from the sea about the year 1838 and went to live on what was then a "frontier-prairie." After a while his wife and child died, leaving him a lonely old man and an alien in this landlocked place. No one liked to listen to his

¹ Melville died on Sept. 28, 1891; the MS is marked, "Finished—April 19, 1891" (*Billy Budd and Other Prose Pieces*, ed. Raymond Weaver, London: Constable & Co., 1924, p. 1. This was the first printing of *Billy Budd*.)

garrulous reminiscences of old shipmates: "As the growing sense of his environment threw him more and more upon retrospective musings, these phantoms, next to those of his wife and child, became spiritual companions, . . . lit by that aureola circling over any object of the affections in the past, for reunion with which an imaginative heart passionately yearns."² He then invokes them in the verses that follow.

That "John Marr" was the fictional counterpart of the author is further witnessed by the fact that some of the reminiscences are directly traceable to Melville's experiences on board the frigate *United States* in 1843-1844. Though most of the shipmates recalled bear obviously fictitious names—"Jewsharp Jim," "Jack Genteel," and "Rigadoon Joe"—there is a eulogistic sketch of Thomas ap Catesby Jones, who was the commodore of the Pacific squadron during Melville's cruise,³ and in his description of "Captain Turret"

Kentuckian colossal, who, touching at Madeira,
The huge puncheon shipped o' prime *Santa-Clara*

there is an unmistakable reference to Captain James Armstrong, the commander of the frigate *United States* in 1843-1844, who was actually "a stalwart Kentuckian, about six feet tall and large in proportion," and a heavy drinker, even as he had been pictured previously in *White-Jacket* under the sobriquet of "Captain Claret."⁴ Finally, one of the most detailed of John Marr's reminiscences—the account of the boatswain's mate, a Finn, who got drunk ashore, defied the deck lieutenant on his return to the ship, and though spared corporal punishment was put in the brig—seems to have been drawn directly from an episode of naval discipline that occurred on board the frigate *United States* the very day of Melville's enlistment; for at Honolulu, August 18, 1843, the logbook records, after floggings of several ordinary seamen for drunkenness: "Suspended Boatswain [William Hoff] from duty for disrespectful con-

² *John Marr and Other Sailors, with Some Sea Pieces*, included in *Poems* (London: Constable & Co., 1924), p. 202. All references to Melville's works are to the standard edition by Constable.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207. See *Journal of a Cruise in the Frigate United States, 1842-1844, with Notes on Melville*, ed. Charles Anderson (Durham, N. C., 1937), *passim*.

⁴ *John Marr*, pp. 213, 215; see Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122, and Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), pp. 362-363.

duct to the Officer of the Deck—by replying . . . that he would receive no more orders in this ship, or words to that effect.”⁵

Thus there can be no doubt that at the time Melville published *John Marr* in 1888 he was exercising the privilege of old age, indulging in fond memories of his own seafaring years of nearly half a century before. And before this year was out, on November 16, 1888, he began the composition of *Billy Budd*, which he dedicated to “Jack Chase/ Englishman/ wherever that great heart may now be/ here on earth or harboured in paradise/ captain of the main-top/ in the year 1843/ in the U. S. frigate/ ‘United States’”—and John J. Chase had actually been his shipmate as well as the hero of *White-Jacket*.⁶ Perhaps the memory of Chase prompted Melville to give his story a setting in British naval history.

The scene is laid in the momentous year of 1797, made memorable by the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in April and May, which had come near crippling the British fleet at the very outset of the Napoleonic Wars. Some of the much needed reforms had been accomplished by the Great Mutiny, according to Melville, but among the abuses that remained was the traditionally sanctioned practice of impressment. With discontent still lurking and the officers apprehensive, H. M. S. *Indomitable* set sail to join the Mediterranean fleet in the summer of 1797. Lacking her full complement of men, she stopped a homeward-bound English merchantman, the *Rights-of-Man*, and impressed for services as a foretopman Billy Budd, a handsome young sailor of twenty-one. After junction with the fleet had been effected, the *Indomitable* was dispatched on scouting duty, not only because of her superior sailing qualities but because of the reputation as a prompt disciplinarian of her commander, Edward Fairfax Vere. During one of these expeditions, at her furthest remove from the Mediterranean station, word reached the captain of discontent among the impressed seamen and of an incipient mutiny led by Billy Budd. A drumhead court was called forthwith. The extraordinary character of the accused and of his offense urged delay and even clemency, but the insecurity of discipline since the Great Mutiny demanded the immediate application of the severest punishment. Consequently, the next morning at

⁵ *John Marr*, pp. 213-216; Log Book, *United States* (MS in the Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.).

⁶ *Billy Budd*, p. 2; Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas*, p. 366.

sunrise Billy Budd was hanged from the yardarm. Returning to join the fleet, the *Indomitable* fell in with the French line-of-battle ship, *l'Athéiste*, not very far distant from Gibraltar. After a desperate engagement, in which Captain Vere was killed, the enemy ship was captured.

What can be said of the accuracy of Melville's historical frame? There was no ship in the Royal Navy at this period named the *Indomitable*.⁷ But that the novelist was merely casting about for a typical rather than an actual name is indicated by a variant frequently appearing in the manuscript;⁸ hence, when he finally made his choice, he may have had in mind the *Irresistible*, the *Invincible*, or the *Indefatigable*—all British ships of war in active service in 1797. Two circumstances seem to point to the last named as the original of Melville's *Indomitable*. For early in 1797, just about the time of Billy Budd's impressment from the *Rights-of-Man*, the *Indefatigable* had fallen in with a ship named *les Droits de l'Homme* (though it was a French rather than an English vessel).⁹ Again, in October, 1797, a date that coincides with that assigned by Melville to the engagement between Billy Budd's ship and the French ship *l'Athéiste*, this same *Indefatigable* fought and captured a French ship (though it was the *Ranger* and not *l'Athéiste*) off Tenerife in the Canary Islands—not very far distant, in nautical measure, from Gibraltar.¹⁰ Thus accurately was the *Indomitable* drawn from history.

Likewise, none of the names that Melville gives to his officers appear in the lists of the period, but a model may be suggested for one of them, Captain Edward Fairfax Vere. Since he plays a leading role as Billy Budd's commander and executioner, not only is he fully described but his naval career is detailed. According to Melville, he had seen considerable service, had been in various engagements, and had distinguished himself as a good officer, strict disciplinarian, and intrepid fighter. More specifically: "For his gallantry in the West Indian waters [during the American Revolu-

⁷ William Laird Clowes *et al.*, *The Royal Navy: A History* (London, 1897), Vol. IV, mentions no such ship, nor do the records in the Admiralty Office, London. There was, however, a French ship named the *Indomptable*.

⁸ *Billy Budd*, p. 63 n. The variant name was the *Bellipotent*.

⁹ Clowes, *op. cit.*, IV, 303; John Knox Laughton, *Sea Fights and Adventures* (London, 1901), pp. 166-181.

¹⁰ Clowes, *op. cit.*, IV, 555. I have found no French ship *l'Athéiste*.

tion] as flag-lieutenant under Rodney in that admiral's crowning victory over De Grasse, he was made a post-captain."¹¹ The accuracy with which these facts fit the naval career of Sir William George Fairfax seems to be something more than mere coincidence. A contemporary biographical sketch not only assigns the same general traits of character to Fairfax that Melville assigns to Vere, but particularizes a strikingly similar career during the American Revolution. As a lieutenant in command of the cutter *Alert*, Fairfax captured the French lugger *Coureur* in 1778, and was promoted to the rank of post captain, frigate *Tartar*, January 12, 1782, remaining on the West Indian station till the close of the war: "The complete Defeat given to the French Fleet under the Orders of the Count de Grasse by that of Britain commanded by Lord Rodney, an Action that will ever remain classed among the great and memorable Events in the History of the World, having completely paralysed every attempt, and even hope, of successful Enterprise on the part of the Enemy, no opportunity whatever was afforded to Captain Fairfax, while thus employed, of adding more material and substantial honours to those which he had before so honestly and justly acquired."¹² Thus Sir William George Fairfax seems clearly to have been the original of Captain Edward Fairfax Vere, the fictitious surname having probably been added for the sake of the epithet "Starry Vere," which Melville admits was taken from a poem by Andrew Marvell.¹³

Even as Billy Budd's frigate and commander were drawn from history, so was the setting for the mutiny itself. It is historically true that even the rigorous manner in which the Great Mutiny had been put down in April and May, 1797, had not entirely cured the

¹¹ *Billy Budd*, p. 26.

¹² Anon., "Biographical Memoir of Sir William George Fairfax, Knt.," *Naval Chronicle*, V, 477-478 (Jan.-July, 1801). See also, "Biographical Memoir of Adam Duncan, Lord Viscount Duncan," *Naval Chronicle*, VI, 97 ff. (July-Dec., 1801), for an account of the part played in the Nore and Spithead mutinies by Captain Fairfax, as commander of the *Venerable* (Melville's *Indomitable*?), on board which one of the chief mutinous plots was discovered; and Clowes, *op. cit.*, IV, 461, for an account of the action off Algeciras, Bay of Gibraltar, between the English squadron (including the *Venerable*, Captain Fairfax) and the French (including the *Formidable* and the *Indomptable*) in July, 1801, which though coming four years later may have suggested to Melville the engagement with the French ship *l'Athéiste* off Gibraltar with which the career of Billy Budd's commander, Captain Vere of the *Indomitable*, is brought to a close.

¹³ *Billy Budd*, pp. 27-28. See "Upon Appleton House," *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1927), I, 81, 231.

disaffection in the Royal Navy, for the evil of impressment, one of the principal complaints, had not been remedied.¹⁴ Consequently, several small mutinies did break out in the Mediterranean fleet in the summer of 1797, in July and again in September, which were promptly put down by the officers, who were apprehensive of a repetition of the Nore and Spithead calamities.¹⁵ And one of the most serious of these, resulting in the execution of three ringleaders, had occurred in the squadron off Cádiz, the locale of Melville's story.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the records of these abortive outbreaks are too meager to afford any check on the details of *Billy Budd*.

One historical clue remains to be investigated. At the conclusion of his story Melville makes reference to what purports to be a contemporary account of the actual mutiny in which his hero was implicated: "Some few weeks after the execution, among other matters under the head of *News from the Mediterranean*, there appeared in a naval chronicle of the time, an authorised weekly publication, an account of the affair."¹⁷ A garbled version of Billy Budd's execution follows, solemnly inclosed in quotation marks. An extensive search for the authority here cited has proved unavailing. There was, in fact, an authorized periodical entitled *The Naval Chronicle* published from 1799 to 1818, though it was a monthly rather than a weekly; but it carried no section headed "News from the Mediterranean," and its twenty volumes shed no further light on the problem of the reality of the events in *Billy Budd*.¹⁸ That this was merely a literary device used by Melville to give an air of authenticity to his tale is indicated by a note in the manuscript at the bottom of the page: "Here ends a story not unwarranted by what happens in this incongruous world of ours."¹⁹

¹⁴ Anon., "Old Stories Re-Told: Mutinies in the Navy," *All the Year Round*, XVIII, 519-523 (Nov. 23, 1867).

¹⁵ Conrad Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797* (Manchester, 1913), p. 252.

¹⁶ William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain* (London, 1847), II, 60-61. According to Clowes, *op. cit.*, IV, 324, the Mediterranean had been abandoned by the British in 1796 and was not again effectually occupied by them during 1797, scarcely a ship venturing east of Gibraltar; hence Melville was accurate in placing his action in the waters to the west of the straits.

¹⁷ *Billy Budd*, p. III.

¹⁸ For aid in this search I am indebted to the kind offices of Captain D. W. Knox, Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.; V. H. Paltsits, New York Public Library; Martin A. Roberts, Library of Congress; Miss Phina Schrader, British Museum and Admiralty Office, London.

¹⁹ *Billy Budd*, p. 112.

The modern student should not be surprised at finding Melville's citations of authorities misleading. But, knowing the author's penchant for working from sources, he re-examines the text for less obvious clues. Melville habitually took his setting from one source and the substance of his narrative from another. The framework of *Billy Budd* has been shown to fit reasonably well into British naval history. But what of the story itself? For *Billy Budd* is not merely the account of a threatened mutiny; it is a psychological analysis of characters in which outward event serves the simple purpose of machinery. Claggart, the villain of the piece, is depicted at great length as an innately evil man; whereas the hero, Billy Budd, is sketched in diametrically opposite character as the archetype of "innocent." His very presence on board the ship aroused a spontaneous antipathy in Claggart, so that his sadistic nature could not rest until it played the serpent to this young Adam. As master-at-arms, in charge of the ship's discipline, it was an easy matter for him to lay a trap for the guileless Billy and have him brought up for trial as the leader in a mutinous conspiracy. The final upshot of this villainy was that the Handsome Sailor, though entirely innocent of the mutiny charged against him, suffered an ignominious death by hanging from the yardarm. No materials for such a story can be found in any of the voluminous records of the Great Mutiny of 1797.²⁰ Yet some actual event must have suggested this theme of the tragic clash of inimical characters, for Melville declares solemnly that *Billy Budd* is "no romance," that it is "a narration essentially having less to do with fable than with fact."²¹

A casual reference in the text itself points to his possible source of inspiration. In deciding the fate of the young foretopman, the drumhead court was instructed by Captain Vere that the exigencies of naval discipline must take precedence over all humanitarian considerations. Discussing their dilemma under these harrowing circumstances, Melville remarks:

Not unlikely they were brought to something more or less akin to that harassed frame of mind which in the year 1842 actuated the com-

²⁰ Besides official records and standard histories, the following more popular contemporary accounts have been searched: *Annual Register*, XXXIX, 207-222 (London, 1800); *Britannic Magazine*, V, 95, 123, 158, 192, 223, 245 (London, 1797); and *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXVII, 605-608, 703-704 (July, Aug., 1797).

²¹ *Billy Budd*, pp. 18, 109.

mander of the U. S. brig-of-war *Somers* to resolve, under the so-called Articles of War, Articles modelled upon the English Mutiny Act, to resolve upon the execution at sea of a midshipman and two petty officers as mutineers designing the seizure of the brig. . . . History, and here cited without comment. True, the circumstances on board the *Somers* were different from those on board the *Indomitable*. But the urgency felt, well warranted or otherwise, was much the same.²²

What did Melville know of this "mutiny" on the *Somers*, and how much akin were the real and the fictitious stories?

News of this sensational affair had reached the Pacific Squadron a few months before Melville's enlistment in the United States Navy. Gunner W. H. Meyers of the *Cyane* recorded in his journal at Matzatlán, Mexico, March 13, 1843: "Read Bennett's Herald with an account of the 'murder' of Midshipman Spence[r] and 2 men belonging to the Brig of War *Somers* with an account of the insanity of the Captain."²³ This news Melville certainly heard as soon as he stepped on board the frigate *United States* at Honolulu in August of that year, for such a story would form the staple of ship's gossip for many a month. And from Meyers's words the nature of that gossip can be conjectured: the hanging of Spencer for a mutiny of which he was innocent was equivalent to his "murder," and the commander who brought it about was "insane"—so preposterous seemed the affair to a gunner in Melville's squadron.

Upon his return to America in the fall of 1844, Melville heard the full details of Spencer's execution, for it had caused a national scandal, and the public prints were full of it. The facts in brief were as follows. The United States brig *Somers*, Captain Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, was returning from a transatlantic cruise in November, 1842, when Lieutenant Guert Gansevoort approached the commander and informed him that a conspiracy existed on board to capture the ship, murder the officers, and convert her into a pirate, and that Midshipman Philip Spencer, a lad of eighteen, was at the head of it. Spencer and two of his fellow seamen were put in irons, and a drumhead court was summoned. For all their investigations the officers could find nothing but circumstantial evidence, beyond that reported by the lieutenant. Two of the prisoners protested their innocence; Spencer acknowledged all of the charges

²² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²³ MS in the possession of Nelson B. Gaskill, Washington, D. C.

immediately, but declared the whole affair was a joke, and so to the impartial observer today it obviously was—an innocent though indiscreet boyish prank. The commander, however, fearful of a general disaffection among the crew, instructed the court to find them guilty. As a result, they were hanged from the yardarm. A naval court of inquiry, ashore, justified the action.

The American public, on the other hand, was divided in opinion, some defending Captain Mackenzie, some attacking him. But one feature is common to all the contemporary accounts of the affair: without exception their discussions turned on the analyses of the characters of the accused and the accuser. The most notable of these, and one that Melville surely saw, was a brochure of a hundred pages by Fenimore Cooper, excoriating the commander for his unmanly conduct and vigorously asserting the innocence of the midshipman. Besides his general estimate of the leading characters, there are a number of points in his argument that Melville might have taken note of. Young Spencer, averred Cooper, "all admit was a great favorite of the crew,"²⁴ even as Billy Budd was the idol of his shipmates. Yet the commander's attitude toward him was, without foundation, one of "prejudice which met the young officer, almost as soon as he crossed the gangway of the brig to join her, and which followed him till he crossed it again with the fatal whip around his neck"²⁵—an attitude paralleled by the antipathy conceived against Billy Budd from the outset, not by his commander but by the master-at-arms, Claggart. Finally, even this transfer of the role of villain from the captain to the informer and accuser may have been suggested to Melville by Cooper; for the latter, after examining all the evidence against Spencer, dismisses it as inconclusive since it all came from one man, adding: "upon the head of this officious lieutenant, in common with that of the commander, the blood of the executed rests."²⁶

Thereby hangs a tale, though its full significance can only be conjectured. For the lieutenant whom Cooper calls "officious" and

²⁴ [James Fenimore Cooper,] *The Cruise of the Somers: Illustrative of the Despotism of the Quarter Deck and of the Unmanly Conduct of Commander Mackenzie* (New York, 1844), p. 49.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25. For full details of the affair see *Proceedings of the Naval Court Martial in the Case of Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, . . . to which is annexed An Elaborate Review by James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1844), 344 pp.

whose character, merged with that of Commander Mackenzie's, would thus seem to be the original of the villain Claggart, was no less a person than Guert Gansevoort, Herman Melville's first cousin. It has recently been pointed out that this intimate kinsman probably implanted in Melville his first desire to see the watery part of the world.²⁷ Now it would seem that the part he played in a sea-tragedy in 1842 furnished the germ of his author-cousin's last novel. That Melville was thinking of Lieutenant Gansevoort during the year he began writing *Billy Budd* is evidenced by two references to him in the volume of poems he published in 1888, *John Marr and Other Sailors*. One is merely a reference to his heroism in the Mexican War.²⁸ The second is much more significant, though here he is disguised under the sobriquet of "Tom Tight":

Tom was lieutenant in the brig-o'-war famed
 When an officer was hung for an arch-mutineer,
 But a mystery cleaved, and the captain was blamed,
 And a rumpus too raised, though his honour it was clear.
 And Tom he would say, when the mousers would try him,
 And with cup after cup o' Burgundy ply him:
 "Gentlemen, in vain with your wassail you beset,
 For the more I tippie, the tighter do I get,"
 No blabber, no, not even with the can—
 True to himself and loyal to his clan.²⁹

Apparently, there was an inside story of the *Somers* mutiny that explained much, and cousin Guert Gansevoort knew all about it. Though he was tight-lipped toward the inquisitive, he may have told Melville enough about the character of Commander Mackenzie to furnish a living model for the sadistic Claggart. But this, unfortunately, has only the validity of reasonable inference.

With such a good story at his disposal, why did Melville wait nearly half a century before putting it to literary use? Quite naturally, the very connection of his cousin with the affair would have been sufficient to make him forego even such tempting material during his lifetime; and at the time of Gansevoort's death in 1868,³⁰ Melville had given up authorship. When in his old age he returned to the pen, however, there was no such need for reticence. And

²⁷ Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas*, pp. 16-17.

²⁸ *John Marr*, p. 207.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³⁰ "Genealogical Tree of the Gansevoort Family," MS in the New York Public Library.

as he cast about among his naval reminiscences of forty-five years before, there were reasons why Spencer's execution in 1842 came first to his mind. For after long years of decent burial, this old story was revived in June, 1888, by a popular article in the *American Magazine* entitled "The Mutiny on the Somers."³¹ In less than six months—on November 16, 1888—Melville had begun the composition of *Billy Budd*.³²

Certain specific details in this article evidently caught Melville's eye, for they are echoed in his fiction: "Without creating suspicion or in any way changing in his demeanor towards Spencer, the first lieutenant narrowly watched every movement he made"—conduct paralleled by Claggart's snooping on Billy Budd.³³ And again:

On Saturday, November 26, Lieutenant Gansevoort, executive officer of the "Somers," stepped into the cabin and informed Captain Mackenzie that a conspiracy existed on board, . . . with Midshipman Spencer as chief of the pirate band. Mackenzie was disposed at first to treat the subject lightly. . . . He tried to impress upon his executive the terrible nature of the alleged crime, which might involve the question of life or death. But Gansevoort replied calmly that he fully realized the importance attached to every word he uttered, and at once laid before his superior some astounding information.³⁴

This scene, especially in the matter of the attitudes of the commander and the informer, is distinctly reminiscent of the interview in which Claggart, the master-at-arms, first approached Captain Vere with his charges against Billy Budd.³⁵ Further, the officers assembled for the trial on board the *Somers* consisted of the first lieutenant, the surgeon, the sailing master, and the purser; whereas the drumhead court in *Billy Budd* included exactly the same officers, except that the captain of marines was substituted for the purser.³⁶ Finally, according to the author of this popular article, Spencer at the time of his execution "begged Mackenzie's forgiveness"; similarly, Billy Budd went to his death with a prayer on his lips, "God bless Captain Vere!"³⁷

³¹ Lieutenant H. D. Smith, "The Mutiny on the Somers," *American Magazine*, VIII, 109-114 (June, 1888).

³² *Billy Budd*, p. 1.

³³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 110; *Billy Budd*, pp. 36-42, 48-51.

³⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁵ *Billy Budd*, pp. 63-70.

³⁶ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 112; *Billy Budd*, pp. 76-80.

³⁷ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 113; *Billy Budd*, p. 102.

In general attitude, however, this article was entirely sympathetic with the captain, justifying his conduct and praising him for his prompt discipline: "Commander Mackenzie was not a man to flinch in the hour of danger or emergency. He had carefully studied the situation, and he adopted what appeared to him the best and most politic course, . . . the safety of the vessel requiring . . . immediate execution." The writer was determined to redeem a character blackened half a century before when "Fenimore Cooper, with his fertile brain and biting sarcasm, wrote a scathing article and review of the case, handling Mackenzie in an exasperating manner."⁸⁸ And so Melville determined to deal with Billy Budd's commander, whose conduct is pictured as blameless of all the villainy attributed to Mackenzie by Cooper, and possibly whispered in Melville's ear by Gansevoort or picked up from ship's gossip on board the frigate *United States* in 1843. This villainy he incorporated in another character, Claggart, in the much more complicated form of a sadism amounting almost to insanity.

While Melville was in the very process of creating his characters, another popular article on the *Somers* mutiny appeared which may have been of considerable help to him. In a fictionized version entitled "The Murder of Philip Spencer," running to three installments in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* during the summer of 1889, Gail Hamilton entered the controversy with a sensational attack on Commander Mackenzie and a melodramatic announcement of her purpose: "In the name of truth, which is eternal; of justice to the dead, which is the highest duty that can devolve upon the living; the verdict of history should be reversed, and everywhere it should be told and known that Philip Spencer and his two companions were illegally and unjustifiably put to death, absolutely innocent of the crimes wherewith they were charged."⁸⁹ Through page after page she re-examined the evidence of guilt and dismissed every bit

⁸⁸ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-114. During the preceding year the *Magazine of American History*, XVII, 128-131 (Feb., 1887), had reprinted Commander Mackenzie's own defense of his conduct, which Melville may also have seen.

⁸⁹ Gail Hamilton [pseud. for Abigail R. Dodge], "The Murder of Philip Spencer," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, VII, 134 (June, 1889). There is some question as to the timeliness of this article, for the manuscript of *Billy Budd* indicates the following data: Begun, Nov. 16, 1888; revision begun, March 2, 1889; finished, April 19, 1891. Thus a first draft had been written before this tirade was launched, but there is no way of knowing just how full it was or how much the story was changed in the revision. All that is known is that the former was dashed off in three and a half months, whereas two years of labor were expended on the latter.

of it as preposterous, declaring: "All the mutiny that ever was, ever had been, or ever gave sign of being on board the ill-starred ship . . . was the mutiny that came from the mouth of the purser's steward"—Lieutenant Gansevoort's informant.⁴⁰ The sentence, she declared, was already decided upon before any trial was held: "The question of guilt was not agitated, but assumed. The doom of the prisoners was made to turn, not upon the issue of investigation by lawful methods, but upon an outside act which lay wholly in the power of the commander. . . . All their investigations had discovered no mutiny. . . . They had found exactly what they had at the beginning—a yarn of Spencer's, . . . fully and promptly acknowledged, but declared to be a joke."⁴¹ Yet Captain Mackenzie was in such feverish haste to carry out the execution that he brought all sorts of pressure on his council "to urge expedition" in making the decision which he had practically dictated to them.

No actual charge is made that the commander was insane, but the author described his trepidation as amounting almost to a mania. And many of the epithets applied to him are worthy of note: he used "false and insulting words to Spencer," he was "the father of lies," his character was "brutal" and "sinister," and he was actuated throughout by an "inferentially fertile imagination."⁴² Perhaps Melville found here the original suggestion for his much more intricate villain Claggart, who, though he passed for a sane and highly respectable man, was nevertheless one of the most dangerous of madmen. Such "lunacy," says Melville, "is not continuous, but occasional; evoked by some special object; it is secretive and self-contained, so that when most active it is to the average mind not distinguished from sanity."⁴³

Again, though Spencer is not held up as an entirely blameless lad, he is not only declared to be innocent of the mutiny charged against him, but his innocence is that of a generous, light-hearted youth. And at the climax of the tragedy, when Commander Mackenzie announced to him that he had been condemned to die, the writer in the *Cosmopolitan* rose to rhapsody: "All that relieves the terrible shadow cast upon human nature by this sad drama, all it contains of manhood or of humanity, dates from this moment; and every glimmer of firmness, courage, unselfishness, greatness of soul,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 346-348 (Aug., 1889).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254, 255 (July, 1889).

⁴³ *Billy Budd*, pp. 45-47.

that in any measure lights up the somber stage, shines out from the face of Philip Spencer . . . the true Philip Spencer came forth, the heroic soul he was born to be, glorified already by the light shining upon him through the opening gates of death."⁴⁴ In this character sketch Melville could have found at least a suggestion for his hero Billy Budd, whose youthful good looks, high health, gay spirits, and free heart make of him the archetype of "innocent"—an unsophisticated child-man with the rectitude of an animal, incapable of willing malice or even, in his simplicity, of conceiving its existence.⁴⁵

Thus it would seem to be something more than coincidence that an old story dragged from the oblivion of half a century should appear in two popular articles, treating the "mutiny" on the *Somers* as a drama of inimical characters, in the very years that Melville was composing his farewell story of the sea. It seems more than probable that Melville read these accounts of a sea-tragedy in which his intimate kinsman Guert Gansevoort had played a leading and somewhat ambiguous role, and that he found in them at least the germ of his novelette *Billy Budd*. Moreover, they would have touched off reminiscences of his own seafaring days, as has been demonstrated, since the news of the *Somers* affair had reached the Pacific Squadron during the period of Melville's enlistment, and since it is known further from the evidence of *John Marr and Other Sailors*, the volume of poems published in 1888, that Melville was already in reminiscent mood this year. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that one of his two leading characters, the master-at-arms to whom he transferred the role of villain, certainly owes something to the actual master-at-arms on the frigate *United States* in 1843-1844.

In *White-Jacket*, in a chapter entitled "A Knave in Office in a Man-of-War,"⁴⁶ Melville gave a full-length portrait of this character who, in the language of the seaman, was "the two ends and the middle of the thrice-laid strand of a bloody rascal. . . . It was also asserted that, had Tophet itself been raked with a fine-tooth comb, such another ineffable villain could not by any possibility have been caught." Exposed as the ringleader of a vicious system of smug-

⁴⁴ Gail Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 346 (Aug., 1889).

⁴⁵ *Billy Budd*, pp. 7-14, 17, 48-51. A third article on this affair appeared the following year, but it did not contain likely material for Melville (see R. C. R., "Reminiscences of Philip Spencer and the Brig 'Somers,'" *United Service*, IV, 23-36, July, 1890).

⁴⁶ *White-Jacket*, chap. xlv.

gling liquor on board, selling it to the men, and then as chief police officer having them flogged for drunkenness, he was temporarily cashiered. As a messmate, he then came under Melville's closer scrutiny. He was not only "obsequious" and "deferential" toward the officers, but in his bearing toward the men he was a "persuasive, winning, oily . . . Mephistopheles":

Besides, this Bland, the master-at-arms, was no vulgar, dirty knave. In him . . . vice *seemed*, but only seemed, to lose half its seeming evil by losing all its apparent grossness. He was a neat and gentlemanly villain, and broke his biscuit with a dainty hand. There was a fine polish about his whole person, and a pliant, insinuating style in his conversation, that was, socially, quite irresistible. . . . Nothing but his mouth . . . and his snaky, black eye . . . betokened the accomplished scoundrel within. But in his conversation there was no trace of evil; nothing equivocal; he studiously shunned an indelicacy, never swore, and chiefly abounded in passing puns and witticisms. . . . His intrepidity, coolness, and wonderful self-possession . . . bespoke no ordinary man.⁴⁷

This model Melville must have had in mind when he drew his later portrait of the gentlemanly villain in Claggart, whose "superior capacity" and "ingratiating deference" to officers had gained him his promotion. Rather handsome on the whole, "his hand was too small and shapely to have been accustomed to hard toil" and his "face was a notable one; the features . . . cleanly cut as those on a Greek medallion," all except the chin and the eyes which "could cast a tutoring glance." "But his general aspect and manner were so suggestive of an education and career incongruous with his naval function, that when not actively engaged in it he looked like a man of high quality, social and moral, who for reasons of his own was keeping incognito." To a "more than average intellect, . . . secretive and self-contained," he added an "even temper and discreet bearing." His villainy, cloaked in the "mantle of respectability," was "without vices or small sins," never "sordid or sensual."⁴⁸

More significant than this similarity of outward seeming is the likeness of the two men in their deeper more inward natures. Of his actual shipmate Melville said in *White-Jacket*:

I, for one, regarded this master-at-arms with mixed feelings of detestation, pity, admiration, and something opposed to enmity. I could not but

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 231-232.

⁴⁸ *Billy Budd*, pp. 31-35, 45-47.

abominate him when I thought of his conduct; but I pitied the continual gnawing which, under all his deftly donned disguises, I saw lying at the bottom of his soul. . . .

Besides, a studied observation of Bland convinced me that he was an organic and irreclaimable scoundrel, who did wicked deeds as the cattle browse the herbage, because wicked deeds seemed the legitimate operation of his whole infernal organization. Phrenologically, he was without a soul. . . . What, then, thought I, who is to blame in this matter?⁴⁹

This seems, indeed, like the first draft of the more complex villain in *Billy Budd*, whose deeply melancholy expression made Melville pity him one moment as "the man of sorrows . . . [who] could even have loved Billy but for fate and ban" and fear him the next as one whose cool sagacious mind was but the "ambidexter implement for . . . the accomplishment of an aim which in wantonness of malignity would seem to partake of the insane." In short, he was the victim of a "natural depravity" (in the Platonic rather than the Calvinistic sense): "the mania of an evil nature, not engendered by vicious training or corrupting books or licentious living, but born with him and innate."⁵⁰ Finally, one is even tempted to surmise that Melville took the name of John Claggart from the actual master-at-arms on board the frigate *United States* in 1843, who appeared on the muster roll as "John C. Turner."⁵¹

No such original for the hero himself, Billy Budd, can be found among Melville's shipmates as recorded in *White-Jacket*, unless it be assumed that the Handsome Sailor was a youthful idealization of Melville's friend Jack Chase, to whom he dedicated his last book. Indeed, there are a number of traits in the characters of the two to warrant this assumption: their common possession of high health and fine looks, their frankness and candor, their free and easy but courteous manners, their good hearts which made them loved by the men, and their excellent seamanship which made them admired by the officers. More specifically, in both cases their masculine beauty was marred by a single defect, Chase by the loss of a finger, Budd by a tendency to stammer; and again, though both were of obscure origin, they were obviously gentlemen and, it is hinted, "by-blows" of some nobleman.⁵² Finally, the setting of the

⁴⁹ *White-Jacket*, pp. 233, 234.

⁵⁰ *Billy Budd*, pp. 45-47, 60-62.

⁵¹ MS in the Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.

⁵² *White-Jacket*, chap. iv; *Billy Budd*, chap. ii.

story in British naval history would seem to stem from Melville's recollections of Jack Chase, the "true blue Briton."

This change of milieu, however, was at least partly for the sake of dramatic effect. For the story of the mutiny on the *Somers* needed considerable touching up to make it suitable material for the literary artist. It probably furnished nothing more than the germinal idea of *Billy Budd*, which differs from Spencer's tragedy in as many ways as it agrees. A hasty execution based on equivocal evidence through fear of impending mutiny in 1842, a peaceful era in American naval history, could only be charged to hysteria—at best fit subject matter for melodrama, even as Gail Hamilton treated it. But when placed at the outset of the Napoleonic Wars, in the summer after the Great Mutiny of 1797, the clash of humanitarian impulse with disciplinary necessity raises such apprehensiveness to the level of heroic drama. Again, Melville heightens the tragedy by a slight alteration of the high estate from which the innocent hero fell to ignominious death. The hanging on the *Somers* created a national scandal because the young midshipman was the son of the Honorable John C. Spencer, Secretary of War under President Tyler.⁵³ For such sensational circumstances Melville substituted a quieter, more Greek theme: Billy Budd, the foundling of obviously noble descent, it is intimated, was the natural son of Captain Edward Fairfax Vere, who was thus faced with the historic dilemma of choosing between patriotic duty and paternal love.⁵⁴

At this point Melville made his most effective dramatic invention. Dropping altogether the *Somers* affair, with its purely sentimental story of a naïve youth hanged for mutiny of which he was not guilty, he turned to the more classical device of tragic irony. Convinced of Billy Budd's innocence, Captain Vere ordered the sadistic Claggart to repeat his charges in the presence of the accused, apparently hoping thereby to expose the villainy of the accuser. Dumbfounded by the magnitude of the lie and unable to find words to defend himself, Billy Budd struck the master-at-arms a mortal blow. The case no longer turned on the charge of mutiny, admittedly false. But striking and killing a superior, regardless of how pure the intention or how justified the act, was proscribed in

⁵³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵⁴ This is the implication I find in the following passages: *Billy Budd*, pp. 15-16, 91-92, 110.

the Articles of War as a capital offense; and with the Nore and Spithead fresh in memory and a French fleet in the offing, discipline could not be relaxed. The execution of the Handsome Sailor transcended anything to be found in the mutiny on the *Somers*.

Thus out of his reading in 1888 and reminiscences of his personal experiences in 1843-1844, heightened through dramatic invention, Melville compounded his last story according to an old formula that had served him throughout his literary career. But he had gone a long way in his technique of composition from the cruder beginnings in *Typee* (1846). In *Billy Budd*, borrowing is reduced to a minimum, and imaginative invention counts for almost everything that makes it, as one critic declares, a masterpiece in miniature.

NOTES AND QUERIES

JOHN ADAMS, MATTHEW ADAMS, MATHER BYLES, AND
THE NEW ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL

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IT HAS BEEN generally recognized that among the essays which appeared in the *New England Weekly Journal* from April 10, 1727, to April 1, 1728, were several by the distinguished Tory clergyman, Mather Byles.¹ What has not been known, however, is that another of the contributors to the series was a Colonial poet of perhaps even more importance than Mather Byles; namely, John Adams, Harvard, 1721. The third contributor was Matthew Adams, his uncle.

The evidence in proof of the authorship of the essays by this group of men is somewhat complicated. The last essay in the series, on April 1, 1728, makes clear the fact that there were three authors. It explains that the distinguishing marks of their contributions were *C, E, L, O, I, Z, A* for one; *M, U, S, Æ* for another; and *R, T, X* for the third. It also notes that the last set of letters was used by "the Author of the Paraphrase upon the 104 Psalm." When this evidence is coupled with that offered by Byles's *Poems on Several Occasions* (Boston, 1744) and Adams's posthumous *Poems on Several Occasions* (Boston, 1745), it appears that the first set of letters distinguished Byles's contributions, and the third those of John Adams, since both men had published poems in the *New England Weekly Journal* which were later included in the volumes published under their names. The identification of Matthew Adams as the third contributor rests on the evidence of a manuscript note in a copy of *Poems by Several Hands* (Boston, 1744) now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The copy in question is from the library of Mather Byles, and the note appears to be in his handwriting. In the volume is included a poem entitled "A Poetical Lamentation, occasioned by the Death of his late Majesty King

¹ Cf. Lyon N. Richardson, *A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1781* (New York, 1931), p. 54 n. For a fuller discussion see Mather Byles, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Boston, 1744), ed. C. Lennart Carlson (New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1940), Introduction, pp. xiii ff.

George the First," which is noted as being "By Mr. Mat. Adams." This poem is identical with one of the same title printed in the *New England Weekly Journal*, No. XLVII, February 12, 1728, over the signature "M."

Of the fifty-two essays (and poems) which these men contributed to the *New England Weekly Journal* at least nineteen were by John Adams, fourteen by Matthew Adams, and fourteen by Mather Byles. Either of the contributors may have written one or more of the several unsigned essays in the series.

Taken as a whole, this group of essays is one of the most distinguished and varied which appeared in any of the Colonial newspapers during the first half of the eighteenth century. It included a number of poems by Byles, two poems by Adams, and the usual run of visions, character sketches, and critical comments on the manners and opinions of the day. Though none of the essays is great literature, most of them are excellent for their place and time. They are well written, coherent, and fully readable statements of opinion, quite the equal of most English periodical essays of the same period. To the extent that a few of them betray a striking theological bias, they are provincial. Judged as a body, however, they are an integral, if minor, part of the English literary tradition in which the Colonies were still sharing actively.

LOWELL'S "BRETON LEGEND"

LOUISE POUND

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LOWELL'S patriotic philosophical poem "The Washers of the Shroud," upholding Unionism, was written in October, 1861, and published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in November of that year (VIII, 641-643). A familiar passage in a letter he wrote to his friend Charles Eliot Norton (*Letters*, I, 318) throws light on its inception: "I had just two days allowed me by Fields for the November *Atlantic*, and I got it done. It had been in my head some time, and when you see it you will remember my having spoken to you about it. Indeed, I owe it to you, for the hint came from one of those books of Souvestre's you lent me—the Breton Legends."

So far as I know, the legend to which Lowell referred has never

been identified. The French novelist, Émile Souvestre, who was at the height of his fame in Lowell's day, was deeply interested in folklore and wished to preserve the traditional tales of the peasantry of his native region. He published *Les derniers Bretons*, descriptive of the manners and customs of the Bretons, in 1836, and in 1844 *Le Foyer Breton: contes et récits populaires*, in which the folklore and various other features of his beloved Brittany are served up in story form. The tale which gave Lowell his "hint" was, I believe, "Les Lavandières de Nuit" ("The Washerwomen of Night") of *Le Foyer Breton*. Souvestre represented it as told to him by a peasant from Guisseny in the province of Léon: its subtitle is "Récit du Guissien." Some of Souvestre's Breton tales are of happy character. Others, like that of the Washerwomen, show a turn for the weird, setting forth especially the fate of those who brave evil spots at midnight. Lowell did not owe much more than his "hint" to his Breton source. He changed the fateful washerwomen from whom he had the title of his poem into the "ancient three," "the implacable three," Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos of Greek mythology and Urth, Verthandi, and Skuld of Norse. He, however, like the protagonist in Souvestre's story, walked at night under a "pallid moon."

An initial footnote in Souvestre's tale states that the belief in the phantom washerwomen is current through all Brittany but especially among the Léonnais. The story is of a youth, Wilherm Postik, whose father died without receiving absolution and who cared only for forbidden pleasures. God sent him warnings but to no avail. When the time came for the annual feast of the dead, held to pray souls from purgatory, instead of attending to pray for his ancestors Wilherm went to the neighboring town and did not make the return journey from his roistering till midnight.

But his heart was hot with drink. He sang aloud along the road songs which usually even the boldest would only whisper; he passed the crucifixes without lowering his voice or lifting his hat; and he struck the thickets of broom with his stick right and left, without fear of wounding the souls which fill the ways upon that day.

At a crossroads he took the short way back, though it was haunted by the dead, instead of the long way which was under the protection of God. As he passed an old ruined manor, the weathercock said to him, "Go back, go back, go back!" When he reached a

cascade, the water murmured, "Do not pass, do not pass, do not pass!" As he reached a worm-eaten oak, the wind whistling through the branches repeated, "Stay here, stay here, stay here!" At last he entered the haunted valley. Soon he heard the sound of a cart covered with a pall, coming toward him. He recognized it as a hearse, driven by a phantom, who said, "I am seeking Wilherm Postik."

The merry Wilherm burst into laughter and went on.

As he reached the little hedge of blackthorn which led into the washingplace, he saw two women in white who were hanging linen upon the bushes.

"Upon my life! here are some young girls who are not afraid of the dew," said he. "Why are ye out so late, my little doves?"

"We are washing, we are drying, we are sewing," answered the two women at once.

"But what?" asked the young man.

"The shroud of a dead man who still walks and talks."

"A dead man! Good Lord! What is his name?"

"Wilherm Postik."

The fellow laughed louder than at first, and went on down the rough little path. But as he advanced, he heard more and more distinctly the blows of the wooden beetles of the Washerwomen of Night against the stones; and soon he could see them themselves pounding their grave-cloths as they sang the sad refrain:—

"Unless a Christian our fate can stay
We must wash and wash until Judgment Day;
To the sound of the wind in the moon's pale light,
We must wash and wash our grave-cloths white."

As soon as they saw the merry fellow, all ran up to him and cried out, offering him their winding sheets and asking him to wring them out.

In the end, Wilherm's encounter with the Washerwomen of Night brings him a weird death at their hands.

A NOTE ON TOM BLANKENSHIP (HUCKLEBERRY FINN)

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IN THE EARLY summer of 1861, after the outbreak of the Civil War had closed the Mississippi and had ended Samuel Clemens's career as a river pilot, Clemens went up to his native city of Hannibal, Missouri, for a brief visit.¹ About eight years had passed since his residence at Hannibal, but many of his old friends and acquaintances were still there, particularly Sam Bowen, now also an unemployed pilot, Ed Stevens, Ab Grimes, and others.²

Of this visit, cut short by his brief enlistment in a loosely organized Rebel "battalion," Mark Twain has furnished only a meager glimpse. He does not mention his boyhood friend Tom Blankenship, whom he memorialized as Huckleberry Finn, though Tom was also present in Hannibal during these days, apparently unconcerned about the burning issues of disunion and slavery then tormenting the city and apparently as devoid of "respect for order . . . and ordinance" as in the days when he was the youthful Clemens's idol of freedom and unrestraint.

Speaking of Tom Sawyer's band, but particularly of Tom Blankenship, Albert Bigelow Paine says: "They were not vicious boys; they were not really bad boys; they were only mischievous, fun-loving boys—thoughtless, and rather disregardful of the . . . rights of others."³ Mark Twain's description of the outcast Tom is particularly vivid:

In Huckleberry Finn I have drawn Tom Blankenship exactly as he was. He was ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed; but he had as good a heart as ever any boy had. His liberties were totally unrestricted. He was the only really independent person—boy or man—in the community, and by consequence he was tranquilly and continuously happy, and was envied by all the rest of us. We liked him; we enjoyed his society. And as his society was forbidden us by our parents, the prohibition trebled and quadrupled its value, and therefore we sought and got more of his society than of any other boy's. I heard four years ago, that he was justice of the peace in a remote village in Montana, and was a good citizen and greatly respected.⁴

¹ "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed," *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 193 (Dec., 1885).

² Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 164.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 55.

⁴ Mark Twain's *Autobiography* (New York, 1924), II, 174.

While the report that Tom Blankenship eventually became a good and respected citizen is entirely within the range of probability, it appears that during the spring and early summer of 1861, immediately preceding the period of Sam Clemens's visit to Hannibal, Tom was in difficulty with the local authorities and that his reputation was growing steadily worse. The following item in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* of April 21, 1861, reveals the nature of the difficulty:

Marion [County] Circuit Court.—The special term of the Circuit Court of this County has been in session at Palmyra the past week. Tom Blankenship [*sic*] charged with stealing turkeys in this city, and John Leas for stealing a coat plead guilty, and were each sentenced to thirty days imprisonment in the county jail.⁵

The circuit court record of Marion County shows that Thomas Blankenship was brought before the court on April 15 and that his imprisonment in the county jail at Palmyra began the same day.⁶ It also reveals that the state of Missouri was at the expense of \$81.80 for Tom's case.⁷

Out of prison three weeks Tom again made news in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* of June 4, 1861. The item appears as follows:

At his Old Business.—We understood that Tom Blankenship, who lay in the Palmyra jail nearly all winter for stealing turkeys, entered the garden of Mr. Trumbo in the west end of town, Sunday night, and stole all his onions. What is it that Tom wouldn't steal? We expect next to hear of his "cabbaging" all the garden vegetables in town, after which he will probably go out in the country and "hook" a few wheat and oat fields.

It is to be observed, in the item above, that while the editor does not positively assert that Tom stole the onions, there is no doubt in his mind that Tom did steal them and that Tom is an old offender.

In the next item, the last in which Tom Blankenship figures in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* for 1861,⁸ the editor obviously im-

⁵ For permission to examine the 1861 file of the Hannibal *Daily Messenger*, the author is indebted to Franklin J. Meine of Chicago, President of the Chicago Mark Twain Society, who owns the file.

⁶ The Circuit Court Record, Marion County, Mo., XII, 163 (1860-1863). The Marion County jail at Palmyra, erected in 1858, still stands.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, 174.

⁸ June 12.

plicates Tom without other evidence than that Tom is the most likely person in Hannibal to suspect and that here, as previously, food has been stolen:

Wholesale Thieving.—On Sunday night last, 9th inst., Dr. Hilton had two valuable horses stolen from him. On the same night, Squire Bush had a large lot of bacon, a 6 gallon jar of butter, and a wash tub full of clothes stolen; Mr. Ball, a large quantity of sugar and 10 gallons of molasses, and Mr. Arnold had his chicken house robbed.

All the above named gentlemen live in the same neighborhood, a short distance above town on the Bay. Tom Blankenship must have concluded to make another descent and effectually clean out the Bay; or at least the surplus products of the inhabitants.

However reputable a citizen Tom Blankenship may have become in later years, it is apparent, from the items above, that in 1861⁹ he was still unregenerate, that he had not yet cultivated a respect for law and order, and that his company was still a matter of reproach to the good citizens of Hannibal. It is also apparent that when business collapsed in Hannibal during the early months of the war, as the river closed, the problem of getting food was as urgent for Tom as ever it had been in the early days when he and Sam Clemens were playmates.

MARK TWAIN AS A PILOT

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THE PURPOSE of this note is to record a conception of Mark Twain's success as a pilot somewhat different from that which seems generally to be accepted. This is certainly not presented as a refutation of the more flattering view; it is offered simply as evidence that from excellent sources there may be secured quite a different picture. For those who may attempt a further interpretation of the complex personality of Samuel Clemens and a study of the works in the light of what the man himself was, this brief material may be of some importance.

⁹ While the 1860 census report of Hannibal, Mo., does not mention Tom Blankenship, the 1850 report (see entry No. 726) lists both Tom and Sam Clemens. Tom's age is given at nineteen, Sam's at fourteen. The five years' difference in age may have been an additional reason why Sam Clemens's mother objected to the companionship of the two boys.

Perhaps the person best qualified to decide whether Mark Twain possessed the "memory," "good and quick judgment and decision," and "cool, calm courage that no peril can shake," which the author himself set up as the requisite characteristics for a successful pilot¹ was Captain Horace Bixby, the great pilot from whom Clemens received a large part of his training.

"Not only was he a pilot, but a good one," Captain Bixby said of Mark Twain, according to Albert Bigelow Paine.² The old pilot went on to contradict those who had disparaged Clemens's piloting and to insist that "Sam was a fine pilot, and in a day when piloting on the Mississippi required a great deal more brains and skill and application than it does now."³ The general impression of Mark Twain's ability and of the personal qualities reflected in his ability seems to be in accord with the Bixby evaluation quoted by Paine. Yet, on other occasions, Captain Bixby appears to have given to those with whom he talked a somewhat different conception of the kind of pilot Clemens became.

When Bixby, well past eighty, came to Memphis during the high water in the spring of 1912, Mr. Joe Curtis, now River Editor of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, talked with the old pilot and master about Mark Twain. Mr. Curtis recalls that Bixby had this to say: "But Sam was never a good pilot. He knew the Mississippi River like a book, but he lacked confidence. This developed in him soon after he came on my boat. It never left him. . . . No sir, Sam Clemens knew the river, but being a coward, he was a failure as a pilot."⁴

In a letter to the writer of this note, Mr. Curtis states that Bixby told him about Mark Twain as a pilot "in conversation and not for publication," but that since Bixby had been dead for a long time he felt free to put his judgment into print "inasmuch as it coincided with similar remarks I've heard about Twain from old time pilots." Mr. Curtis goes on to relate:

I once met up here in Memphis with Hugh Nixon, a steamboat pilot before the Civil War. In fact, he was a pilot in the late forties and claimed to have known Mark Twain. He said he was not a very good

¹ Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), p. 114.

² *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 146.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Commercial Appeal*, June 23, 1939. Mr. Curtis has kindly given the author permission to quote from his article and from his letter.

pilot because he lacked confidence in himself. When river men speak of such a thing about another pilot, they do not intend to be disrespectful of him. It's merely the way they put it.⁵

Captain Bixby was an intimate friend of Captain Rees V. Downs, veteran pilot and master, United States Steamboat Inspector at St. Louis from 1912 to 1918, and the first superintendent of the Federal Barge Line. Captain Downs, now a resident of Memphis, has written in regard to Bixby's feeling about Mark Twain: "He was very proud of Samuel Clemens, and would brag on his ability as a student and master of detail, but he would never mention his skill as a navigator and could not be drawn out on this subject."⁶

It is quite possible, of course, that Mark Twain himself may have been responsible for the impression that he was not a successful pilot because he lacked courage, confidence, and judgment. From his accounts in *Life on the Mississippi*⁷ of his difficulties as a "cub" may have grown the conception that he never became a good pilot. Whatever its origin, however, such an impression does exist in certain quarters.

⁵ Letter to author, Sept. 24, 1939.

⁶ Letter to author, Nov. 20, 1939.

⁷ Chaps. ix and xiii.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

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- David Belasco: A Study of His Major Contributions to the American Theatre. Joseph Donald Batcheller (Minnesota, Speech).
- Edmund Burke and America: An Historical Study. George S. Wykoff (Chicago, History).
- The Life and Works of James Branch Cabell. Ralph Potter (Indiana).
- The Life and Writings of Mary Hartwell Catherwood. Robert Price (Ohio State University).
- Christopher Pearse Cranch: A Literary Biography. F. DeWolfe Miller (Virginia).
- J. M. L. Curry. Richard C. Peck (Peabody).
- The Diary of Ignatius Donnelly: Edited with Introduction and Notes. Theodore L. Nydahl (Minnesota, History).
- Anatole France in the United States. Marjorie Rickard (Columbia, French).
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- The Serious Element in the Writings of Mark Twain. John Q. Hays (California).
- A Study of Mark Twain's Thought in the Maturing of His Genius. Frank C. Flowers (Louisiana).
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- Whitman's War Years. George L. Sixbey (Yale).

- A Study of the Life and Works of Augusta Evans Wilson. William P. Fidler (Chicago).
Zola aux États-Unis. Albert J. Salvan (Columbia, French).

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Drama in San Francisco Before the Civil War. Frank Fenton (Stanford).
Environment in Western Poetry. Rena V. Grant (California).
Four Negro American Contributors to American Literature: Paul Lawrence Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, and W. E. B. DuBois. Leslie C. Collins (Wisconsin).
French Opinion of the United States under the Second Empire. S. Copans (Brown, French).
French Translations in the United States up to 1820. Forrest Bowe (Columbia, French).
A History of Baltimore Literary Magazines, 1790-1940. W. Bird Terwilliger (Maryland).
A History of Texas Magazines. Imogene Bentley (Peabody).
A History of the Theatre in St. Paul from the Beginning to 1930. Frank M. Whiting (Minnesota, Speech).
A History of the Theatre in the District of Columbia from the Beginnings to 1835. Benson S. Alleman (Virginia).
The Influence of Darwinism upon Major American Writers, 1859-1910. John Mills Turner (Harvard).
The Literary Tenets of the New Humanists, Particularly Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt. Bess Dworsky (Minnesota).
The Phonetic Accuracy of Dialect Representation in American Literature. James N. Tidwell (Ohio State University).
Public Lectures in New York, 1851-1878. Robert J. Greef (Chicago).
Science and the Modern American Poets. Hyatt Howe Waggoner (Ohio State University). Note: Reported in January, 1938, as "Science in American Literature, 1890-1900."

- The Social Philosophy of American Industrialism, 1840-60. Wilfred Cassel (Chicago, History).
 The Speech of the Hudson Valley. Jane Daddow Hawkins (Brown, Linguistics).
 Treatment of American Labor in the American Novel. Arnold Shukotoff (New York University).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- American Emotional and Imaginative Attitudes Toward the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, 1803-1850. Henry Nash Smith (Harvard, American Civilization, 1940).
 A Biographical Study of Hamlin Garland from 1860-1895. Eldon C. Hill (Ohio State University, 1940).
 Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865: A Study in Acculturation. Oscar Handlin (Harvard, History, 1940).
 Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States (1784-1858). Robert Gorman (Catholic University, 1939).
 The College Professor in America: A Study of Attitudes Expressed in General Magazines, 1890-1936. Claude Charleton Bowman (Pennsylvania, Sociology, 1937).
 The Contribution of B. O. Flower and *The Arena* to Critical Thought in America. David A. Dickason (Ohio State University, 1940).
 A Critical Analysis and Appraisal of the Work of Brigham Young as a Public Speaker. Chester J. Myers (Southern California, Speech, 1940).
 The Direct and Indirect Contribution Which the American Negro Has Made to Drama and the Legitimate Stage, With the Underlying Conditions Responsible. Frederick W. Bond (New York University, General Literature, 1939).
 E. T. A. Hoffmann in England and America. Henry Zylstra (Harvard, Comparative Literature, 1940).
 The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844). Vincent F. Holden (Catholic University, 1939).
 Eben Sperry Stearns. Eugene M. Waffle (George Peabody, 1940).
 Emerson and Catholicism. Charles C. Charvat (Iowa, 1940).
 Emerson and Doctor Channing. Lenthil H. Downs (Iowa, 1940).
 Emerson as an American. Ernest L. Sandeen (Iowa, 1940).
 The French Theatre in New York since 1900. A. Hamilton Mason (Columbia, French, 1939).
 The Functions of Setting in the American Short Story of Local Color, 1865-1900. Robert D. Rhode (Texas, 1940).

- Fundamental Characteristics of German-American Lyrics. Herbert Franz Ferdinand Schaumann (Cornell, German, 1936).
- A Historical Dictionary of Baseball Terminology. E. J. Nichols (Pennsylvania State, 1939).
- A History of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, 1786-1861. J. Cutler Andrews (Harvard, History, 1938).
- The Human Interest Story: A Study of Popular Literature. Mrs. Helen McGill Hughes (Chicago, History, 1939).
- An Investigation of the Sources of Early Architectural Design in Ohio. Frank John Roos, Jr. (Ohio State University, Fine Arts, 1938).
- James Ralph. Robert Webb Kenny (Brown, 1932).
- Lafcadio Hearn, Critic of American Life and Letters. Ray McKinley Lawless (Chicago, 1940).
- The Last Phase of Hawthorne's Art. Edward Davidson (Yale, 1940).
- Leaves of Grass* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. Dorothy Frederica Mercer (California, 1933).
- Le Chevalier de Cambray in America, 1778-1783. Valentine John Giamatti (Harvard, Romance, 1940).
- The Literature of Science in the American Colonies from the Beginnings to 1765. Winthrop Tilley (Brown, 1932).
- Louise Imogen Guiney. Sister Mary A. Murphy (Fordham, 1939).
- Montesquieu and American Opinion, 1760-1801. Paul Merrill Spurlin (Johns Hopkins, Romance Languages, 1936).
- An Objective Study of the Oratory of Robert Green Ingersoll. Harold L. Brewster (Southern California, Speech, 1940).
- Phases of Literary Nationalism in America, 1855-1900. Notley S. Maddox (Ohio State University, 1940). Reported earlier as "Nationalism and Democracy in American Literature, 1865-1900."
- Poe's Debt to Gautier, Pascal, and Voltaire. Mrs. Mozelle Scaff Allen (Texas, 1940).
- Post-vocalic *r* in New England. Bernard Bloch (Brown, Linguistics, 1935).
- A Prophet of Liberty: Wendell Phillips. (Oscar Sherwin (New York University, 1940).
- [Provost] William Smith and His Group. Albert Gegenheimer (Pennsylvania, 1940).
- The Sealsfield Controversy: A Study of Publication Conditions Affecting the Reception in America of the Works of Charles Sealsfield. Nanette Margretta Ashby (Stanford, 1939).
- The Society of Friends and the American Revolution. Arthur Jacob Mekeel (Harvard, History, 1940).

- Some German Influences in American Philosophical Thought from 1800-1850. Alvin S. Haag (Boston University, Philosophy, 1939).
- Some Social Principles of Orestes A. Brownson. Sister M. Felicia Corrigan (Catholic University, Sociology, 1939).
- Terror in Prose Fiction to 1845. Mrs. Benedict E. (Marion Payzant) Hardman (Minnesota, 1939).
- The Theory of the Future: A Study of the Idea of Progress in the Literature of the American Revolution. Rutherford Earle Delmage (Cornell, 1937).
- Theories of Fiction in America, 1789-1870. L. P. Leland (Ohio State University, 1940). A revised topic. See progress report of January, 1940.
- Theodore Dreiser: The Man and His Times; His Work and Its Reception. Mrs. Marie Hadley Bower (Ohio State University, 1940).
- Timothy Dwight, Man-of-Letters. His Ideas and Art. Lewis E. Buchanan (Wisconsin, 1940).
- Tolstoy's Fiction in England and America. J. Allan Smith (Illinois, 1939).
- The United States as Seen in the Leading French Literary Periodicals, 1900-1930. Delbert L. Gibson (Wisconsin, Romance, 1939.)
- Whitman's Backgrounds in the Life and Thought of His Time. Mrs. Alice Lovelace Cooke (Texas, 1933).
- Whitman's Early Years. Joseph J. Rubin (Yale, 1940).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

- The "Bad Man" in American Fiction, 1865-1900. Randall V. Mills (California).
- Bibliographical Materials for a Literary History of Joaquin Miller. John Stewart Richards (California).
- The Early Life of James Russell Lowell to 1848. Irving Burack (Brown).
- George Ticknor et la France. Germaine Lorentz (Columbia, French).
- George William Curtis. Franklin T. Walker (Virginia).
- Intellectual Fads in Nineteenth-Century America. Gerald Langford (Virginia).
- The Life Quest of Herman Melville. E. R. Coulson (Stanford).
- Literary Culture in New York during the Knickerbocker Period (1800-1840). Walter DeBlois Briggs (California).
- The Prestige of Rousseau in America. Wilford Cross (Columbia).
- Ralph Waldo Emerson as Poet. John Howard Birss (Columbia).

The Rise of Literary Criticism in America. Clinton A. Neyman (George Washington).

Ten Spokesmen of Progress in Nineteenth-Century America (Bryant, Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Holmes, Howells, Mark Twain, Henry Adams). James O'Donnell (Wisconsin).

Mr. O'Donnell died early in 1940.

Thomas Paine. Marshall F. Edwards (Harvard, History).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Philip J. Brockway has ready for publication in *University of Maine Studies* during the current year his "Sylvester Judd (1830-1850): Novelist of Transcendentalism."

Professor Alexander Cowie, Wesleyan University (Conn.), is now bringing to a conclusion his history of the American novel to 1880.

Mrs. Winifred L. Dusenbury (University of Maine) has completed and ready for publication a thorough study of the sources of Thomas Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia*.

W. B. Gates (Texas Technological College, Lubbock) is well advanced in a study of the pre-Civil War theater in Mississippi. The section dealing with the Natchez theater before 1840 is completed. Other parts of the study deal with the Natchez theater from 1840 to 1860, the Vicksburg theater, and the Jackson theater.

William M. Gibson (University of Chicago) and George Warren Arms (Mary Washington College) have undertaken the compilation of a bibliography of William Dean Howells.

Dr. Carl Leonard Johnson (Oregon) has his monograph on Longfellow as Smith Professor at Harvard completed and ready for publication.

Professor James Mark Purcell (Marquette) is engaged on a series of Melville studies. One of these, Melville's vocabulary, has been accepted for publication. Studies of Melville's library and diction are in progress.

Professor Harry R. Warfel (Maryland) is engaged on a volume in the Pennsylvania Lives Series (University of Pennsylvania Press) to be entitled Charles Brockden Brown, Novelist-Editor, 1771-1810.

Professor Harold Wentworth (West Virginia University) has his proposed American Dialect Dictionary well toward completion. The book, planned as a volume of about 500 pages, will be the first assimilation of American dialect in readily available form. Suggestions and information will be welcomed by Professor Wentworth.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT: *An Intellectual History Since 1815*. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1940. xi, 452 pp. \$4.00.

It was inevitable that someone should attempt to apply the Lovejoy technique of intellectual history to the development of American democratic theory. Mr. Gabriel, in so doing, has produced a stimulating and provocative study of nineteenth-century America, with the faults and blessings of that technique upon its head.

The first task of such an historian is to select two or three dominant ideas which have exhibited themselves during a given period of time and among a specific people or peoples, but in a wide variety of contexts and with many incidental variations in their manifestations. The ideas here selected are individualism, moral law, and progress. Of these three is the theory of American democracy composed in its pure form.

The second task of our historian is to select the pre-eminent exponents of these ideas from various fields of thought. In this instance Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, and Whitman represent the men of letters; Royce and William James the philosophers; F. J. Turner and Henry Adams the historians; Lincoln, Calhoun, Theodore Roosevelt, and Wilson the politicians; Gladden, Bliss, Sheldon, and Rauschenbusch the men of religion; Field and Holmes the jurists; Carnegie the man of wealth; Ward, Morgan, and Sumner the natural scientists; Henry George, Bellamy, Veblen, Ely, and the Saratoga revolters the social scientists; and a number of others. The array of names is imposing.

The third task is to distinguish a limited number of definable manifestations of the ideas of individualism, moral law, and progress as illustrated and promoted by these men and their lesser followers. This is accomplished by studies of the "pre-Sumter" period, the period of the War, the Gilded Age, the Age of Progress, and the immediate past. Thus are passed in review the movements of nationalism, the Gospel of Wealth, economic and scientific determinism, philosophical neorationalism and idealism, the religion of humanity, the Progressive movement in politics, and the humanistic and positivist movement in contemporary economics.

The result of this classification and analysis of ideas as currents is a single, more or less clearly defined theory. Mr. Gabriel sees the central doctrines of American democracy as by-products of the eighteenth-century enlightenment, dividing at the time of the Civil War into two

main currents: that which led into what he calls "humanism," and that which followed the stream of materialistic determinism to its logical and defeatist results. His sympathy is with the former trend and he sees in conclusion a survival of the faith because of its very adaptability to complex and conflicting influences. "The democratic faith is, then, in essence, a philosophy of the mean. It proclaims that, within broad limits of an ordered nature, man is master of his destiny." Thus he implies that the modern American democrat may still fight against extremists and fanatics in church, state, society, his own soul, and other nations as he has persistently fought for a century and a half. The cause is not yet lost. The historian himself stops short of raising the banner over the armies of the present, but he brings it up to the firing line.

The timeliness of such a study is obvious, and its fundamental soundness is not easy to question. Even the casual student of America's recent past could reach a similar conclusion on far less evidence. Nor would an exhaustive analysis of every thinker and every trend of thought in the American mind bring a result very different. The value of the book is that it produces sufficient evidence to establish a position without belaboring or overloading the main issue.

The weakness of the method is that its selection of materials is highly eclectic and its organization of them largely arbitrary. Many men and movements of equal importance with those discussed are merely referred to in passing or are ignored. Chronological sequence gives way in the interest of following through developments in a given field of thought and of conforming to the pattern of the text. Finally, there is some confusion between the view of the historical critic in retrospect and that of the mass mind at the time that events took place and thoughts were expressed. The historical critic evaluates Melville's skepticism highly, but his contemporaries almost wholly ignored it. The present-day economist does not attach the same importance to the Single Tax program of Henry George as did his almost fanatical followers. Mr. Gabriel is sometimes in the past with the men and movements he is discussing, sometimes in the present expressing his own and the contemporary view of past events.

But to say these things is not to assign his book to the discard. For some years we have had a sufficiency of literal and objective historical research and writing. The appearance of an appraisal of American democratic thought in historical perspective is welcome, even though the technique employed is insufficiently developed as yet to make such work definitive as well as provocative.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE: *Analyzed by Decades*. By G. Harrison Orians. With Supplementary Chapters by M. L. Williams and W. L. Werner. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. vi, 314 pp. \$1.50.

This book is a syllabus, emphasizing literary types, movements, and centers, outstanding themes, foreign influences, prominent periodicals, and chronology. Its strength lies in the inclusion of much direct evidence of the aims and difficulties of American authors, and in its convenient summaries of the foreign favorites of the early decades of the last century. The chapters on the "romantic decade" (the thirties) and the "local-color eighties" are especially informative; they reveal that Professor Orians has read thoughtfully in many books and magazines which to most compilers of outlines are only titles. The advanced student, dealing intensively with a limited period, will find the work valuable for "background," more original than its frequent quotation of Tyler, Parrrington, Pattee, Mott, Quinn, Boynton, and others makes it appear. Most teachers of survey courses will probably regard it as too detailed, too respectful of minor writers, for adoption as a textbook, and some will object to the categorical effect of the outline method. It is, however, as usable a means of sharpening one's time-sense as has appeared since S. L. Whitcomb's *Chronological Outlines*, which was published in 1894.

In such an extensive work, anyone can find details to question. Downright errors are not strikingly numerous, although one notes "Birdofreedom" instead of "Birdofredum" Sawin (p. 141), a "Simm's" (p. 137), a "VII" for a "V" (p. 154), "Wilke" rather than "Wilkie" Collins (p. 170), and a "Henry L. Alden" (pp. 237 and 262) who quite properly becomes "Henry M. Alden" in the end (p. 300). More important are statements not actually wrong, but not quite accurate in their suggestion. The description of Charles Chauncy's connection with the controversy between the new and the old lights (pp. 11-12) is confusing; judging by Paulding's preface, he hardly "attempted a national epic" in *The Backwoodsman* (p. 71); to speak of "Neal's historical work for Allen" (p. 93) may just possibly give some student a mistaken notion of that relationship. Then, too, there are generalizations which, although necessary to fill up an outline, are baffling when regarded closely: the explanation of the causes for the local color movement in the South (pp. 202-203), for example; the statement that Bayard Taylor "combined a current feebleness and groping consciousness with strength" (p. 174); and the assertion (p. 81) that "Indians were viewed as a race doomed before the oncoming of a superior civilization. There was something

romantic in this view." The style is ordinarily adequate, but there are some unfortunate efforts to enliven the material with metaphor. A reader is momentarily and unnecessarily puzzled to find metaphysics and gastronomics "bound with whalebone links to Ahab" (p. 168), and to consider *Outre-Mer* as a book with "a well-weeded style though somewhat given to lavender" (p. 104). Each reader can, and doubtless will, make his own list.

The University of Texas.

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

THE QUAKER INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Howard W. Hintz. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1940. 96 pp. \$1.00.

The ten brief essays here reprinted first appeared serially in the *Friends' Intelligencer*. The author makes no pretense of having exhaustively treated the influence of Quakerism in American literature; his purpose, as stated in his Foreword, is simply "to set forth the main lines of such a study and to suggest, at least, the prominence and the significance of the Quaker influence in American letters." The book is not, in the first instance, the fruit of original investigations, but rests heavily upon the studies of others. Furthermore, it is intended "not primarily for literary scholars but for the general lay reader." In the face of these avowals it might seem unnecessary and even unfair to subject the volume to critical examination in the pages of a scholarly journal. But surely scholars have a stake in the books which transmit their findings to "the general lay reader." Such books need not be profound or exhaustive or heavily documented, but the information they convey should be trustworthy; and if they are admittedly based upon the conclusions of other writers, they should reflect those conclusions accurately. The question, then, is: does the book under review measure up to these minimum specifications?

On the most elementary level, it is to be expected that names and quotations will be given correctly. Mr. Hintz has some difficulty in rendering proper names. Examples of this failing are found on pages 25, 28, 33, 49, 50, and 58. This is not trifling or pedantic criticism. The purpose of references in a book of this character would seem to be to suggest further material on a subject if the reader is interested. But this purpose is defeated if the citations are inaccurate. The reader who tried to locate Mr. Mordell's life of Whittier under the title of *Militant Quaker* (p. 86) would be frustrated.

It is not reassuring, as one looks a little more closely into the book to find misquotations and inexact paraphrases. In his essay on Emerson, for example, Mr. Hintz seems (p. 50) to attribute to the author of

the article he is there following the notion that Emerson derived the germ of his doctrine of Compensation from Edward Stabler. The article in question does not make such a claim. In this essay also (p. 52) he misquotes a sentence from the same article with the effect of making it appear to claim for Mary Rotch of New Bedford a determining influence on Emerson's thought which the author had no intention of claiming.

On a more serious level are numerous errors of fact. On page 87 the author refers to Benjamin Rush as "one of the most celebrated of American Quakers in the Eighteenth Century." Now, according to *D.A.B.*, Rush was at various times an Episcopalian and a Presbyterian, he accepted the Universalist view of salvation, and he has been claimed by the Unitarians; but no mention is made of his ever being a Quaker. What, then, are we to think of the assertion (p. 88) that in all his liberal and humanitarian activities "the evidence of Rush's devout Quakerism is clearly evident [*sic*]"? In view of the fact that John Bartram was disowned in 1758 for his heterodox views, does not the statement that he was a "sincere" Quaker (p. 88) need some qualification? Another statement which seems a little overfacile appears in the essay on Charles Brockden Brown. There Mr. Hintz assures his reader that "the evidence clearly establishes the fact" that Brown's parents were "typically devout and sincere Friends and that Charles was nurtured in a home permeated with the Quaker tradition and spirit" (p. 34). Can this statement be accepted at its face value in the teeth of the fact that Elijah Brown was read out of meeting in 1768, more than two years before his son, the future novelist, was born?

At this point questions of fact become complicated by questions of interpretation. Granting that Quakerism was an element in Brown's background, is Mr. Hintz justified in saying that "the roots of his liberalism spring unmistakably from his Quaker backgrounds" (p. 40)? To be sure, Mr. Hintz mentions some of the other influences in the mental climate of the eighteenth century, but is not this statement, standing at the end of his chapter on Brown, likely to leave a somewhat false impression in the mind of the uninstructed reader? A like instance of misleading emphasis is found in the essay on Paine. "Whatever the degree of the direct influence of Quaker thought upon the political social writings," says Mr. Hintz, "it is obvious that their basic social philosophy is identical in all major respects with that of traditional Quakerism" (p. 20). This statement does not seem calculated to give the lay reader an accurate impression either of Paine or of Quakerism. Mr. Hintz takes no notice of the attacks on the Quakers in the *Crisis* papers and in the *Epistle to the Quakers*. It would seem that this was

evidence which should be weighed in any judicious survey, however brief, of Paine's relation to Quakerism.

The truth is, of course, that this is a thesis book. That fact by itself is not to its discredit. It is hardly debatable that the Quaker strain in American letters and American life has been a significant one. Its importance has been hinted at by a few writers, but it is an elusive thing, difficult to isolate, and no one has yet given a satisfactory account of it. One fears that Mr. Hintz (and he is not alone in this) has held his thesis too uncritically and has occasionally pressed it too far. One final instance will illustrate the sort of pitfall which he does not avoid. He cites with approval, on page 43, Mr. Canby's dictum that Natty Bumppo is "the best Quaker in American literature." Natty undoubtedly does share some traits with the Quakers, but so do other characters in fiction and history. The clinching factor in tagging Leatherstocking as a Quaker seems to be the fact that Cooper's father was a birthright Friend, although he did not remain within the fold. This sort of literary genetics is extremely dangerous, and should be entered upon with hesitation.

I would not overlook the merits of this volume. Mr. Hintz's best chapters—those on Whitman and Whittier—are judicious and illuminating; here he is on a surer footing with respect to the Quaker influence. Throughout the book Quakerism is revealed not as a passive folding of the hands and waiting for the Light, but as an active force, ardent for social justice. This is, no doubt, a truer picture than the conventional one, and it is certainly the aspect of Quakerism which has been of most significance in American life.

Perhaps I have held this little book up to too rigorous a standard, in view of its modest pretensions. If the faults which I have pointed out are venial, or if they are such as may be overlooked in a brief survey designed for "the general lay reader," then the volume may be regarded as a satisfactory treatment of its subject.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

THE AMERICAN NOVEL, 1789-1939. Revised and Enlarged Edition. By Carl Van Doren. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. vii, 406 pp. \$2.25.

Carl Van Doren's *The American Novel, 1789-1939* is a convenient and ingenious synthesis of what, over a period of many years, he has written concerning this most popular of literary genres. Basically, the book is an adroit dovetailing of his earlier works, *The American Novel* (1921) and *Contemporary American Novelists* (1922), with the addition of two and a half concluding chapters bringing the story up to 1939.

The oldest material in the book is based upon the chapters on American fiction Mr. Van Doren contributed to *The Cambridge History of American Literature* between 1917 and 1921. This material, expanded in *The American Novel* (1921) is here supplemented by a more adequate treatment of Herman Melville, drawn from an article published in 1925. Otherwise, except for the elimination of a few errors, the cutting of a few sentences here and there, and the addition of a few more, the first ten chapters of the new book parallel substantially the equivalent chapters in the earlier book. A few of the earlier judgments have been modified. The most interesting change of opinion concerns F. Marion Crawford, who receives briefer and less enthusiastic treatment here. In the earlier book, he appeared as "the best story-teller among American novelists"; here, as "one of the most entertaining and most cosmopolitan [*sic*] of novelists," and his *Cigarette-Maker's Romance*, once described as "charming drama" has now become "good melodrama." Similarly, Mr. Van Doren's superlative characterization of Henry James's prefaces has been toned down from "the most remarkable commentaries ever made on the art of fiction" to "remarkable commentaries."

Mr. Van Doren's views of American fiction between 1900 and 1920 have undergone marked modification since the publication of *Contemporary American Novelists* in 1922. That book singled out as the ten "most distinguished or significant" living novelists Hamlin Garland, Winston Churchill, Robert Herrick, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Booth Tarkington, Edith Wharton, James Branch Cabell, Willa Cather, and Joseph Hergesheimer, and to them the bulk of the book was devoted. The passage of two decades has wrought striking changes in Mr. Van Doren's hierarchy of novelists, and of the ten, the only ones to receive more extended treatment in the new edition are Dreiser, Wharton, Cather, and Cabell. The rest receive abbreviated comments in the chapters devoted to general movements and trends. Of the minor figures treated in the earlier book, Ernest Poole has disappeared entirely, and Floyd Dell, whose *Moon-Calf* was once thought "very beautiful," is now mentioned only incidentally. Perhaps Mr. Van Doren's sharpest alteration of opinion concerns Hergesheimer. *Cytherea*, hailed as a "masterpiece" in 1922, is now considered "a confusion of unhappy passion and unconvincing symbolism," and *Linda Condon* is no longer "nearly the most beautiful American novel since Hawthorne and Henry James."

Since so much of the material in *The American Novel* has long been familiar to students of the form, one turns with particular interest to Mr. Van Doren's treatment of the novel since 1920. He is always hap-

piest in intensive comment on individual novelists, and probably the most satisfactory pages in the concluding section of the book are devoted to Thomas Wolfe. But one must confess to definite disappointment over his failure to meet the challenge of imposing some sort of order on the multifarious productivity of the last two decades. The section, "Lively Decade" (1921-29) is a practically meaningless jumble of titles of poems, plays, and novels in the order of publication. Mr. Van Doren has made the easy error of attempting to include too many novelists and titles; the result suggests a goodly growth of timber but no forest. He seems to have been bewildered by the behavior of the American novel since the First World War and to have been unable to develop hypotheses that would make the pattern of its growth intelligible. The hypotheses on which *Contemporary American Novelists* was based were sufficiently flimsy; "the drift of naturalism" and "the revolt from the village" hardly sufficed to explain the novel of the first two decades of the century. If Mr. Van Doren had perceived such marked trends between 1920 and 1939 as the development of subjective naturalism, the revival of the historical novel, the cult of exoticism, and the vogue of proletarian fiction, he might have been able to keep his critical head above water. But his long familiar treatments of the classical American novelists—Cooper, Hawthorne, Twain, and James—are still effective and satisfying, and his sensitive analysis of Hawthorne in particular is likely to send at least one reader back to the dimly remembered masterpieces.

Wesleyan University.

FRED B. MILLETT.

DIE GEISTIGEN GRUNDLAGEN DES AMERIKANISCHEN GEMEINWESENS: Bd. II, Der Pragmatismus: R. W. Emerson, W. James, J. Dewey. By Eduard Baumgarten. Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann. 1938. xviii, 483 pp. Geb. RM 14.50. Brosch. RM 12.00.

The real theme of this three-volume work is democracy, which the author considers "the leitmotif of the entire inner-political and spiritual history of America" (p. 313). The first two volumes deal mainly with the development of the democratic ideal and faith, as exhibited in the thought of a few "representative men"—Franklin, Emerson, James, and Dewey. The third volume will study more explicitly the way in which the harder, realistic elements of our history have also entered into the "spiritual foundations" of our commonwealth.

The chief interest of this work for American and British readers is doubtless its mentality and method, adding as it does to a recently growing number of German studies of our life and culture. Anglo-American historiography, when it is not provincial, is too often cold.

It has been the special gift of German historians to combine objectivity with intense sympathy, to be at once outside and inside their subjects. This method, most consciously formulated by W. Dilthey and his school, Mr. Baumgarten brings to his American theme. He would "understand Americans from the viewpoint of their peculiar faith, hence in terms of their *strength*" (p. vii). And indeed he has achieved this well; despite the repugnance of pragmatism to many of the deepest European traditions, he portrays its representatives with unusual human warmth, aided perhaps by the belief that Germany has been moving in a similar direction since 1933 (p. 441).

In addition, there is the charm of the German language, which the author writes with unprofessorial ease, and the comparative novelty of hearing ourselves explained to foreign interests and presuppositions. How refreshing a change from our usual clichés to think of Emerson first in terms of his philosophy of power, to compare James's openness and "sense of touch" in his dealings with man's inner life to a soldier's mode of intercourse with comrades (p. 130), or to describe Dewey's manner as "lückenlose, breit vorgetragene Wucht" (p. 206)!

The author interprets pragmatism as the result of American reflection upon American life, particularly its joy and belief in experiment (taught earlier by Franklin). But he analyzes the essence of pragmatism into two components, only one of which—buoyant confidence in progress—is the result of specifically American (pioneer) conditions. The other, summed up as "the attitudes of a gentleman," he traces back to seventeenth-century England and beyond. There he finds it epitomized in three prototypes: Cromwell's rejection of sacrosanct authority and a priori principles, his belief that we must read God's will in experience as it comes, his "holy experiment" in government; Hobbes's state as a continual experiment in transforming the will to power by co-operative agreement; and Shakespeare's anticipation, in *Coriolanus*, of the gentleman's ideal of "fit action," of the gentleman's conscience as social and public, and, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, of the effectiveness of experiment in human relations. In Emerson these three motifs are reflected, for example, in his nonconformity, philosophy of power, and idea of compensation (pp. xvii ff.).

The contrast between egoism and will to community in Hobbes suggests another main theme in the author's interpretation of American democracy: it has a *Doppelgesicht* of freedom vs. compulsion, individualism vs. community, popular sovereignty vs. dictatorial concentration of power (as in Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln). This has produced an inner struggle in democratic social thought, which the author traces from Edwards to James. In James, for instance, it appears in the con-

trast between the pragmatic test of truth and the "will to believe," on the one hand, and (puzzlingly) the power of great men over social environment, on the other (p. 319). Dewey is at once praised for overcoming this historic tension in the idea of democracy, and criticized for neglecting the element of violence to which the United States partly owes its present peaceful existence. On the whole, the author gives preponderance to the aspect of community: from the Puritan "Spirit is union" to its secular apotheosis in Dewey, it has been the one absolute value in the American "holy experiment" (p. 282).

The author is of course interested in the *Weltsinn*, rather than the *Schulsinn*, of the philosophies under discussion. This doubtless explains his selection both of men and of topics—e.g., the omission of C. S. Peirce, and of "radical empiricism" in the exposition of James. (Other omissions, e.g., of James's "moralism," are less understandable.) Yet, being German, the author gives quite a thorough analysis of several main themes in each philosophy, based on wide knowledge of the primary sources. His exposition of Dewey is particularly good, especially because he makes extensive use of much-neglected early writings, such as the *Psychology* (1886) and the papers on emotion (1894-95). There are numerous observations of kinship and contrast among the three men, but a more formal defense of classifying Emerson as a pragmatist might have been expected.

Among points of special interest, the author treats the relationship of Emerson to Goethe and Nietzsche as "das einzige gross-greifbare Beispiel einer echten Begegnung zwischen Deutschland und Amerika" (p. 396), argues that James's "will to believe" has a more natural affinity to dogmatism than to empiricism (pp. 179 ff.), and finds the passionate ethos of Dewey's thought most movedly expressed in his "Bekenntnis zu Emerson"—the paper on Emerson read at Chicago in 1903.

Duke University.

GEORGE MORGAN, JR.

THE GOTHIC FICTION IN THE AMERICAN MAGAZINES (1765-1800). By Sister Mary Mauritia Redden. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1939. ix, 184 pp.

No one has yet published a complete study of that phase of the romantic movement in America that we call Gothic literature, but Sister Mary Mauritia Redden has made a useful contribution to such a study. She has patiently combed the files of the available American magazines of the eighteenth century (no fewer than eighty in all) for prose stories containing Gothic material and has briefly retold and discussed the pertinent episodes that she has come upon.

In order to place these tales within the general Gothic movement she devotes three preliminary chapters to "The Meaning of *Gothic*," "Characteristic Devices of Gothic Fiction in the English Novel of the Eighteenth Century," and "Characteristic Devices of Gothic Fiction in the American Novel." The first traces the various literary meanings of the adjective from 1611 to recent times—a somewhat superfluous undertaking since the chapter arrives at the fairly obvious and not wholly adequate conclusion that "the word *Gothic* as applied to literature has come to designate that which is barbaric, medieval, or supernatural." The second and third chapters analyze the different devices, such as castles, dungeons, natural phenomena, the supernatural, dreams, and tombs, which the eighteenth-century Gothic writers employed. The detailed tables of these devices as used by English and by American writers show a close parallel and are instructive in a consideration of the American debt to the terroristic literature of Great Britain. It is doubtful, however, that the author gives Charles Brockden Brown sufficient credit for independence in his use of pseudoscientific devices for Gothic effects.

Having thus catalogued at considerable length the distinguishing characteristics of the Gothic novel, both English and American, Sister Mary Mauritia now turns to the theme promised in her title and gives the final three-fifths of her dissertation to a study of Gothic fiction in the eighteenth-century magazines of this country. Here her use of the term *Gothic* would seem to be somewhat inexact, if one may judge from the summaries offered, for of the seventy-five stories included perhaps a dozen appear to be merely melodramatic rather than Gothic, even according to her own definition of the word. Furthermore, the reader finds her careful catalogues of Gothic types and devices in the introductory chapters applied so loosely and casually to the magazine stories that he is disposed to wonder what, after all, is the relevance of the first two-fifths of the book. A third table, listing the Gothic devices in magazine narratives for the purpose of easy comparison with the catalogues in the two preceding chapters, seems to be called for.

Some interesting facts and conjectures emerge in this final chapter and in the very brief "Conclusion." It is pointed out that the first Gothic elements to appear in an American magazine story date from 1785, twenty years after Walpole launched the fad in England and, it might also be remarked, several years after Freneau introduced it to America in his poem "The House of Night" (1779). The priority of these early magazine stories over the American Gothic novels leads Sister Mary Mauritia to conjecture that the tales had some influence on the novels, especially those of Brown—a theory that deserves fuller consideration than

it receives. In drawing her conclusions from the data she has assembled, the author might well have gone somewhat extensively into the cultural significance of this outcropping of terror tales in the American magazines. This would have involved, among other things, an indication, which one misses, of the ratio of Gothic to non-Gothic stories published during the years studied. It might also have led to a more painstaking effort to discover whether the anonymous tales—and all but a handful are anonymous—were of American or British authorship. It is noteworthy that almost none employ American settings, contrary to the usual practice of the American writers of Gothic fiction who published in book form, and it is my guess that many of these stories were lifted from contemporary British periodicals—a possibility that might have justified some investigation of British magazines as well.

Taken as a whole the dissertation is not very precisely planned or very weighty in its conclusions, but, as a result of diligent search, it brings together a body of material that has not hitherto been accessible and that is of value to the close student of the early romantic movement in America.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

HAWTHORNE'S CONTEMPORANEOUS REPUTATION. By Bertha Faust. Philadelphia: privately printed. 1939. 163 pp.

Miss Faust's monograph, originally a doctoral dissertation prepared at the University of Pennsylvania, is a competent and useful survey. By quotation, paraphrase, and summary, the author presents, in chronological order, the reviews, notices, and articles relating to Hawthorne's works which appeared, chiefly in America, through 1864, the year of his death. Out of a total of one hundred and sixty-one items, only thirty-eight appeared before 1850. *Fanshawe* (1828) received two notices, the tales which were published before 1837 received four, and the collected tales in 1837 received five. The evidence, then, would seem to corroborate Hawthorne's statement, made in 1851, that he was "for a good many years, the obscurest man of letters in America." His reputation continued to be very limited until the publication in 1850 of *The Scarlet Letter*, which, partly through a *succès de scandale*, greatly increased the number of his readers; one reviewer overheard in a Maine stagecoach a group of young ladies tittering excitedly over the situation in that book. Hawthorne's fame was further enhanced and widened by the works which followed *The Scarlet Letter*. "The usual critical judgment," Miss Faust says, "was to place *The House of the Seven Gables* above *The Scarlet Letter*, and *The Marble Faun* above both." "At the

time of Hawthorne's death, no one, in America at least, questioned his classic status."

The criticism viewed strictly as criticism is, for the most part, disappointing. Critics in America during the years under review were too often likely to be merely patriotic, or moral, or impressionistic. It was the patriotic motive, perhaps, which accounts for the following pot-pourri from the pen of H. T. Tuckerman: "... now overflowing with a love for external nature as gentle as that of Thomson, now intent upon the quaint or characteristic in life with a humor as zestful as that of Lamb, now developing the horrible or pathetic with something of Webster's dramatic terror, and again buoyant with a fantasy as aerial as Shelley's conceptions." Other American reviewers likened Hawthorne to Pope, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Scott, and Dickens. Possibly also for patriotic reasons, Melville and Lowell compared him with Shakespeare.

Orestes A. Brownson, A. P. Peabody, and others condemned *The Scarlet Letter* as an immoral book. In defense, E. P. Whipple thought that *The Scarlet Letter* was "especially valuable as demonstrating the superficiality of that code of ethics predominant in the French school of romance," and E. A. Duyckinck declared the book to be "a sounder piece of Puritan divinity than we have been of late accustomed to hear from the degenerate successors of Cotton Mather." When not concerned with patriotic comparisons or moral issues, our critics were, more often than not, sentimental, as when Longfellow wrote of *Twice-Told Tales*, "Live ever, sweet, sweet book"; or whimsical, as when G. S. Hillard expressed the wish that Hawthorne "would dwell more in the sun, and converse more with cheerful thoughts and lightsome images"; or vaguely appreciative, as when Whipple commended Hawthorne's writings for "their novel combination of mental and moral traits." The reader of this survey, incidentally, will almost certainly be impressed anew with the critical superiority in his age of Edgar A. Poe.

Miss Faust says, quite rightly I think, that Hawthorne was affected not at all as a writer by the criticisms of his contemporaries; it is fortunate for American literature that he was not.

Brown University.

RANDALL STEWART.

THE ENCANTADAS, OR ENCHANTED ISLES. By Herman Melville. Edited by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. With an Introduction, Critical Epilogue, and Bibliographical Notes. Burlingame, California: Wm. P. Wreden. 1940. xxiii, 119 pp. \$7.50.

This handsome large paper edition by the Grabhorn Press, limited to 550 copies, and illustrated with initials and drawings in four colors by

Mallette Dean, is the fourth work by Melville to be deliberately manufactured into a collector's item, the others being the Rockwell Kent *Moby-Dick* (1930), the Covarrubias *Typee* (1935), and the Kauffer *Benito Cereno* (1927). The present volume is not only a beautiful piece of book-making, but, unlike the others, contains a contribution to Melville scholarship.

Dr. von Hagen, the editor, led the Darwin Centennial Expedition to the Galapagos Islands in 1935, and as a scientist in the field he makes an interesting report for the armchair student of Melville. "While I was on these islands," he says in his Introduction, "I had the pleasure of visiting every part mentioned in the *Encantadas*. Reading these haunting sketches in the midst of the inferno that inspired them, I thought then, as I do now, that they are the finest descriptive pieces of writing concerning this volcanic archipelago. The bibliography of Galapagos literature is vast, and as a naturalist preparing a book on the islands I have had recourse to all of it. There are, of course, chapters in books on the Galapagos that are more accurate . . . but in all the range of its literature I know of nothing that describes the islands as poetically and, I am almost tempted to say, as realistically, as Herman Melville's *Encantadas*."

The first half of the Introduction gives a competent and lucid exposition of the known facts of Melville's life at the time of writing these sketches in 1854 and of his cruise on the *Acushnet* in 1841 which brought him to the islands. The second half contains more original matter: a history of the discovery of the archipelago and the legends that have grown up about it, and an eye-witness description of the islands with their curious lost-world flora and fauna—a valuable introduction to the study of Melville's text.

The epilogue distinguishes between the autobiographical portions of the *Encantadas* and Melville's borrowings from literary sources. The editor concludes that the first four sketches are written out of the author's own experiences, but adds that "while Melville creates the impression that he visited several of the Galapagos Islands, it is obvious to one who has checked this raconteur 'on the spot' that he never visited more than perhaps the northern tip of Albemarle." The last six sketches are then taken up singly and the sources discussed. To Russell Thomas's previous findings, here summarized, von Hagen adds a source for the tale of the "Dog-King" (Sketch Seventh) in the actual life story of General Jose Villamil, a soldier of fortune who attempted a settlement on Charles Island in 1832, and points out that the general atmosphere for the Galapagos landscape owes something to the *Journal of Amasa Delano*, a travel book which also furnished the plot for *Benito Cereno*.

The drawings in color by Mallette Dean (including a map of the islands) reflect Melville's atmosphere admirably with their primitive penciling and their subdued tones. The format is dignified, restrained, and handsome. The paper is an opaque vellum, and the text of the *Encantadas* is printed in a bold black English style type with liberal margins. Perhaps the aesthete might object that the italics of the introduction and epilogue have not been meticulously harmonized with the text type, and the fastidious might lament the misspelling of an eminent critic's name (Sadlier for Sadleir), but these are trivial matters beside the unique achievement of a book which is at once de luxe and authoritative and the commendable skill with which a scientific specialist has navigated the perilous waters of Melville scholarship.

Duke University.

CHARLES ANDERSON.

SOME SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON. By Sister M. Felicia Corrigan. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America. 1939. xii, 130 pp.

The apparent object of Sister Corrigan's doctoral dissertation, written at the Catholic University of America, is to show that following his conversion to Catholicism, Brownson attempted to solve every practical social problem upon which he expressed himself, by looking to established Catholic doctrine for a guiding principle. Sister Corrigan also maintains that Brownson saw more clearly than many of his Catholic contemporaries the true religious principle in accordance with which certain problems of his time should have been judged. She points out, for instance, that the doctrine of laissez faire and belief in the unrestricted right of majority rule were so popular in Brownson's time that influential Catholics sometimes approved them; but that Brownson himself, holding strictly to the basic orthodox tenets of the Church as his guiding principles, was never deceived. Thus the writer pictures Brownson as being keenly appreciative of the fundamental principles of the Catholic Church; and, regarding these principles as eternal, she maintains that Brownson's exposition of their applicability to social problems of his day offers a sound solution for social problems today.

Sister Corrigan discusses as social principles many ideas, such as democracy and laissez faire, which ordinarily are thought of as being political or economic. She makes little attempt, moreover, to relate Brownson's idea to the manifold social problems that accompanied the industrial revolution following the middle of the century. One could wish, too, that Sister Corrigan had taken more care to guard against possible skepticism as to some of her statements by giving footnote refer-

ences for their authority; for some readers perhaps will be disposed to doubt such statements as that during Brownson's time one of the most serious social evils in New England was unchastity, and that this was intimately connected with, and the result of, New England Protestantism. However, in her main thesis of attempting to show that Brownson referred all problems dealing with society to basic Catholic doctrine, Sister Corrigan appears to be successful.

North Carolina State College.

ARTHUR I. LADU.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON: *A Pilgrim's Progress*. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. 320 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Schlesinger's erudite biography is mainly a study of the various creeds and logical schemes through which Brownson hastened in his attempt to understand and reform a refractory world. Not only does the author analyze these schemes, but he also ably indicates their relation to the complex intellectual and practical life of Brownson's time. If he had made discriminating use of details, and had written with a style less bald and rapid, Mr. Schlesinger might have given us a better insight into Brownson as a human being; he might, indeed, have given us a book which would have justified its subtitle and the chapter headings which he has taken from *The Pilgrim's Progress*. But his writing is devoid of those "little things and apparently trivial happenings" which, as Gamaliel Bradford tells us, are essential to expose the "bare soul." The book is not a record of the inner life; it is not of the genus of any *Pilgrim's Progress*. But if Mr. Schlesinger had not invited the reader to look for a quality which his book lacks, it is doubtful that it would have been missed; the qualities it has are too absorbing. For of its kind, the book is excellent: a scholarly record of the external facts and relations that bore on Brownson's life and thought.

North Carolina State College.

ARTHUR I. LADU.

LETTERS FROM HONOLULU WRITTEN FOR THE SACRAMENTO UNION. By Mark Twain. Introduction by John W. Vandercook. Honolulu: Thomas Nickerson. 1939. xv, 101 pp. \$3.00.

This small, nicely printed volume contains four hitherto uncollected travel letters written by Mark Twain for the Sacramento *Union* while he was in Hawaii in 1866. These four letters were omitted from an earlier volume, *Letters from the Sandwich Islands* (1938), because they were thought by the editor to lack "literary quality." Now there is available (in both volumes) the complete series of the twenty-five Hawaiian letters that Mark Twain wrote for the *Union*.

Three of the four letters are on aspects of the Hawaiian trade—"The Sugar Industry," "The Whaling Trade," and "The Importance of the Hawaiian Trade." The first of these is a commercial report that gives statistics on the Hawaiian sugar industry, describes methods of harvesting, milling, and marketing, and concludes with an argument that Chinese labor, profitable in Hawaii, should be employed on a large scale in California in order to develop rapidly the natural resources of that state. "The Whaling Trade," another commercial report, gives statistics to show the value of the whaling trade to Honolulu and urges that San Francisco attempt to divert the whalers to her port instead. "The Importance of the Hawaiian Trade" presents arguments for reducing the duties on Hawaiian products and for establishing regular steamer service between Honolulu and San Francisco. These three letters show Mark Twain as a competent commercial reporter and a keen, cold-blooded analyst of business opportunities.

The other letter in the volume, entitled "The Burning of the Clipper Ship *Hornet*," is perhaps the most interesting. This is the first published account of the voyage of the survivors of the *Hornet* across four thousand miles of ocean in a small open boat and of their landing on the island of Hawaii after forty-three days at sea. Mark Twain interviewed some of the half-dead survivors at the hospital in Honolulu, wrote all night, and sent the "scoop" to the *Union* by a ship departing the next morning. In this article, told without any of his characteristic humor, Mark Twain proved his ability to write vivid, exciting straight narrative. It is the original version of his "Forty-Three Days in an Open Boat," published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December, 1866, and retold again in "My Debut as a Literary Person," in *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg and Other Stories and Sketches*.

The volume, limited to one thousand copies and attractively printed and bound by the Lakeside Press, is not only a collector's item but also a valuable addition to the Mark Twain canon.

The University of Hawaii.

CARL STROVEN.

SAN FRANCISCO'S LITERARY FRONTIER. By Franklin Walker. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. xii, 400, xxv pp. \$5.00.

San Francisco's Literary Frontier, by Professor Franklin Walker, is the most important volume on the literary history of the Far West since the ground was broken by George Stewart's biography of Bret Harte. It rounds out the story of literary development on the Pacific Coast during the years from 1848 to 1875, with emphasis upon the sixties, and provides new biographical information and details of cultural history

during the period between the discovery of gold and the time when most of the best of San Francisco's writers had left for the East or for Europe.

The pattern of the book is that of a composite biography, which deals with the four major writers of the West—Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, and Joaquin Miller—and four others of less importance: Ina Coolbrith, a half-forgotten though talented poet; Charles Warren Stoddard, remembered for his *South Sea Idyls*; Prentice Mulford, whose antiromantic sketches of California mining life afford a contrast to stories in the Bret Harte tradition; and Henry George, whose *Progress and Poverty* evolved to a large degree from his observations of frontier society in California. Sketched in with the lives of these eight is biographical information on such writers as "John Phoenix," John Rollin Ridge, "Dame Shirley," Rollin Dagget, Adah Isaacs Menken, Clarence King, "Ada Clare," Ralph Keeler, Thomas Starr King, John Muir, and some thirty others who had a part in the literary history of the Far West. Skillfully interwoven with biography is the unusual and absorbing social background in which these writers worked.

Though Dr. Walker has little to add to what students of American literature already know about Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and Ambrose Bierce, he gives a great deal of hitherto unknown information on the five other chief writers. Of particular interest is the material on Ina Coolbrith, whose biography, until the appearance of this book, had been exceedingly meager, partly because she carefully concealed the enlightening and mildly scandalous facts of her life previous to her arrival in San Francisco. On Joaquin Miller, also, despite three published biographies, he has much new material, drawn mainly from unpublished letters in the Huntington Library, that helps toward an understanding of the poet during the obscure years just previous to his sudden achievement of fame. Prentice Mulford, probably because of his curious personality and interesting life, is given more attention than his literary importance warrants. On the other hand, Charles Warren Stoddard, a writer less well known than he deserves to be for his excellent sketches of early California and the South Seas, seems inadequately treated, especially since very little authentic information about him has been published.

Errors occur occasionally; but most of these are minor inaccuracies in chronology, in the spelling of proper names, or in the reproduction of titles—none of which affects the truth of the general picture or the interpretations of character. Perhaps a fault more serious is that Dr. Walker's literary criticism, particularly of the minor writers, sometimes is hardly more than pert journalism, less valid than entertaining.

A full index is included, as well as a bibliography and a section of notes and citations.

In gathering, organizing, and presenting an unusually large amount of heretofore unavailable material, Dr. Walker has done a difficult and valuable piece of work. Moreover, he has made his book thoroughly readable, at times even dramatic.

University of Hawaii.

CARL STROVEN.

FOOTLOOSE IN ARCADIA: *A Personal Record of Jack London, George Sterling, Ambrose Bierce.* By Joseph Noel. New York: Carrick & Evans, Inc. 1940. 330 pp. \$3.00.

In a Foreword Mr. Noel terms himself a "fumbling Boswell to a group of Johnsons." We might suggest a shift to make the statement read: "Boswell to a group of fumbling Johnsons." Mr. Noel need not be so modest about himself as a memorialist, but the material presented him by his subjects seems to have been seldom memorable.

Mr. Noel's method was also Boswellian. Again in the Foreword, he notes that after night sessions with Sterling he sat at his typewriter and was able to "recall whole stretches" of conversation. The actual wording of the conversations is thus perhaps closer to the original than in most memoirs.

Least space is devoted to Bierce, whom Noel in fact met only twice. Most of his information about Bierce was passed on through Sterling, and little of this is of much interest or significance. Probably Sterling shaped Noel's conception of Bierce, which is the provincial one that he was the "grand mogul of American letters" (p. 72).

Noel knew London well; his reminiscences are voluminous, and often vivid. About 1913 the two quarreled. As might therefore be expected, Noel fails to indulge in much hero-worship, and his sometimes caustic judgments are an antidote to previous eulogies. Of the much romanticized "oyster-pirate" incident, for instance, he concludes curtly that the stealing of oysters is the same as "entering a potato patch in the dark of the moon and filching the potatoes of a farmer. At best, it is burglary in a boat" (p. 22).

Sterling is the most fully presented of the three figures. By general consent he would certainly be rated the least important; on the other hand, much less has been written about him, and these reminiscences are correspondingly welcome. It is unfortunate—however pardonable in a friend—that Noel overrates Sterling's work excessively and assumes for it an importance in American poetry which few people would be prepared to grant. The case is not strengthened by the conjuring up of

"many authorities" (not named or specified) who according to Mr. Noel class *A Wine of Wizardry* as "the greatest poem ever written by an American author" (p. 163).

None the less, Sterling is a figure of some interest; little is available about his career; and Mr. Noel's contribution is correspondingly original and welcome. The evolution of the poet from a clock-punching, impeccable suburbanite into the most extreme of Bohemians is in itself a fascinating story, and there is reason to regret that Mr. Noel failed to unify his book around this theme instead of making it merely one chief thread.

Mr. Noel devotes much space to isolated details. That Sterling used an inordinate amount of salt is perhaps interesting, but until the physiological basis of poetry is better worked out, it will not help much in the appreciation of a poet. On the contrary, Mr. Noel fails to emphasize (although he suggests) the main and tragic drift of Sterling's career. Under Bierce's dubious tutelage Sterling, a belated romantic, gained some prominence in a period when American poetry was at an ebb. The tide rose after 1912; Sterling failed to develop—and was engulfed. He found his compensations; as one of his friends once remarked to me, "Sterling's chief gods were Bacchus and Venus." In his making of Apollo a secondary deity, Sterling perhaps sensed his own tragedy as when he said of Jeffers: "He does not waste his heart on life as I did" (p. 314). The end was a room in the Bohemian Club, and a vial of cyanide.

The suicide-motif in fact shapes all the last section of Mr. Noel's book. If these Californians were not in themselves wholly great, they at least made the Great Denial. Bierce's end was to all intents suicide; London's suicide is generally admitted; Sterling's is certain. To these, add the suicides of the lesser members of the coterie: Nora May French, Mrs. Sterling, and Herman Scheffauer. This "cavalcade of death," as Mr. Noel terms it, is perhaps the greatest claim which the group may make to originality in the annals of American literature.

University of California.

GEORGE R. STEWART.

MODERN POETRY AND THE TRADITION. By Cleanth Brooks. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. xi, 253 pp. \$3.00.

For Mr. Brooks, "modern poetry" is metaphysical poetry, and "the tradition" is that of the seventeenth-century metaphysical poets and the nineteenth-century French Symbolists. Within the strict limits of his definitions, he has accomplished with taste and subtlety the task he has set himself: namely, the exploitation of the relationships between modern metaphysical poetry and the traditions from which it derives.

Mr. Brooks's first four essays lie in the field of theoretical criticism; the remainder are devoted to applying to particular poets the theories of which he has attempted to establish the validity. "Metaphor and the Tradition" is devoted to the propositions that "The significant relationship between the modernist poets and the seventeenth-century poets of wit lies . . . in their common conception of the use of metaphor" (p. 11) and that "the metaphysical poets and the modernists stand opposed to both the neoclassic and Romantic poets on the issue of metaphor" (p. 11). "Wit and High Seriousness" maintains that these are not mutually exclusive terms, but that "the play of the intellect is not necessarily hostile to depth of emotion" (p. 13). "Metaphysical Poetry and Propaganda Art" follows the lines laid down by Richards, Ransom, and Tate in effecting an adroit divorcement of art and propaganda. In "Symbolist Poetry and the Ivory Tower," Brooks attacks skillfully Edmund Wilson's contention that metaphysical poetry is also Romantic poetry, and that both Symbolist and metaphysical poetry are connected with Romantic escapism.

With the theoretical position defined and defended, Mr. Brooks turns to the no less difficult task of applying his theories. He is at his best in the illuminating demonstration of the organic unity of Eliot's *The Waste Land* and in his exposition of the complex moral and aesthetic system Yeats evolved in his neglected prose work, *A Vision*. His analyses of poems by Ransom, Tate, and Warren as examples of modernist poetry are models of intellectual ingenuity and aesthetic sensitivity.

It is in the application of Mr. Brooks's theories to contemporary poets who are not "modernists" that the basic fallacy of his critical procedure becomes apparent. The conclusions to be reached in rating Frost, MacLeish, and Auden on the metaphysical critical scale are so inevitable that they raise a very serious question as to the soundness of the critical method. It can be justified only on the assumption that metaphysical poetry is the best kind of poetry, and that poets, like Frost and Millay, who write poetry of other kinds are *ipso facto* inferior poets. Most students of poetry and criticism would be unwilling to accept these sweeping assumptions. For less biased critics than Mr. Brooks, metaphysical poetry is only one variety of poetry, and a kind not demonstrably superior to either neoclassical or Romantic poetry; furthermore, the theory of metaphysical poetry is only one theory of poetry, and not a demonstrably better theory than the neoclassical or Romantic theory. Within the narrow limits of his theory and taste, Mr. Brooks thinks closely and analyzes searchingly, but when he insists on evaluating either neoclassical or Romantic poetry in metaphysical terms, he commits one of the gravest of critical improprieties.

Mr. Brooks's denigration of Shelley illustrates most strikingly the inadequacy of his theoretical equipment and critical procedure. It is witty but impertinent to say that "The characteristic fault of Shelley's poetry is that it excludes on principle all but the primary impulses—that it cannot bear an ironical contemplation. What Shelley's regenerated world of *Prometheus Unbound* really has to fear is not the possible resurrection of Jupiter but the resurrection of John Donne. Grant that, and chaos comes again" (p. 50). Nor is it critically very significant to observe that Shelley is frequently "guilty of poor craftsmanship—slovenly riming, loosely decorative and sometimes too gaudy metaphor" (p. 237). To dismiss this poet on the grounds that he lacks irony and that his technique is occasionally faulty is to judge him on the basis of a shockingly superficial analysis.

Despite these strictures, this book is extremely valuable, and not the least of its services is its efficacy in correcting the prevailing conception of poetry, one "still primarily defined for us by the achievement of the Romantic poets" (p. viii). Both students and teachers of poetry would do well to consider carefully the concluding essay, "Notes for a Revised History of English poetry." Its lively attack upon their Romantic-Victorian bias should give them pause. Mr. Brooks's essays belong on the shelf with Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle*, Allen Tate's *Reactionary Essays*, John Crowe Ransom's *The World's Body*, and Richard P. Blackmur's *The Double Agent*. Together, these books illustrate impressively the emergence of a group of American critics unequaled in our history for intellectual subtlety and critical fastidiousness.

Wesleyan University.

FRED B. MILLETT.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW POETRY. By Amos N. Wilder. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1940. xxiv, 262 pp. \$2.50.

Although this book bears many of the marks of a critical appraisal of contemporary English and American poetry, it is primarily a call for a kind of poetry which is not at present being written. Its central thesis is that "we will have greater religious poetry when the devout and mystical poets among us enter as deeply into the experience of grace as our poets of negation enter into the experience of perdition."

Mr. Wilder is a clergyman of wide and liberal culture, and of few prejudices. He reads poetry because he finds spiritual refreshment in it, and he enters the "experience of perdition" with a tolerant understanding. He does not, like so many theologians, apply a rigid and inherited Calvinism as the measure of contemporary skepticism and despair, thereby condemning before trial. He recognizes that Crane, Auden,

Jeffers, MacLeish, Patchen, and others of the contemporary group are poets of deep, even though dark, spiritual insight, and he approaches their work in a spirit of reverent and rational inquiry. He realizes that they are expressing the most vital, spiritual message of our time, however much he may wish that a poetry might appear with equal sincerity but a more optimistic faith. Only through their work can the modern seeker for spiritual truth find its immediate reality. The voices of other ages will not probe the heart of the present.

The service of such a book is to assault the intolerance of the cloistered seeker for grace and of the poets of the ivory tower, bringing to them both the voice of the contemporary world. Only by such collaboration is a regeneration to be hoped for and poetry made vital to living. Mr. Wilder brings the psychological insights of such poets as Lawrence and Jeffers to bear upon MacLeish's call for poetry to enter the forum and use a "public speech." We must go back, he says, to "the pit from which we were digged," past the rigid Calvinism of the sixteenth and the following centuries, to the "essential Puritan and Christian discovery of the autonomous and responsible personality." Even those who are unwilling to accept the theological implications of this plea will find in it a possible synthesis of the ideas of traditional Protestantism, of science and of democracy, which should allow the poet personal integrity as well as public service.

As a critical review of contemporary poetry, Mr. Wilder's book is deep rather than wide. His reading is limited to about a dozen poets, and he does not profess to a knowledge of all of the work of even these few. But as he has taken into account the most earnest and profound of contemporary poems, his omissions do not seem important, at least to the purpose which he has set for himself. It is doubtful that a reading of two or three times as much contemporary poetry would make it necessary for him to alter his judgment of the field as a whole.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE POETRY OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. By Estelle Kaplan. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. 162 pp. \$2.25.

Miss Kaplan's book is arranged in two parts: Part One, "The Sources of Robinson's Idealism" (pp. 3-40); Part Two, "Philosophical Analyses" (pp. 43-144). Part One is subdivided into four chapters: "Biographical Clues," "Critics' Comments," "Royce and Schopenhauer," and "Stages of Robinson's Intellectual Growth." This last chapter is in effect an introduction to Part Two. The best of Part One is the short chapter of ten pages on the influence of Royce and Schopenhauer on Robinson. The

author quotes several passages from Royce's discussion of Schopenhauer in *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, and adds this comment: "There may not be very much similarity between Schopenhauer and Robinson, but there certainly is between Robinson and the Roycean interpretation of Schopenhauer, particularly in the point of view that solution of evil lies in endurance, not in defining it" (p. 29).

Miss Kaplan, as others before have done, points out the Emersonian quality of Robinson's philosophy, but she fails to name specific likenesses. The following excerpt (pp. 30-31) expresses her view of Robinson's kinship with Emerson:

Robinson himself tells us that unlike Thoreau (and Schopenhauer, for that matter) he was willing to meet the realities of morality in society and civilization. However, he followed Emerson's (Thoreau's and Schopenhauer's) individualism, rather than Royce's absolutism, though without Emerson's optimistic self-confidence; as for self-reliance, that was always his. Robinson thinks of "courage" in the most solitary terms and of knowledge as self-knowledge in a strictly individualistic sense. His "own diabolical system" was a reinterpretation of Emerson, sobered by taking nature seriously and tragically.

The distinction drawn between Robinson's individualism and that of Emerson is not clear. Others besides the reviewer may wonder what exactly Miss Kaplan means in attributing to Robinson self-reliance but not self-confidence. Moreover, it is hard to see how anyone who has read "Experience" and "Fate" can doubt that Emerson also took nature seriously, and even tragically.

Miss Kaplan defines the main course of Robinson's reading that might have influenced his philosophy as beginning with Emerson and extending through Spencer and Darwin to Hardy in literature and to Schopenhauer and Royce in philosophy, and thence back to Emerson. The cycle is almost too neat and exclusive, yet in general probably correct. One wants illustrative details.

She discovers four stages in Robinson's philosophical development. The analysis of representative poems in these four stages constitutes the substance of the four subdivisions of Part Two. In the first stage, the poems reveal what she calls Robinson's "transcendental skepticism with its emphasis on light in darkness." In this group the poems discussed are *Captain Craig* (1902), *The Man Against the Sky* (1916), *The Man Who Died Twice* (1924), and *Amaranth* (1934). In the second stage, the poet was concerned with the "tragedy of love in conflict with duty." In this group Miss Kaplan includes all three of the Arthurian poems (*Merlin*, 1917, *Lancelot*, 1920, and *Tristram*, 1927), but discusses only the first of these. The third stage, concerned with the "tragedy of marriage," includes *Cavender's House* (1929), *The Glory of the Nightingales* (1930), *Matthias at the Door* (1931), and *Talifer* (1933), all of which are analyzed. The fourth stage "shows Robinson thinking in social terms"

and dealing with the "tragedy of power." The poems analyzed are *Dionysus in Doubt* (1925) and *King Jasper* (1935).

It is unfortunate that all the short poems were omitted, particularly such poems as "Credo," "Hillcrest," "John Brown," "Lazarus," "Tasker Norcross," "The Dark House," and "Toussaint L'Ouverture," in which many typically Robinsonian ideas are developed. Of the long narrative poems, Miss Kaplan omits four: *Avon's Harvest*, a psychological study of hate and fear that does not fit conveniently into any of her classifications; both *Lancelot* and *Tristram*, although any interpretation of *Merlin* without reference to them must surely be partial and inadequate; and *Roman Bartholow*, an inferior poem, but an important exposition of the author's philosophy of character development.

I am in substantial agreement with Miss Kaplan's interpretation of Robinson's poems in general, but I am not entirely satisfied with her treatment of the Arthurian poems as tragedies growing out of the conflict of love with social duty (p. 38). Is not the conflict, as in all the poems, the conflict between man's will to perpetuate the world he knows and the irresistible law of change in nature? Merlin made Arthur king, and "a mirror wherein men may see themselves," and Arthur in turn created the Round Table as an institution of perfect knighthood. Vivian thought that Merlin would never grow old, and Arthur believed that his Round Table would endure forever. Merlin, of course, knew better. He went to Broceliande, not in disloyalty to Arthur, but in sad acknowledgment that this king and kingdom of his creation had outlived their time and now must face ruin and death. Arthur was but "a moment" in the life of "an eternal will," although he was permitted the illusion that he was the veritable will itself. But when the moment was over, Arthur and his world had to die in order that a new moment and a new world might be born. *Lancelot* and *Tristram* are different episodes of the same fatal cycle of birth, life, death, and birth again out of the ashes of the past. These Arthurian poems, therefore, are not merely tragedies of individual lives, but the picture of the decay of a civilization in order that a new and presumably a better one may come into being.

The same may be said of *King Jasper*. This poem has a special significance because it appears to be an imaginative representation of what is going on before our eyes in the world today. There is no escape from change, but there may be alleviation of tragedy, and the way to it is the lighted way of truth. King Jasper could not save his kingdom any more than Arthur could save his, but if he had been wiser he might have made the transition from the old to the new less violent and less painful. There is an element of the sublime in these poems which Miss Kaplan fails to take account of in her analysis.

I feel an equal dissatisfaction with her interpretation of the poems of the third group. *The Glory of the Nightingales* is not so much a tragedy of marriage as an illustration of the devious way in which the eternal will (sometimes called fate) draws individual wills to the fulfillment of its purpose. In *Matthias at the Door*, one of the most powerful of all Robinson's long poems, the theme is not so much the tragic death of Garth, Timberlake, and Natalie as the inexplicable way in which these events are made the means by which Matthias discovers his better self, is "reborn," and made ready for a useful life after he has misused his first fifty years. He comes to the brink of suicide, but does not take the fatal step.

He must go back again; he must be born,
And then must live; and he who had been always
So promptly served, and was to be a servant,
Must now be of some use in the new world
That Timberlake and Garth and Natalie
Had strangely lived and died to find for him.

The same theme is developed with somewhat less of beauty and force in *Roman Bartholow*. Robinson's theme is always the struggle of mind against fate, whether the setting involves love, marriage, or social revolution, and he believes in the ultimate victory of mind. In my judgment Miss Kaplan does not sufficiently emphasize this idealism with its implication of optimism for the future.

The book is equipped with an index and a bibliography. The latter includes a list of original publications of Robinson's poems and prose works, a list of bibliographies, and a partial list of critical studies. For some reason, or by oversight, the author fails to mention, either in her text or in her bibliography, several essays recently published, some of which contain opinions not dissimilar to her own. I have in mind, among others, the essay on Robinson by the late T. K. Whipple in his volume *Spokesmen*, another by Frederic I. Carpenter, entitled "Tristram the Transcendent," in the *New England Quarterly* for September, 1938, and another by the reviewer, entitled "The Optimism Behind Robinson's Tragedies," published in *American Literature* for March, 1938. The volume is attractively printed and bound, and the author's style is direct and readable. Her achievement, though less than the title might lead one to expect, is nevertheless substantial. The very deficiencies of the book are helpful as indications of what more can be done in this field.

North Texas State Teachers College.

FLOYD STOVALL.

ROBINSON JEFFERS: *The Man and his Work*. By Lawrence Clark Powell. Pasadena, Calif.: San Pasqual Press. 1940. xvii, 222 pp. \$2.50.

To most readers interested in Robinson Jeffers this valuable study is already familiar. Based on a dissertation prepared at Dijon, France (1932), it appeared two years later at Los Angeles, in a limited edition adorned by Rockwell Kent. The present work is in several respects superior to the former edition. Some of the older portions have been revised and improved; the work of Jeffers and the bibliographies have been brought up to date; and some fumes of the lamp, which lingered from the doctoral dissertation, have evaporated. It is indeed a very readable and interesting book, devoted primarily to an interpretation of the poet's mind and personality, to the influences which have affected his writing, and to the meaning of his poetry. As a rather subjective treatment, this study ignores many of the problems of scholarship which may in time concern the student; the only attempt at precise analysis is an unsatisfactory consideration of the prosody of Robinson Jeffers. Yet Mr. Powell has succeeded admirably in his principal intention, which was interpretative. He has had the advantage of personal acquaintance with the poet, with whom he has discussed the art and the meaning of the poems. Mr. Powell's critical intelligence is vigorous and well informed; he is acquainted with the Southern California country and people with which Jeffers's major work has dealt. As a result, his book affords the best critical approach to one of the most challenging of modern writers.

The central and consistent meaning in the work of Jeffers is shown by Mr. Powell's analysis of the individual poems. It becomes clear that even if he has no hope of the destiny of the race itself, Jeffers is profoundly convinced of the importance of the struggle of the individual human soul to transcend the race and found itself. "Humanity is the mould to break away from . . . the atom to be split," he says; yet he implores his sons to remember that "corruption never has been compulsory." Each of his principal poems is based upon some fundamental failure of the human race which has been accentuated by the spiritual failure of the twentieth century. In *Roan Stallion*, with its background of zoerastia, he is primarily concerned, like T. S. Eliot in *The Waste Land*, with the increasing sterility of our age. The use of incest as a theme in *Tamar* was a purposeful symbol of warning against the introversion of modern life. In *The Women at Point Sur* and in *Cawdor*, carnal lust is employed as symbolic of the destructiveness of untrammelled aggressiveness; just as the opposite qualities are made heroic in *The Loving Shepherdess*, a tale in which another keeper of sheep gives herself completely and to her death in love of man and all creatures.

Thurso's Landing and *Give Your Heart to the Hawks* are variations upon the age-old theme of the revolt of the individual human soul against the tyranny of whatever Gods there be. However one may judge the art of Jeffers, it becomes clear in Mr. Powell's study that one must ascribe his use of terrible, morbid or forbidden subjects not to sensationalism nor pruriency, but to the sincere and consistent desire to analyze the dangers of the race, to break up that "atom to be split"—humanity—until "a white fire flies out of it."

Mr. Powell's book also reveals the subtle connection between the philosophy of Robinson Jeffers, his personality, and the social forces which have influenced him. The principal critical considerations are the poet's mind and temperament; the influence of modern scientific determinism in his thought; his revolt from the economic materialism of our times; and, finally, as a synthesis of these other forces, a profoundly disillusioned pessimism based on the experience of the World War and the frustration of what then remained of romantic idealism.

Discounting the hero-worship which causes the critic at one point to compare the physical appearance of his poet to that of "the great god Pan," we find in Mr. Powell's book the convincing portrait of a true poet, devoted only to his craft and to the consciousness of a mission in life—studious, frugal, reticent, austere for himself, but compassionate for the world. There is a good account of the principal influences which have given the profound mind of Robinson Jeffers an easy command of vast learning—his early classical studies, his years of residence in foreign schools, his graduate studies in the classics, in biology and in medicine. There is also a good study of the countryside, of the folkways of the hill people who have furnished the poet with material and with stories, and of the philosophy of Jeffers.

As has been said, Mr. Powell's study still leaves much work to be done. Also, it seems to this writer to be unsatisfactory in its analysis of Jeffers's style and his prosody. Mr. Powell does not make sufficient reference to the tradition of English poetry, for example, in treating Jeffers's figurativeness and his rhythm. Actually there is little in Jeffers's art not supported by long tradition, and this increases his stature as a literary man. But in spite of several shortcomings, and although this volume is not extensive, it is an important work. It is the first authoritative account of a writer whose work must assume ever greater significance amid the terrors and uncertainties of the present world.

University of Pennsylvania.

SCULLEY BRADLEY.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF HENRY CUYLER BUNNER. By Gerard E. Jensen. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1939. 248 pp. \$3.00.

To be a humorist is one of the surest ways to be neglected by scholars. H. C. Bunner was a skilled writer of light verse, and a masterly technician of the short story, but most of his stories were humorous, and accordingly he has had to wait nearly a half century for his first biography.

It would be pleasant to announce that a definitive study has at last appeared. Unfortunately Mr. Jensen has muffed the job. The book might have been a scholarly critical study; it might have been a popular biography. Attempting to be both, it is neither.

Thus, in deference to the popular reader, Mr. Jensen omits bibliography and footnotes. But after every reference in his text to a printed source he interpolates parenthetical citations of volume and page which are far more annoying to the eye than footnotes would be. Whole paragraphs detailing the magazine publication of Bunner's work might better have been relegated to a bibliography. Catalogues of the forgotten names of minor writers of the eighties and nineties are introduced without explaining who they were. Long passages summarize the contemporary criticisms of Bunner's books, but the opinions quoted are for the most part so banal as to add nothing to the reader's understanding of either Bunner or his times.

Worse, from the point of view of scholar and layman alike, are the things which are only half told. "An even worse propensity to pun" on Bunner's part is alluded to (p. 26), but the pun in question is not quoted. A lawsuit brought against Bunner by B. B. Vallentine is thrice mentioned, but neither its cause nor its outcome is explained. Bunner and Helen Gray Cone exchanged satiric epistles; Mr. Jensen's statement that "Miss Cone's verse in reply cannot here be repeated" suggests a naughtiness on the lady's part which no one would suspect from her published work. In his allusion to the "sickening case" of Ernest Harvier (pp. 67-69), Bunner did not mention the boy's name. Mr. Jensen supplies it. By adding merely that the case was "a notorious affair" he leaves the reader to wonder whether Harvier's fault was financial, sexual, or homicidal. It might have been better to delete Bunner's comments; since they were not deleted, enough should have been told to explain his revulsion.

Nor is that the only instance of injudicious handling of Bunner's letters. Mr. Jensen says in his appendix that he has omitted trivialities, but he does not explain the differences between his texts of Bunner's letters to Laurence Hutton and the versions which Hutton himself pub-

lished in the *Bookman* in 1896. An allusion to Pepys's being cut for the stone, for example, was not too shocking for the Mauve Decade to read, but Mr. Jensen omits it. Even without recourse to the MSS it is obvious that Hutton's transcriptions are occasionally more accurate than Mr. Jensen's, and the syntax of the burlesque deed of gift on page 114 shows that the opening words should be "I, Brander Matthews," and not "J. Brander Matthews."

The book has more serious sins of omission. Some indication, for instance, of Bunner's literary earnings would be helpful to students of the period. Though Mr. Jensen devotes a whole chapter to Bunner as editor of *Puck*, he makes no clear statement of the magazine's policy on any contemporary public question (except that it supported Cleveland against Blaine, and favored international copyright), and quotes none of Bunner's editorials. Similarly, the chapter on Bunner as a short-story writer fails to achieve any critical synthesis.

Better editorial supervision could have removed numerous minor blemishes. Sometimes Mr. Jensen speaks naturally of himself in the first person; sometimes he employs such awkward periphrases as "the editor of this biography." Tenses shift in the middle of paragraphs, and there are such solecisms as "Jno. du Fais" (p. 9), "*Cecil Dreeme* was laid there" (*ibid.*), and the sentence on page 107 which begins, "But unfortunately the review is unsigned." These are the sort of errors which an author is often too close to his work to notice. An important duty of a university press should be to see that they are caught in the proofs.

Western Reserve University.

DELANCEY FERGUSON.

TODAY IN AMERICAN DRAMA. By Frank Hurburt O'Hara. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1939. ix, 278 pp. \$2.50.

THE AMERICAN DRAMA SINCE 1918: *An Informal History*. By Joseph Wood Krutch. New York: Random House. 1939. x, 325 pp. \$2.50.

The purposes of these two books are well defined by their respective titles. Professor O'Hara undertakes to show how present-day life and thought are reflected in the current drama of America and how that drama has taken on a characteristic shape as a result of this influence. Moreover, the "today" of his title means almost literally today, for while he does give incidental attention to a number of plays written between 1921 and 1935, the emphasis is on those of the last four years. Professor Krutch offers a survey of the major currents of our drama during the past two decades, "not in terms of 'ideas,' but in terms of imagination and literary form." In other words, he attempts a critical evaluation of American playwriting since the World War, placing his evaluation

within the informal framework of a series of chapters arranged by themes rather than by strict chronology.

Mr. O'Hara's study puts heavy stress on what one might be excused for regarding as a minor phase of his subject; namely, the effect modern life has had in reshaping the concepts of tragedy, comedy, melodrama, and farce. Admitting that these terms "are after all only labels academically pasted onto stories which creative writers contrive for the stage because they have a story they must tell," he nevertheless makes his book an exercise in "sorting labels," offering as his best defense the fact that "to some persons analysis is fun." And Mr. O'Hara does provide the reader with the very considerable fun of seeing a lively and acute mind at work upon an alluring if not very important problem. In the process he says some suggestive things about the various dramatic forms; for example: "Perhaps 'maladjustment' is the best word out of our current vocabulary to apply to tragedy." But his fondness for pigeonholing leads to some dubious results, such as his classification of *Family Portrait* and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* as comedies, even though "comedies without a laugh." Of course they are not tragedies either, but must a creator be confined to a precise choice of categories? When he characterizes two other types of present-day plays as "melodrama with a meaning" and "farce with a purpose," he is not describing peculiarly modern inventions; the former term might equally be applied to *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* and the latter to *The Clouds* or *Lysistrata*.

Mr. O'Hara's book, which closes with a not particularly illuminating chapter on drama as propaganda, succeeds best in revealing contemporary American playwriting as a reflection of the confusions, the incertitudes, the changing standards of contemporary American life; and, after all, this was probably his principal intention.

Mr. Krutch, being less concerned with social implications, has written the more useful survey of the field. He gives a brief summary and a critical estimate of some seventy-five plays and, in passing, fits many others into the fabric of his discussion. While his main stress is on the individual writers, he groups them according to a loose pattern, which yet effectively outlines our dramatic accomplishment during the last twenty years. The book thus becomes a valuable reference work whether one is seeking intelligence concerning specific plays or is interested in major movements. In his informed and balanced judgments the author measures up to the high standard he has set in his other writings. The reader soon discovers that he has to do with a commentator whose qualifications to speak include a long career of theatergoing and a broad knowledge of dramatic history. Without overwhelming his audience with his learning, he uses it skillfully for the purposes of background

and comparison. In short, our recent drama is here reviewed by a critic as thoroughly equipped as any now before the public, one who avoids both smartness and faddish prejudices and whose verdicts may well possess a validity beyond the day of their utterance.

A comparison of the material covered by these two books discloses a trend that is not wholly reassuring for the immediate future of American drama. The first of Professor Krutch's two decades was a time of creative energy and of enthusiastic and independent experimentation. The period on which Professor O'Hara concentrates has been disturbingly groping, spiritless, and sterile. For several years friends of the theater have been trying to see signs of a renaissance from season to season, but with scant success. Surely no one could take much comfort from the recent remark of the veteran producer, William A. Brady, who is reported in *The New York Times* of March 30, 1940, to have said: ". . . the quality of the plays that are being submitted these days is beneath contempt. Outside of about ten dramatists, the playwrights simply are not writing plays that can be produced. There are investors ready to back productions—I could raise \$100,000 in no time at all—but there is no material." Should Mr. Krutch write another twenty-year installment of our dramatic history in 1959, would he find it possible to discuss as much important stage literature as in his present volume? If the immediate past is an earnest of the future, he would be a confirmed optimist who would answer in the affirmative.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

BRIEF MENTION

THE INCORRIGIBLE IDEALIST: *Robert Dale Owen in America*. By Elinor Pancoast and Anne E. Lincoln. Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, Inc. 1940. 150 pp. \$2.00.

The career of Robert Dale Owen suggests that American historians have erred in not distinguishing more sharply between the reformers of the eighteen-twenties and those of the forties and fifties. Young Owen arrived in the United States in 1825 to take part in his father's communistic experiment at New Harmony, and quickly assumed leadership in the radical movements of the day—labor, education, women's rights, birth control. But when an abolition-minded generation of reformers succeeded him, Owen gravitated to the other side, advocated Texan annexation, denounced the Wilmot Proviso as unconstitutional, and helped forbid, in 1850, the immigration of free Negroes into Indiana.

This is not the record of an "incorrigible idealist" by any means, but a rather more interesting intellectual development than such an ill-chosen title implies. One is grateful that the narrative is presented by Miss Pancoast and Miss Lincoln with such accuracy and such thorough documentation. It is disappointing, however, to find so little concern with contemporaneous intellectual currents and with the subtle evolution of Owen's ideas—so little interest, in short, in interpretation. Typical of missed opportunity is the decision to begin with Owen's arrival in America at the age of twenty-four. One of the unique educational experiences of the century is thereby passed over, for the young man was the product not only of the elder Owen's educational theories, but of four years' study under Fellenberg at Hofwyl as well.

Columbia University.

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

FALSE SHAME AND THIRTY YEARS: *Two Plays by William Dunlap*. Edited by Oral Sumner Coad. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1940. xiv, 106 pp.

This is the second volume of "America's Lost Plays," the series of unpublished plays now appearing under the general editorship of Barrett H. Clark. These two plays by Dunlap are translations from continental successes, *False Shame* being from Kotzebue's *Falsche Scham*, and *Thirty Years* from *Trente Ans* by Prosper Goubaux and Victor Ducange. Oral S. Coad, the present editor, contributes a brief introduction which orients these plays in Dunlap's career, indicates the success each enjoyed, and

comments on Dunlap's rendering of the original. Mr. Coad also provides a useful list of the fifty-six plays by Dunlap.

With respect to the two plays themselves, it may be noted that the theatrical success of each in its own day emphasizes the changes there have been in dramatic taste. The insistent moralizing, the lachrymose sentimentality, the expository dialogue, and the faulty timing of these plays would not be tolerated by an audience today. However, the plays do deal with recurrent themes, and they enlarge our knowledge of the dramatic fare of the day.

Bucknell University.

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

STEVENSON AT SILVERADO. By Anne Röller Issler. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1939. 247 pp. \$3.50.

During part of the summer of 1880 Robert Louis Stevenson and his recently wedded wife, Fanny Osbourne, lived in the little northern California town of Calistoga and in a cabin on neighboring Mount Saint Helena. His experiences in this semifrontier region he recounted in *Silverado Squatters*, one of the pleasantest of his books of travel. Mrs. Issler is the first student of R. L. S. to gather all the information available about this neglected period of his life. Her method is that of "simple reporting, based upon interviews with neighbors who knew Stevenson and the 'characters' of whom he wrote" in *Silverado Squatters*. Besides giving a detailed account of Stevenson's activities and his associates at this time, the author recreates the picturesque scene and gives interesting side lights on the local history of the Silverado country. Thirty-one photographs and old drawings, excellently reproduced, illustrate the text. Mrs. Issler's book is informal but carefully written. It adds a pleasant, though not very important, interchapter to Stevenson's biography.

The University of Hawaii.

CARL STROVEN.

EDGAR ALLAN POE AND BARON VON KEMPELEN'S CHESS-PLAYING AUTOMATON. By Henry Ridgely Evans. Kenton, Ohio: International Brotherhood of Magicians. 1939. 36 pp.

This booklet, originally an address before the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, together with Mr. W. K. Wimsatt, Jr.'s "Poe and the Chess Automaton," published in this journal (XI, 138-151, May, 1939), exhausts, so far as most students are concerned, the study of Poe's brilliant journalistic exposé, "Maelzel's Chess-Player."

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

A HISTORY OF STONE & KIMBALL AND HERBERT S. STONE & Co: *With a Bibliography of Their Publications, 1893-1905*. By Sidney Kramer. Preface by Frederic G. Melcher. Chicago: Norman W. Forgue. 1940. xvii, 379 pp.

"The Bibliography although prepared first, is presented last, as documentation and reference material. It is preceded by a group of thirty-two plates illustrating bindings, decorations, title-pages, and types used in the books and magazines of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Company, and the posters designed to advertise the publications. The History, illustrated with portraits and reproductions of autographs, is largely a running account of the publishing adventures of Herbert Stuart Stone, Hannibal Ingalls Kimball and Melville E. Stone, Jr., between 1893 and 1905. Chapter II contains some analysis of the most important creative literary venture of these men—*The Chap-Book*. Chapter V, 'Notes for Students and Collectors,' is addressed to those curious about the place of the firms in publishing history, and mentions the rarer Stone imprints" (Introduction).

This book, beautifully printed, is one of the most valuable histories of a publishing company ever produced in the United States. Because it is based on the proper background materials it offers much information for the student of American literature at the end of the nineteenth century. For the historian of literary culture in the Middle West it is indispensable.

C. G.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATHEMATICAL WORKS PRINTED IN AMERICA THROUGH 1850. By Louis C. Karpinski, with the Coöperation for Washington Libraries of Walter F. Shenton. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1940. xxvi, 697 pp. \$6.00.

The purpose of this volume is to give a "complete catalogue of [mathematical] publications in the United States, Canada, and the West Indies up to the end of 1850 and of all those known to have appeared in Central and South America up to 1800." One of the many interesting features of this excellent bibliography is the vast number of zinc line engravings of title pages, etc., used as illustrations. An important part of the Introduction deals with the British background from which the earlier American treatises emerged. An "Index of Printers and Publishers" enables the student of printing in various sections of the country to study the bibliography from the geographical angle.

The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of intellectual culture in the United States.

C. G.

ROGER WILLIAMS: *His Life, Work, and Ideals*. By Charles Smull Longacre. Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association. [1939.] 191 pp. \$1.00.

This book, which does not pretend to make contributions of a scholarly nature, was written to remind Americans of the social, political and religious principles of a "builder of a republic." Its author is the General International Secretary of the Religious Liberty Association.

C. G.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: *The Autobiography with Sayings of Poor Richard, Hoaxes, Bagatelles, Essays, and Letters*. Selected and Arranged by Carl Van Doren. New York: Pocket Books, Inc. [1940.] viii, 387 pp. \$0.25.

An admirable selection of the most interesting of Franklin's works.

C. G.

ETHAN ALLEN. By Stewart H. Holbrook. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. viii, 283 pp. \$2.50.

An excellent popular biography, written with zest, and based on the standard authorities. Chapter XV, "Footnotes for a Hero," contains a number of Ethan Allen yarns which ought to be noticed by students of American humor.

C. G.

BALLADS AND SONGS COLLECTED BY THE MISSOURI FOLK-LORE SOCIETY. The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XV, Number 1. Edited by H. M. Belden. Columbia, Mo.: The University of Missouri. 1940. xviii, 530 pp. \$1.25.

This worthy addition to the study of American songs and ballads is arranged under the following headings: Child ballads, Romantic ballads and songs (chiefly of British origin), humorous and comic pieces, the pathos of childhood, Irish songs, songs dealing with American history, later journalistic balladry, regional and social satire, religious and homiletic pieces, folk-lyrics, children's games and nursery rimes. In the head-notes Mr. Belden has "tried to check the appearance of each item in other collections, especially in the United States." With the exception of the Ozark collection of Vance Randolph, now awaiting publication, this work virtually covers the whole field of folksong in Missouri.

C. G.

ABSTRACTS OF THESES, FACULTY BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESEARCH IN PROGRESS. Publications of the University of Washington. Theses Series Vol. 4. Seattle: The University of Washington. 1939. xv, 446 pp.

The section devoted to doctoral dissertations contains abstracts of two theses in the field of American literature: "Symbolism and Allegory in the Writing of Nathaniel Hawthorne," by Merlin Lee Neff, and "The Hawthorne Problem: Another View," by Horace Clifford Terrell.

C. G.

FREE CIRCULATION: *A Study of Newspapers Having Free or Controlled Distribution*. By Charles L. Allen. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. viii, 78 pp. \$1.00.

The first in a series of monographs under the editorship of the National Council on Research of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, this work deals primarily with the circumstances of publishing so-called "throw-away" papers.

C. G.

THE TRAVELS OF WILLIAM BARTRAM. Edited by Mark Van Doren with an Introduction by John Livingston Lowes. New York: Facsimile Library (Barnes & Noble). 1940. 414 pp. \$2.75.

An attractive reprint of the 1928 Macy-Masius edition, this work will be welcomed by scholars and librarians who were unable to secure an original. Professor Lowes's Introduction is a two-page reminder of the debt of Coleridge and others to Bartram.

C. G.

REASON THE ONLY ORACLE OF MAN. By Ethan Allen. With an Introduction by John Pell. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints. 1940. xii, xxi, 477, 70 pp. \$8.00.

This reproduction of "Oracles of Reason" is enhanced by a reprint of the appendix to that work which Allen prepared but which did not see print until 1873. Mr. Pell's Introduction summarizes the chief facts covering both Allen's book and the appendix.

C. G.

STUDIES FOR WILLIAM A. READ: *A Miscellany Presented by Some of His Colleagues and Friends*. Edited by Nathaniel M. Caffee and Thomas A. Kirby. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. x, 338 pp. \$4.50.

Among the contributions to this volume there are a number which belong to the American field: "Thomas Jefferson, Linguistic Liberal,"

by A. C. Baugh; "American English Today," by Louise Pound; "Some Notes on Consonant Pronunciation in the South," by N. M. Caffee; "The Rise of Nationalism in American Literature," by E. Bradsher; "Reading Taste in Louisiana, 1830-60," by W. Patrick; "Hawthorne's Methods of Using His Source Materials," by A. Turner; and "An Unpublished Letter by Longfellow to a German Correspondent," by W. Fischer.

C. G.

THE AMERICAN IMPACT ON GREAT BRITAIN, 1898-1914: *A Study of the United States in World History*. By Richard Heathcote Heindel. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. ix, 439 pp. \$4.00.

There is a kind of provincial overmodesty on the part of many American intellectuals which makes them content with regarding their own country's ideas and activities—especially those on higher planes—as mere extensions, dilutions, or adaptations of European—principally English—counterparts. Mr. Heindel, no chauvinist or theory-rider, believes that the United States should also be understood as a "factor in world civilization," and he has inaugurated his studies of the force of American life, manners, and ideas abroad by exploring the multifarious aspects of the reaction of the British Isles to our theories and practices in law, science, religion, education, medicine and so on during the period of the quick growth of American imperialism. His dates, 1898 to 1914, are not at all inclusive, for he frequently presents material from the earlier part of the nineteenth century and does not hesitate to run on to about 1938, the time when his manuscript was completed.

The scope of this work is vast, and perforce the presentation of material seems at times sporadic if not disconnected, but the total effect of the volume is tremendous and the details often of first consequence to students with various special interests. Readers of this journal will find much of interest in the chapter on the American press in England, the one on "America and Literature," and the one on amusements, in which the reaction to American plays and movies is considered. This book is of great importance to all students of American and English social history.

C. G.

TRANSCENDENTALISM: *A Story of Brook Farm*. By Edwin James Sceery. Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 1940. 32 pp. \$1.00.

"This book was written originally as a research paper for an American Literature Class at the Teachers College of Connecticut where the author majored in English" (Introduction).

C. G.

THE BEST SHORT STORIES OF 1940: *And the Yearbook of the American Short Story*. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. xvii, 524 pp. \$2.75.

Contains an Introduction, a collection of stories, a roster of magazines publishing short stories, a list of "Best Books of Short Stories" published in Canada and the United States during 1939, a check-list of articles on the short story or its writers appearing in American periodicals for 1939, and other bibliographical and statistical material.

C. G.

INDEX TO EARLY AMERICAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1728-1870: *The List of Periodicals Indexed by the W.P.A. and Sponsored by New York City, Board of Education, New York University, English Department, and The New York University Libraries*. Address Director of Libraries, New York University, Washington Square East, New York City. [1940.] 16 pp. Mimeographed.

This list presents the names of the periodicals covered by the index begun in 1934 under the direction of Professor Oscar Cargill at New York University and transferred in 1939 to the library of that institution at Washington Square.

C. G.

SOME STUDIES IN THE MODERN NOVEL. By Dorothy M. Hoare. Litchfield, Conn.: The Prospect Press. 1940. 154 pp.

A reprint of lectures delivered at Cambridge, England. The first is devoted to Henry James.

C. G.

THE WORKS OF HENRY D. THOREAU. With a Biographical Sketch by Ralph Waldo Emerson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1940. 423 pp. \$2.49.

The contents consist of *Walden*, *Cape Cod*, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, and *The Maine Woods*.

C. G.

THE BRIDGE: *My Own Story*. By Ernest Poole. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. 422 pp. \$3.50.

The autobiography of the author of *The Harbor*, weighted with observations of Poole as foreign correspondent—not as literary man.

C. G.

TO THE FINLAND STATION: *A Study in the Working and Acting of History*. By Edmund Wilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1940.] 509 pp. \$4.00.

A specialized history of socialism with one chapter devoted to "Enfantin and the American Socialists."

C. G.

THE STORY OF YIDDISH LITERATURE. By A. A. Roback. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute. 1940. 447 pp. \$3.00.

Chapters XIV and XV deal with "Recent Yiddish Literature in America" and "Recent Yiddish Prose in America."

C. G.

LEWIS AND CLARK: *Linguistic Pioneers*. By Elijah Harry Criswell. The University of Missouri Studies, Volume XV, Number 2. April 1, 1940. Columbia, Mo.: The University of Missouri. ccxi, 102 pp. \$1.25.

"The study is planned as follows: first, an introduction describing and analyzing the material, and then the lexicon proper with an alphabetical list of the terms selected for special study. The Introduction, after a general survey of the field, falls into two parts: the first dealing with the *things* that were discovered on the great expedition, under the title 'The New World of Explorers'; and the second with the *words* they made use of or invented to describe what they had discovered . . ." (Introduction).

C. G.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES TO 1865. By John A. Krout. Revised Edition. New York: Barnes & Noble. [1940.] 165 pp. \$0.75.

A useful outline illustrated with seven maps.

C. G.

THE COMPLETE ESSAYS AND OTHER WRITINGS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction, by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library. [1940.] xxiii, 930 pp. \$0.95.

Contains the first two series of *Essays*, *English Traits*, and selections from the other prose and verse. The Introduction is pleasantly informative.

C. G.

SOUTH DAKOTA PLACE-NAMES: Part IV *Mountains, Valleys and Other Natural Features*; Part V *Historic Sites, Parks and Other Features*; Part VI *Gold Mines and Ghost Towns*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of South Dakota. Sponsored by E. C. Ehrensperger, Ph.D., Head of the English Department, University of South Dakota. Vermillion: University of South Dakota. 1940. iv, 80; iv, 55; iii, 56 pp. Mimeographed.

Previously issued in this series are: Part I, "State, County, and Town Names"; Part II, "Lake Names"; Part III, "River and Creek Names."

C. G.

BRET HARTE'S STORIES OF THE OLD WEST. Selected by Wilhelmina Harper and Aimée M. Peters. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. 322 pp. \$2.00.

A useful selection from Harte's stories, but one which should have been made by George R. Stewart.

C. G.

AMERICAN POETS 1630-1930. Edited by Mark Van Doren. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. [1940.] xxxiii, 698 pp. \$1.75.

A reissue of the 1932 edition.

C. G.

THE BOOKS OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS. By James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson. New York: The Viking Press. 1940. 189 pp. \$2.95.

The Book of American Negro Spirituals and *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals* are here combined.

C. G.

THE CONCORD SAUNTERER: *Including a Discussion of the Nature Mysticism of Thoreau by Reginald Lansing Cook, Original Letters by Thoreau and a Check List of Thoreau Items in the Abernethy Library of Middlebury College*. Compiled by Viola C. White. Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Press. 1940. ix, 91 pp.

The Thoreau manuscripts here printed are of the poem "The Fisher's Son," a college essay, and five letters plus a fragment of another. Mr. Cook's essay is pleasantly instructive.

C. G.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE 1492-1865. By Homer Carey Hockett. Third Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. xxi, 861 pp. \$3.25.

The revision of this well-known textbook has required "some compression in the discussion of the beginnings of the American people, and the omission of most of the story of the European background."

C. G.

CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH: *An Account of His Life as Teacher, Dean, Master and Scholar*. By Ruth Hornblower Greenough. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Cooperative Society. 1940. xvi, 355 pp.

COLLECTED STUDIES BY CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH. With an Introduction by Wilbur Cortez Abbott. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Cooperative Society. 1940. xi, 303 pp. The two volumes, \$5.00.

Among the essays by Professor Greenough are a few dealing with the American field and reprinted from the proceedings of the Colonial Society and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the January, 1941, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Wright, Louis B., and Tinling, Marion. "William Byrd of Westover, an American Pepys." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXIX, 259-274 (July, 1940).

Byrd kept an intimate and detailed diary in shorthand of several decades of his life. Three fragments have been discovered, of which the longest is in the Huntington Library. The editors have reprinted extracts and have summarized the contents of all the existing parts. New information is given about Byrd's public and private life.

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Townsend, H. G. "Jonathan Edwards' Later Observations of Nature." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 510-518 (Sept., 1940).

An examination of Edwards's unpublished manuscript, "Images of Divine Things," reveals little conscious description of what he observed about him. Toward the end, his entries become increasingly bookish and are based upon an analogy between material and spiritual worlds.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Horner, George F. "Franklin's *Dogood Papers* Re-examined." *Studies in Phil.*, XXXVII, 501-523 (July, 1940).

Imitative of the *Spectator* only in basic form, Franklin's *Dogood Papers* exploit local material, adopt the opinions of the "Leather Apron Man" in contemporary controversies, use the vernacular style set by

the *New-England Courant* to attract the artisan-farmer reader, and develop an original, native character-mask.

Read, Conyers. "The English Elements in Benjamin Franklin." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIV, 314-330 (July, 1940).

Concludes that "Franklin in every department of his thought and action was profoundly influenced by his English inheritance and by his English connections."

Ross, John F. "The Character of Poor Richard: Its Sources and Alteration." *PMLA*, LV, 785-794 (Sept., 1940).

The Saunders-Leeds comic controversy closely parallels Swift's Bickerstaff-Partridge hoax; the initial characterization of Richard and Bridget echoes some Bickerstaffian particulars; and Poor Richard, originally eccentric philomath, becomes, by association with the proverbs, the "American archetype . . . of shrewd, prudential wisdom," a partial identification of putative and actual author.

Wecter, Dixon. "Burke, Franklin, and Samuel Petrie." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, III, 315-338 (Apr., 1940).

A review of the relationship between Franklin and Edmund Burke, always cordial but never intimate, and of the later connection with Petrie—based upon the editing of several new manuscripts.

———. See below, *s.v.* HOPKINSON.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Kirk, Rudolf. "Freneau's 'View' of Princeton." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, II, 20-25 (Dec., 1939).

[HOPKINSON, FRANCIS] Wecter, Dixon. "Francis Hopkinson and Benjamin Franklin." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 200-217 (May, 1940).

The editing of four hitherto unknown letters from Hopkinson to Franklin and of a satire by Hopkinson known before solely in mutilated form gives occasion to review a friendship based upon many similar tastes, curiosities, and political opinions.

[JOHNSON, SAMUEL] Burkett, Eva. See below, *s. v.* V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE.

[MURRAY, JUDITH SARGENT] Jorgenson, Chester E. "Gleanings from Judith Sargent Murray." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 73-78 (March, 1940).

The Gleaner essays (1792-1794) of the bluestocking, Mrs. Murray, reveal that "she deserves chief recognition as the first American woman to write articulate defenses of the American federal idea."

[RALPH, JAMES] Kenny, Robert W. "James Ralph: An Eighteenth-Century Philadelphian in Grub Street." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIV, 218-242 (Apr., 1940).

Removed from the shadow of Franklin, and "judged in the light of his career as a poet, dramatist, critic, publicist, and historian, he appears as a man of consequence."

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Cowie, Alexander. "John Trumbull Glances at Fiction." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 69-73 (March, 1940).

Trumbull's principal complaint against fiction was not its possible threat to morality, but its violation of literary or aesthetic principles, and its want of proportion and probability.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Bohman, George V. "A Poet's Mother: Sarah Snell Bryant in Illinois." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 166-189 (June, 1940).

Hudson, William Palmer. "Archibald Alison and William Cullen Bryant." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 59-68 (March, 1940).

Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh, 1790) prepared Bryant to read Wordsworth with fuller understanding and exerted a profound influence upon his critical theory.

[COOPER, J. F.] Dondore, Dorothy. "The Debt of Two Dyed-in-the-Wool Americans to Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs*; Cooper's *Satanstoe* and Paulding's *The Dutchman's Fireside*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 52-58 (March, 1940).

Cooper and Paulding were indebted to Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1808) for local color and narrative impetus. Paulding's debt, "though less concentrated" than Cooper's, "is very pervasive."

Hastings, George E. "How Cooper Became a Novelist." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 20-51 (March, 1940).

"I think it highly probable that Cooper when he wrote *Precaution* had read some of Mrs. Opie's tales, that he was familiar with more than one of Jane Austen's novels, and that he may have known Mrs. Brunton's *Discipline*; but I am firmly convinced that in *Precaution* he attempted 'an elaborate imitation in plot and character' of a definite English novel, and that that novel is Jane Austen's *Persuasion*."

[EMERSON, R. W.] Brown, Ruth Elizabeth. See below, *s. v.* HAWTHORNE. Ladu, Arthur I. "Emerson: Whig or Democrat." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 419-441 (Sept., 1940).

Emerson's inspired faith in the wise and good individual was the touchstone by which he measured both parties. Both Whigs and Democrats subordinated the value of men to the value of property.

Pollitt, Joe Donald. "Ralph Waldo Emerson's Debt to John Milton." *Marshall Rev.* (Huntington, W. Va.), III, 13-21 (Dec., 1939).

Emerson's "interest in Milton is particularly evident in the records

of his early manhood, in the essay on 'Milton', . . . and in the philosophic essays of his middle forties."

Schottlaender, Rudolf. "Two Dionysians: Emerson and Nietzsche." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXIX, 330-343 (July, 1940).

Emerson and Nietzsche, both lovers of the antique temper ("brother-souls"), liked the youthfulness of the Greek spirit. "They derived from the concrete life of antiquity an idea, a principle, which had in that life never quite achieved abstract clarity—the principle of the *identity of value-quantum with power-quantum*."

Silver, Mildred. "Emerson and the Idea of Progress." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 1-19 (March, 1940).

"Emerson rejected the popular belief of his age that general progress was a law of nature operating automatically." He "finally arrived at a conception of progress much less sweeping than that of many of his contemporaries, . . . based upon the possible development of the potentialities in each individual."

Simison, Barbara Damon. "The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Addenda." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LV, 425-427 (June, 1940).

The printing of two letters not included in Ralph L. Rusk's edition of Emerson's letters.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Rostenberg, Leona. "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary." *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XII, 209-220 (June, 1940).

The journal, covering January-May, 1849, is printed, with an introduction.

Stern, Madeleine B. "Margaret Fuller's Schooldays in Cambridge." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 207-222 (June, 1940).

Based on her father's letters from Washington to her mother. "Margaret Fuller's early education was typical, not of the average girl's lessons, but rather of the studies mastered by the Boston or Cambridge boy who planned to enter Harvard."

———. "Margaret Fuller's Stay in Providence, 1837-1838." *Americana*, XXXIV, 353-369 (July, 1940).

Her teaching in the Green Street School, her reading, and her circle of acquaintances.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Blodgett, Harold. "Hawthorne as Poetry Critic: Six Unpublished Letters to Lewis Mansfield." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 173-184 (May, 1940).

Four of the letters are concerned with Hawthorne's criticism of Mansfield's allegorical poem, *The Morning Watch* (1850). In his unaccustomed role as a critic of poetry, Hawthorne revealed a candid judgment and a dependable critical conscience.

Brown, Ruth Elizabeth. See below, *s. v.* VI. GENERAL.

Doubleday, Neal Frank. "Hawthorne's Inferno." *Coll. Eng.*, I, 658-670 (May, 1940).

Hawthorne alone among the greater writers of his time was occupied in portraying the consequences of intellectual pride for a generation which exalted self-trust and glorification of the individual. To Hawthorne, pride was a sin whose punishment was solitude.

Hawthorne, Manning. "Nathaniel Hawthorne at Bowdoin." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 246-279 (June, 1940).

A year-by-year descriptive account, based on letters, college records, and two histories of Bowdoin. Hawthorne's college years were happy and normal.

Metzendorf, Robert F. "Hawthorne's Suit against Ripley and Dana." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 235-241 (May, 1940).

A recently discovered letter from Hawthorne to George S. Hillard shows the novelist as not simple or ingenuous, but thoroughly businesslike in collecting money due him.

Miller, Harold P. "Hawthorne Surveys His Contemporaries." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 228-235 (May, 1940).

In revising "The Hall of Fantasy" for its inclusion in *Mosses from an Old Manse*, Hawthorne suppressed certain characterizations of his contemporaries. The suppressions were motivated by Hawthorne's desire to secure a favorable reception for *Mosses*, and by misgivings about the wisdom of his selections.

[HAYNE, P. H.] McKeithan, D. M. "A Note on Hayne's Ancestry." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXIV, 166-167 (June, 1940).

A letter to Paul Hamilton Hayne in which an English correspondent opines that the Haynes were from Shropshire, of "an old gentle family."

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Laird, Charlton G. "Tragedy and Irony in *Knickerbocker's History*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 157-172 (May, 1940).

In dealing with Peter Stuyvesant, Irving found a theme having a certain tragic grandeur and irony. When a sense of irony departed from Irving's work, a part of his creative power went with it.

[KIRKLAND, JOSEPH] Flanagan, John T. "A Note on Joseph Kirkland." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 107-108 (March, 1940).

Kirkland edited the *Prairie Chicken* in 1864-1865, and contributed several unsigned items to it.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Braswell, William. "Melville's Use of Seneca." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 98-104 (March, 1940).

Chiefly a study of "how skilfully Melville wove" material from Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Seneca's Morals by Way of Abstract* into *Mardi*.

Except for their faith in Christ or Alma, the people of Serenia had the religion of Seneca.

Howard, Leon. "Melville's Struggle with the Angel." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, I, 195-206 (June, 1940).

Overenthusiastic critics have given Melville credit for more craftsmanship and technical skill than he had. His chief devices were suspense and allusiveness (especially prominent in *Mardi*). In *Moby Dick* Ahab is consciously modeled on the Coleridgean conception of the Shakespearean tragic hero; the "quest" plot is from Hawthorne. "His later artistic struggles produced no new skill that would enable him to continue his career."

Potter, David. "Reviews of *Moby-Dick*." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, III, 62-65 (June, 1940).

Scott, Sumner W. D. "Some Implications of the Typhoon Scenes in *Moby Dick*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 91-98 (March, 1940).

The typhoon scenes represent a climax of the action involving Starbuck's opposition to Ahab.

Wright, Nathalia. "Biblical Allusion in Melville's Prose." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 185-199 (May, 1940).

Melville employed the Bible to "serve a definite artistic purpose," so that Biblical allusion in his work "appears as his chief method of creating an extensive background for his narratives," "magnifies his characters and themes," and "helps establish a background of antiquity for his sequence of events, thus investing them with a certain timeless quality."

[PAULDING, J. K.] Dondore, Dorothy. See above, *s. v.* COOPER.

[POE, E. A.] Krappe, Edith Smith. "A Possible Source for Poe's 'The Tell-Tale Heart' and 'The Black Cat.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 84-88 (March, 1940).

Considers "a striking similarity in the plots" of these Poe stories "and that of Dickens's story entitled 'The Clock-Case: A Confession Found in a Prison in the Time of Charles the Second,' published by him in *Master Humphrey's Clock* in April, 1840."

Laverty, Carroll. "The Death's-Head on the Gold-Bug." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 88-91 (March, 1940).

Presents the theory that "one of the elements going into the gold-bug was the death's-head moth of which Poe had read" and had described in some detail in his story, "The Sphinx."

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe's Word 'Porphryogene.'" *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVII, 403 (Dec. 2, 1939).

Poe probably adapted the word from Chapter 53 of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; he uses it with the additional meaning of intellectual.

Ostrom, John Ward. "A Poe Correspondence Re-edited." *Americana*, XXXIV, 409-446 (July, 1940).

An attempt to present completely and accurately the twelve known letters of Poe to Joseph Evans Snodgrass.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "Thoreau's Burials." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 105-107 (March, 1940).

Thoreau was buried in 1862 in "The New Burying Ground," or "The New Hill Burying Ground"; probably in 1872, but by 1874, his body was removed to the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery.

Buckley, Frank. "Thoreau and the Irish." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 389-400 (Sept., 1940).

Thoreau's "freedom from religious and political bias" makes his portrayal of the Irish "the most extended record . . . from the pen of a major American writer of the period."

Cosman, Max. "Apropos of John Thoreau." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 241-243 (May, 1940).

H. S. Canby repeated the Hosmer version of the death of Henry's brother, John, but this is inaccurate.

———. "Thoreau and Nature." *Personalist*, XXI, 289-393 (Autumn, 1940).

The autobiographic parts of Thoreau's verse show his "matured aim: complete fusion with Nature," as in the piece called "The Thaw."

Walcutt, Charles Child. "Thoreau in the Twentieth Century." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXIX, 168-184 (Apr., 1940).

An analysis of the social ideas of Thoreau in the light of their value in the modern world. "The inaccessibility of Thoreau's ideal [of justice] is the measure of our need for it."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Hume, Elizabeth. "Neighbor to a Poet." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXVI, 345-354 (Oct., 1940).

Recollections of Whittier by an Amesbury neighbor.

Stearns, Bertha-Monica. "John Greenleaf Whittier, Editor." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 280-304 (June, 1940).

"From 1829 to 1859 his name was almost continuously at the head of some weekly newspaper, often a journal of reform, in which he was attempting to help mold and direct public opinion." During these years he championed freedom, communicated his interest in the American past, and advocated humanitarian ideals to be attained by political action.

III. 1870-1900

[BEER, THOMAS] Mumford, Lewis. "Thomas Beer." *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, XXII, 3-4, 17 (May 4, 1940).

"What Beer brought into our letters was an aristocratic sense of precision, of intellectual balance and moral poise, and above all, a standard of exacting craftsmanship. . . ."

[CATHERWOOD, MARY H.] Price, Robert. "Mary Hartwell Catherwood: A Bibliography." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 68-77 (March, 1940).

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Applejoy, Petronius (pseudonym). "Stephen Crane is News in 1940." *Catholic World*, CLI, 586-594 (Aug., 1940).

"My purpose . . . has been as far as might be to let those who knew Crane personally tell in their own words what they thought of the man and of his work."

[HEARN, LAFCADIO] Rudkin, H. E. "Lafcadio Hearn." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVII, 419-422 (Dec. 9, 1939).

A copy of Hearn's baptismal certificate in the Public Record Office shows that his mother, instead of being Greek, as commonly stated, was apparently an Italian woman, Rosa Cassimati, daughter of Antonio Cassimati of Cerigo.

[NORRIS, FRANK] Reninger, H. Willard. "Norris Explains *The Octopus*; A Correlation of His Theory and Practice." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 218-227 (May, 1940).

Application of Norris's literary theory in *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (1903) to *The Octopus* (1901) reveals that this novel is "an example of his own concept of romantic reality" and that "its greatness is heightened because of the novel's philosophical consistency."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Catel, Jean. "Un Inédit de Walt Whitman." *Études Anglaises*, III, 359-360 (Oct., 1939).

A note on Lucretius, among the Whitman manuscripts in the Library of Congress, showing Whitman's interest in the scientific materialism of *De Rerum Natura*.

Dykes, Mattie M. "'A Nondescript Monster' with 'Terrible Eyes.'" *Northwest Mo. State Teachers Coll. Studies*, IV, 3-32 (June, 1940).

A summary of the critical reception of the *Leaves of Grass*, an analysis of Whitman's central ideas, and a plea for the recognition of his vision of a spiritual democracy.

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- [WOLFE, THOMAS] Simpson, Claude M., Jr. "A Note on Wolfe." *Fantasy*, VI, No. 2, 17-21 (1939).

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THE FIRST AMERICAN NOVEL

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WAS *The Power of Sympathy* (Boston, 1789) the first American novel? It may well have been the first published in this country, but it was probably not the first novel written by an American citizen. Fourteen years earlier, if circumstantial evidence can be believed, Thomas Atwood Digges, of Warburton Manor, Maryland, had had *Adventures of Alonso: Containing Some Striking Anecdotes of the Present Prime Minister of Portugal* anonymously printed by John Bew in London.

I

The principal clues leading to this discovery are to be found in two statements on the title page of the New York Public Library's copy of the book. The first statement, part of the printed title, is that *Adventures of Alonso* was "By a Native of Maryland, some Years resident in Lisbon."¹ The second, in pencil, is that it was "By Mr Digges of Warburton in Maryland."² If there is any doubt of the publisher's good faith in the first instance, that doubt is somewhat dispelled by the confidence apparently responsible for the identification in the second, and conviction is strengthened by the additional disclosure that the handwriting in question not only is typically late eighteenth century, but also closely resembles Thomas Digges's own.³

Yet even without the explicit information presented by this single title page it would be possible to make some reasonable

¹ Oscar Wegelin (*Early American Fiction 1774-1830*, New York, 1913, 1925) lists the book simply as "By a Native of Maryland." It is not included in Joseph Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, 1868-1936), or in Lyle H. Wright's *American Fiction 1774-1850* (San Marino, Calif., 1939).

² Mentioned by Robert B. Heilman, *America in British Fiction 1760-1800* (Baton Rouge, La., 1937), p. 70 and n.

³ Digges's letters are to be found mainly among the Franklin papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, American Philosophical Society, and University of Pennsylvania; the Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Washington, and Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan papers in the Library of Congress; the Lee papers at Harvard; the Emmet and Ford collections in the New York Public Library; the Rufus King papers in the New York Historical Society; and the John Adams papers, at present sealed from the public. These, together with letters to and about him in some of the above collections, are the principal sources for information about Digges.

inferences, from the contents of the book itself, as to the author's life and loyalties. It appears, to begin with, that he had first-hand knowledge of Portugal and the neighboring countries. Native words enter naturally into his sentences; familiarity with the region's physical aspects, distances and topography characterizes his descriptions; and personal acquaintance with the events and the locale colors his political as well as fictional anecdotes. Moreover, a few of the characters with active roles seem to be persons who really existed and were known by the writer. In the New York Public Library copy of *Adventures of Alonso*, for example, someone many years ago identified Capt. J— (I, 70) and Mr. H— (I, 77) as "Jarvis" and "Hake." Capt. J—, in the story, is commander of an English frigate, and Mr. H—, a friend of Alonso's father, is "an English gentleman belonging to the factory" at Lisbon, who dies before the adventures are completed. At that time, contemporary accounts show, there were living at least two Captains Jarvis of the British navy, one of whom was kind to American prisoners during the Revolution, and two Messrs. Hake of Lisbon, one of whom was director of the bank and the other of whom died in Lisbon, July 30, 1772, at the age of twenty.

Furthermore, if it is fair to look for autobiography in the biography of the hero, the contents of the book indicate that the author was a son of respected parents and a Catholic and that he was educated in England near London in order to be taught something about mercantile activity; for Alonso, at the age of fifteen, "was . . . sent to an eminent boarding school in the vicinity of the capital, accompanied with a private tutor of the Roman Catholic religion,"⁴ while his father, a merchant of good standing, hoped that "by living some time with a people, whose grandeur and opulence depended chiefly upon their commerce . . . [Alonso] would acquire higher and juster notions of what he was intended for."⁵ In addition, if Alonso's conduct can be said to represent the author's idea of heroic behavior, the attempt to smuggle diamonds out of Brazil and the endeavor to carry on contraband trade with the Spanish settlements bear the stamp of approval and intimate that, given the occasion, the author would have acted, or would act, in like manner himself.

⁴ *Adventures of Alonso* (2 vols.; London, 1775), I, 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 9.

Finally, there is the substantially more definite information to be gleaned concerning the writer's politics and nationality. Judged by the words he puts into the mouth of his protagonist, he reveals himself as either an Englishman sympathetic with the American struggle for equality or an intransigent American. Thus Alonso takes a stand against despotic government and finds fault with Pombal, the prime minister, for having ruined Portugal's commerce through deterrent taxes, through the creation of monopolies, and through unlawful seizure of property. And thus also, as if to bring the point home to the British reader, Alonso makes remarks obviously intended for consumption in the land where the book was published.⁶ After terming the English people "a good sort" and "honest and sincere," he tells a group of acquaintances that "sensible people" believe Britain "ripe for a more arbitrary government" and that "without some violent concussion in the state, to give play to the passions, and thereby restore the constitution to its first principles, the boasted freedom of England will soon be on a level with other states." Parliament is "venal," he warns, while the king's ministers place themselves above the laws.

The pre-sentiment of the loss of their liberties . . . ought to fill the mind of every Englishman with horror—They ought to contrast opulence, independency and happiness—the appendages of freedom—to despotism—the uncertainty of property, and all that train of evils which accompany arbitrary power. This picture they ought constantly have in view, in order to awaken their attention to their interest, prosperity, and welfare.

In sum, added to the explicit clues already cited, the internal evidence of *Adventures of Alonso* suggests that the author would in all likelihood have been a Catholic, have gone to England for his education, been interested in commerce, and of course have been before 1775 some years resident in Lisbon, where he would have made some friends. He would also, when the American conflict broke out, doubtless have opposed George III and his ministers, and might even have carried on contraband trade with the Colonies if he were not there himself fighting. If it can be shown that there was a Mr. Digges of Warburton, Maryland, who was some years resident in Lisbon before the publication of *Adventures of Alonso* and who, beyond that, fulfilled those other qualifications implied

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 122-128.

by the book, then his identification will have something solid for its foundation.

II

Without any question, Thomas Atwood Digges is the Mr. Digges of Warburton in Maryland who best embodies the characteristics of the anonymous writer. He came from an old Catholic family, originally of Kent, and could trace his lineage back to the time of Richard I, perhaps even to Alfred the Great himself. Among his more illustrious ancestors were Thomas, the mathematician; Sir Dudley, author of *The Compleat Ambassador* and Master of Rolls under Charles I; and Edward, royal governor of Virginia in 1656. His father, William, was a good friend of George Washington's, and Washington's letters and diaries show that the two families exchanged frequent visits and were on the most intimate of terms. Warburton Manor, the home of the Diggeses ever since Edward's eldest son had gained possession of it in the 1680's, now Fort Washington, was situated on the north side of Piscataway Creek and the Potomac nearly fronting Mount Vernon. Between these two estates, it is said, intercourse was maintained by a unique code of signals and by elegant barges imported from England, and Washington Irving relates that whenever William Digges received Washington he was "always . . . rowed by six negroes, arrayed in a kind of uniform of check shirts and black velvet caps."⁷

Thomas was born at Warburton some time in 1741, according to the most reasonable calculations, the second of the six sons of Ann Atwood and William Digges.⁸ Family tradition has it that he and a younger brother, George, were sent to Oxford for their education, and a portrait,⁹ painted reputedly by Sir Joshua Reynolds and showing Thomas in the wig and gown of an alleged Oxford society, is invoked as proof. Although Oxford has no record of any

⁷ *Life of George Washington* (5 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1855-59), I, 321.

⁸ The evidence is contradictory: cf. *D. A. R. Magazine*, LVII, 130-131 (March, 1923); copies of the wills of both old and young Charles Digges in Semmes Genealogical Collection, Maryland Historical Society; Jane Baldwin Cotton, *Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore, 1901-28), VIII, 267-268; MSS: Digges to Jefferson, May 30, 1818, and Jefferson to Digges, June 15, 1818 (Jefferson papers, Library of Congress); Digges to Madison, Feb. 9, 1812, and Nov. 27, 1815 (Madison papers, Library of Congress). I am indebted to Mrs. Russell Hastings of New York for additional data.

⁹ Owned by Mrs. Cecil Morgan, Macon, Ga., and reproduced in *D. A. R. Magazine*, LVII, 126 (March, 1923), and in Paul Wiltach's *Potomac Landings* (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto, 1921), p. 100.

Maryland Diggeses' ever having studied there, it may still be true that the two boys were schooled somewhere in England, even if not at Oxford, thus continuing the parallel with Alonso.

In any case, Thomas proved himself the most adventurous member of the family and was the only one of the Messrs. Digges of Warburton Manor to have gone to Lisbon before 1775.¹⁰ Charles and Francis had died young; Henry perished at sea; and neither George nor Joseph left America until a few years after *Adventures of Alonso* was written and published. William Digges, the father, was of course perpetually present. But Thomas, on February 23, 1767, was in New York City getting ready to go to Lisbon. On that day he wrote Francis Street, a Philadelphia merchant:

I have . . . bespoken a passage in a Ship that will sail from this to Cadiz about this day week, and as it is not distant from Lisbon more than 30 or 40 leag^s. it will not be very inconvenient to me; as I am told there are often opportunitys both by Land & water from thence to Lisbon[.] I could have wished to have seen you at Philadelphia, as I want some account given me of the nature of the Country to which I am bound & which I may probably stand in need of, however I suppose there are many Englishmen in Cadiz, who can direct me w^{ch} way to take for the most ready conveyance to Lisbon in which place there are some Gent^l. to whom I am personally known & when I get among them I shall think myself snug enough. . . .¹¹

If he acted according to plan, he must have gone on the Ship *Earl of Hertford*, which the New York newspapers show cleared the customhouse on Monday, the twenty-third, but had not yet sailed on the twenty-sixth; and if the trip took what seems to have been the usual length of time, he must have arrived at his destination by the middle of May.

References in letters later written to Benjamin Franklin demonstrate that Thomas Digges actually did go to Lisbon. He said that

¹⁰ The account of Digges's career is based on the MSS already cited in n. 3; on MSS in the Samuel Adams, George Bancroft, and Henry Laurens papers in the New York Public Library and the Franklin papers in the Library of Congress; on the published writings, correspondence, and diaries of John Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Rufus King, Laurens, Arthur and William Lee, Madison, Washington, and George III; on the volumes of the American Revolution's diplomatic correspondence edited by Jared Sparks and by Francis Wharton; and on B. F. Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America 1773-1783* (London, 1889).

¹¹ MS, New York Public Library.

Lisbon was a place where "I am well known & a little respected."¹² He introduced William Burn "of the house of Messieurs Burn & sons of Lisbon" as "a particular Friend of mine" who had been helpful to Americans in Lisbon, "among whom I am a grateful example."¹³ And he offered to be of assistance to John Jay and William Carmichael, who were being sent to Spain, "a Country that I know well."¹⁴ Digges knew not only Lisbon, but, obviously, the surrounding country too.

How long he was there is not certain. If the death of Mr. H— in the novel is based on the death of young Hake, Thomas Digges was probably still in Lisbon on July 30, 1772. But he did not stay long after that, for some time in 1773 or 1774 he became a resident of London. In June, 1775, the *London Magazine* and the *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* noted the appearance of the completely anonymous *Adventures of Alonso*. And then there is no word of him until almost two years later, when letters by, to, and about him in the correspondence of men active in diplomatic circles abroad during the Revolution reveal that he, like the author of *Adventures of Alonso*, was opposed to arbitrary government and devoted to democratic principles and that, like Alonso himself, he was even a trader in contraband.

At the very outbreak of hostilities Digges made the most of opportunities to serve his country. As private agent, he furnished Arthur and William Lee with useful intelligence, fed and clothed imprisoned Americans, and shipped locks for guns and muskets to America, under cover of clearance for Spain. In 1778 he offered his services to Franklin, and on May 3, 1779, he went to Passy and swore allegiance to "the thirteen United States of America,"¹⁵ thus becoming *de jure* the rebel that he had been and continued to be *de facto*. He now not only provided Franklin with the political and military news of the day and, in co-operation with William Hodgson, David Hartley, and the Rev. Mr. Wren, furnished prisoners with money, food, and clothes, as well as arranged the transfer of the sick from dank vaults to healthier quarters; but he also endeavored to keep the cartel ship afloat with exchange prisoners

¹² MS, July 6, 1779, Franklin papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³ MS, March 15, 1780, Franklin papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴ MS, Dec. 4, 1799, Franklin papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ MS, Franklin papers, American Philosophical Society.

and to force the Admiralty to respect the agreements of English soldiers paroled by the Americans. Later, when John Adams arrived in Europe, he became the means of inserting pro-American propaganda in the British newspapers.

Throughout the period of battle and bickering Digges supported the American cause. He declared that "American Independency" was his "favourite wish";¹⁶ he called the British blundering in provoking the war, in prosecuting it, and in blinding themselves to American sovereignty; and, occasionally, with the hope of terminating the conflict, he forwarded to Franklin peace proposals from minority members of Parliament. Moreover, his sincerity convinced men who knew him. Arthur Lee, in 1777, recommended him to Congress for an appointment; William Lee, early the next year, suggested he be named commissioner to Portugal; and Captain Conyngham praised him for his aid to Americans who had succeeded in escaping from English prisons. "Happy we to have such a man," Conyngham wrote Franklin in 1779.¹⁷

Yet Digges's integrity has been questioned and his right to be called an American challenged. For this a misunderstanding with Franklin is largely responsible. When Franklin asked Digges for an accounting of the prisoners' money expended during 1779 and 1780, Digges could not render it, for the prudence that had prompted him to use some two dozen pseudonyms in his correspondence¹⁸ had impelled him to place his papers "in a safe & distant quarter."¹⁹ This, of course, left Franklin only unsatisfied and suspicious; consequently, when Hodgson wrote in 1781 that Digges had gone to Bristol without providing certain necessary funds and was there secretly shipping goods to Boston on a vessel supposed to be bound for New York, Franklin was convinced that "If such a Fellow is

¹⁶ MS, Digges to Franklin, Dec. 19, 1778, Franklin papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁷ Edward E. Hale and Edward E. Hale, Jr., *Franklin in France* (2 vols.; Boston, 1888), I, 347.

¹⁸ Sometimes he signed his own name or initials, sometimes no name, but usually it was one of the following, or their initials: B. B—d, Pierre J. Bertrand, Alexr. Brett, P— C., Wm. Singleton Church, Jacques Vincent Drouillard, P. Drouillard, V. J. Drouillard, Pierre J. Du Vall, Wm. Ferguson, Wm. Fitzpatrick, Donald Forbes, Wm. Forbes, Allen Hamilton, Arthur Hamilton, Wm. Hamilton, Alexr. Hammilton [*sic*], Alexr. McKinlock, A. McPherson, W. P., Wm. S. Ross, Wm. Russell, Robt. Sinclair, John Thompson, I. W—.

¹⁹ MS, Digges to Franklin, Sept. 20, 1779, Franklin papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

not damn'd, it is not worth while to keep a Devil";²⁰ and both he and Hodgson proceeded to warn everyone against Digges. By the time Digges himself heard of this, it was too late: help he had given some indiscrete prisoners had resulted in the seizure of his papers, and he was now deprived of access to the evidence that could absolve him. Moreover, subsequent events, instead of clearing Digges, actually offered Franklin additional reasons for believing Hodgson and the worst. In an attempt to ask the favor of having his property restored, Digges did the ministry the favor of carrying a communication to John Adams, then in Holland, just at the time North fell from power; and, to some, Digges thus appeared to be in the pay of the British. When a few days afterward Digges returned to London, Shelburne so garbled the report of the interview with Adams that Adams was misled into believing Digges could not be trusted. Then, finally, as if another instance were needed, Jonathan Williams wrote Franklin on June 17, 1785, that Digges was in a Dublin jail in consequence of his "Folly & Wickedness."²¹ This all must have seemed but further proof of roguery at that time, and it has usually been accepted as such since.

As a matter of fact, the events from which Hodgson and Williams drew inferences only reaffirm Digges's loyalty to America, while the inferences themselves emphasize the price Digges had to pay for it. His valuable shipments of musket locks, clothing, and sail and tent materials to America in war time, naturally, because of the tremendous risk, demanded extreme caution and methods that might well have aroused Hodgson's suspicions; and his efforts after the war to send skilled craftsmen, indentured servants, and machinery from the British Isles to the United States made him liable to a fine and imprisonment that could explain his predicament in the Dublin jail. Personal ill-will and physical punishment were what men like Digges knew they had to endure. So, probably, when Digges was in Bristol subjecting himself to Hodgson's censure, he was supplying America with useful materials; and when he was behind bars in Ireland for what Williams considered follies, he was very likely paying for his endeavors to ship men and vital machinery to Franklin's homeland.

²⁰ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth (10 vols.; New York, 1905-1907), VIII, 231-232.

²¹ MS, Franklin papers, American Philosophical Society; quoted in Hale, *Franklin in France*, II, 47 n.

For some years after 1785, Digges remained abroad, and continued to furnish illustrations of his allegiance to the new nation. In 1792 he was still helping Englishmen and Irishmen to emigrate, having sent a score of "very valuable artists & machine makers"²² across the ocean in the course of the previous year. In 1793 he provided Jefferson and Thomas Pinckney with information concerning attempts to counterfeit coins for use in America. And in November and December of 1797 he assisted Rufus King in ferreting out some of the details of the Blount-Chisholm conspiracy to seize Spain's North American territories for the British. Finally, between April 10, 1798, when he shipped Washington a box of seeds and potatoes from London, and February 8, 1799, when he dined at Mount Vernon, Digges returned to Warburton Manor.

Whatever doubts existed as to his patriotism had in all likelihood been dispelled some time before. In 1794, on the basis of the bad reputation given him by Franklin and Hodgson, an attempt had been made to confiscate his estate, but, doubtless because of Washington's testimony, it had come to naught. The President had lightly dismissed the quarrel between Digges and Franklin as of little consequence and declared "that the conduct of Mr. Thomas Digges toward the United States during the War . . . and since . . . has not been only friendly, but I might add zealous."²³ Certainly no doubt existed after Digges's return, for Washington had him over for dinner; Jefferson maintained a cordial correspondence with him, discussing agriculture, sheep-breeding, and political chicane; and the Madisons regarded him with friendly affection. Indeed, until but a few years before his death, he was active in the political circles of Jefferson, Madison, and other leaders, stamping out the remnants of the Tory party.

His final days were unhappy ones, however, and he may have died with a grievance against the government. He was not only plunged into the misunderstanding involving L'Enfant and the construction of Fort Washington at Warburton Manor, but he was also plagued with damages to his fisheries and farm caused by the work on the fort. It was in vain that he claimed reimbursement. The officials did nothing, and the depredations continued. When, in addition,

²² MS, Digges to Alexander Hamilton, April 6, 1792, Hamilton papers, Library of Congress.

²³ *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. W. C. Ford (14 vols.; New York and London, 1891), XII, 420-422.

storms dilapidated his house and illness and age weakened his body, he forsook Warburton for less troubled lodgings in the city of Washington, where, it seems, he died in the middle of December, 1821. One of his nephews, John Fitzgerald, had written L'Enfant on December 6, requesting the return of an old pot that was being repaired at the shop and saying, "My Mother desires me to present her compliments & ask if you have heard how her Brother is—."²⁴ By the twenty-fourth, another nephew, William Dudley Digges, was able to compose a letter beginning, "Since the death of my Uncle I have good reason to believe that I am entitled to the immediate possession of the estates of Warburton and Frankland. . . ."²⁵ After that date there was some discussion about the disposal of the property, but the name of Thomas Atwood Digges was buried in silence, to be resurrected only by those historians who occasionally encountered it in the unfair fulminations of Franklin.

Yet this was the man who could have written *Adventures of Alonso*. His life and sentiments were identical with the author's as far as the author's life and sentiments can be detected in the book. Therefore, inasmuch as all the clues—the inferred, the inscribed, and the imprinted—lead to him, must we not conclude that he was *the* "Native of Maryland, some Years resident in Lisbon"?²⁶

III

It would be a mistake, however, as a consequence of the foregoing, to regard *Adventures of Alonso* as so autobiographical and political that it lost its right to be called a novel. It may describe real events and living persons, but in this it merely takes its place near the beginning of a great American tradition that includes such diverse examples as *Charlotte Temple* and *U. S. A.* It may talk of economic security and the dangers of despotism instead of Constancy's blessings and the pitfalls of Vice, but in this it merely acquires a distinction that sets it apart from its more sentimental contem-

²⁴ MS, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan papers, Library of Congress.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ This conclusion agrees with that reached in 1932 by Eugene D. Finch, of Phillips Exeter Academy, who is now completing a biography of Thomas A. Digges (see *American Literature*, XI, 300, Nov., 1939). I did not discover until April, 1939, that he and I were both doing the same thing, and then I learned that Dr. Finch had been working on the project since 1935. Inasmuch as my labors covered scarcely a year, I relinquished the larger subject, while he, in return, graciously consented to let me publish the facts about the authorship of *Adventures of Alonso*.

poraries. If there is a labyrinth of political nashgab, there is also a strong thread of fiction to lead the reader through it.

Surely the narrative itself is more than a transcription of actual occurrences. Briefly stated, it is the story of a young Portuguese (Alonso) with a respectable future in business, who elopes with a married woman (Eugenia), spends all his money, and then, placing his beloved in a convent for safekeeping, sets out to regain his fortune. His schemes, which vary from an attempt to smuggle diamonds out of Brazil to trading in contraband with the Spanish settlements, provide such adventures as an escape from a Spanish sloop, a tramp by compass over the inland wastes of Panama, and enslavement to a lecherous Moor. By good fortune and coincidence, however, he reaches home unscathed, receives his father's forgiveness, and hears that Eugenia's husband is dead; but Eugenia, alas! despairing of her lover's return, has become a nun; and, by the time Alonso reaches the convent, she has become a corpse. So, after her funeral, Alonso returns home to comfort his father in his last days, to inherit great wealth at the old man's death, and, made wiser by "misfortune and error," to endeavor to tread in the good merchant's footsteps.

It is perhaps a tribute to the author's semirealistic treatment that the English critics disagreed as to how the book should be classified. The *London Magazine* entered it as "Miscellaneous,"²⁷ but called some of the events "too extraordinary to be true."²⁸ The *London Review* simply listed it under "Miscellaneous" and made no comment.²⁹ The *Critical Review: or, Annals of Literature*,³⁰ the *Gentleman's Magazine*,³¹ and the *Monthly Review*³² placed it in the "Novels" category, while the *Westminster Magazine; or, The Pantheon of Taste* considered it "Extravagant, but amusing"³³ and the *Town and Country Magazine; or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment* compromised with "A political romance, may be pronounced truly *romantic!*"³⁴

The actual criticism that was attempted, however, exhibited a somewhat greater degree of unanimity. Although the *London Maga-*

²⁷ XLIV, 316 (June, 1775).

²⁸ XLV, 46 (Jan., 1776).

²⁹ I, 476 (June, 1775), 576 (Recapitulatory Catalogue).

³⁰ XL, 163-164 (Aug., 1775).

³¹ XLV, 393 (Aug., 1775).

³² LIII, 274 (Sept., 1775).

³³ III, [502] (Sept., 1775).

³⁴ VII, 492 (Sept., 1775).

zine found it worth while to reprint some of "the most striking anecdotes" concerning the Portuguese prime minister's arbitrary regime as letters-to-the-editor,³⁵ the political discursions were precisely what the *Monthly Review* thought "dull and tedious. It is one of those performances, which . . . will be read without emotion, and forgotten as soon as it is laid aside." And the *Critical Review*, while admitting that the "adventures of the hero" were "amusing" and that the conclusion was "effected by a circumstance wholly unexpected," declared, "The writer of this book amuses himself with too much political matter, (especially as it relates chiefly to a foreign kingdom,) to render his book a favourite with the readers of novels." Then it added, rather whimsically:

The author generally writes in a tolerable style, though we have noted the peculiarity of some of his phrases. "They immediately began to set about getting ready," is one which we are confident the author will alter in the second edition. We shall therefore not produce any other instance of negligence, but, to adopt his own phraseology, *begin to set about concluding* this article.

IV

It is highly doubtful that the gentlemen of the *Critical Review* seriously believed there would be a second edition, and no such edition has been discovered, but there was, some time in 1775, a second issue, with a changed title page. As a matter of fact, it would not be necessary to find both issues to suspect that two existed. The copy in the New York Public Library—or, better yet, the similar but perfect copy at Yale—and the magazine notices would be sufficient. The Yale copy is in its pristine state—original boards, uncut pages, with end papers and fly leaves intact—and consists of two volumes numbered separately but bound together; judging from the likeness of the paper of text, fly leaves, and end papers, the volumes were bound together in the printer's shop when published.³⁶

³⁵ XLV, 16, 46 (Jan., 1776), 86-87, 87-88 (Feb.), from *Adventures of Alonso*, I, 70-74, 59-63, 114-119, respectively.

³⁶ The N. Y. P. L. copy is identical except for imperfections: it lacks the half-title in Vol. I and is bound in two volumes, contemporary boards and leather spine. As the fly leaves are of different paper from the rest of the pages, the printer was probably not also the binder. The title page of Yale's copy bears the inscription, "H: Hill 1775 / from the Author," which does not resemble Digges's writing, but does resemble what is apparently the owner's "H: H: / 1775" on the inside front cover. For aid in collating these two copies I am indebted to Mr. Gilbert Troxell, of the Yale Library, and Mr. Gerald D. McDonald, of the New York Public Library.

The title page for Volume I of this issue reads:

ADVENTURES / OF / ALONSO: / CONTAINING / Some STRIKING
ANECDOTES of the present PRIME MINISTER of POR- / TUGAL. / (rule) / By
a Native of *Maryland*, some Years / resident in Lisbon. / (rule) / VOL.
I. and II. / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed for J. BEW, No. 28, Paternoster-
Row. / (row of twenty- four tiny circles) / M,DCC,LXXV.

Where a title page for Volume II should be, though, there is only a stub, which forms part of the signature. That one title page was meant to serve for both volumes of this two-in-one edition is clear from the wording "Vol. I. and II." A title page for the second volume would certainly have been superfluous. Yet the presence of the stub in its place, in the New York Public Library copy as well as in the Yale copy, indicates that there had probably once been a title page there that had had to be cut out. In that case, there must have been another title page for the first volume too, for, if the present one is the original, why should one for Volume II have been included at all?

Careful examination of both the New York Public Library and Yale copies justifies the inference that the title page is a cancel. For one thing, the watermark is unique, unlike that on any of the other pages of the book. The New York Public Library copy bears the mark of an Indian with upraised tomahawk, his arm stretched at an angle, while the handle of the weapon is vertical. The Yale copy has that of an Indian head and "Pro Patria." Although elsewhere in both copies a Greek warrior may be found with a spear poised at the same angle as the arm that holds it, there are no real Indians to be espied! Another thing, in the Yale copy may be discerned a stub to which the title page is pasted. Despite the fact that the stitches run through the page proper rather than the stub, it is no less a cancel, for it was, after all, designed for the one-volume form and would naturally have been tipped in before the final sewing and binding. Thus it would seem that both Yale and New York Public Library copies are instances of a second or later issue and that there was a previous issue containing a different title page for the first volume and also a title page for the second volume.

The magazines that mentioned the book in their columns help in some measure to confirm this conclusion. In the first place, they always listed *Adventures of Alonso* as in two volumes. And in

the second place, they never referred to its being "By a Native of Maryland, some Years resident in Lisbon."³⁷ Since the Yale and New York Public Library copies betray signs of changes and since the reviewers probably saw the first issue that was published, it is to be supposed that the first issue was in two volumes, each of which had a title page that lacked the informative by-line. If the publisher or author had wanted to alter the title later, it would have been economical to print only one new page and snip the superfluous old one, while to bind both volumes in one gave the work a more substantial appearance than it could have had in the form of two separate thin volumes.

Precisely what the motives for the change were is uncertain, but that there actually was a change is, fortunately, not a matter of mere speculation, for copies of the suspected first issue are to be found at Harvard, the British Museum, American Antiquarian Society, and Library Company of Philadelphia.³⁸ They all have title pages for each volume, which may be seen to differ from the Yale and New York Public Library copies as expected:

ADVENTURES / OF / ALONSO: / CONTAINING / Some STRIKING
ANECDOTES of the prefent PRIME MINISTER of POR- / TUGAL. / (rule) /
VOL. I. / (rule) / LONDON: / Printed for J. BEW, No. 28, Pater-
nofter-Row. / (row of twenty-four tiny circles) / M,DCC,LXXV.

ADVENTURES / OF / ALONSO. / CONTAINING / Some STRIKING
ANECDOTES of the prefent PRIME MINISTER of POR- / TUGAL. / VOL. II. /
LONDON: / Printed for J. BEW, No. 28, Paternoster-Row. / (row of
twenty-four tiny circles) / M,DCC,LXXV.

The Harvard and American Antiquarian Society copies, the two that have the oldest bindings, are each in two volumes, separately bound,³⁹ while the Harvard and Library Company copies have

³⁷ "Alonso" sometimes spelled with "s," sometimes "z"; but magazines often used these letters interchangeably when the sound represented by "s" was voiced; so no other issues are indicated thereby. Differences that occur in listing the book as 8vo. and 12mo. can be traced to the habit of describing books sometimes according to the folding of the sheets and other times according to their size.

³⁸ For information concerning the American Antiquarian Society's copy, I am indebted to Mr. R. W. G. Vail; for information concerning the British Museum's, to Mr. W. A. Marsden, Keeper of the Printed Books. All other copies I have examined myself.

³⁹ The Harvard copy was evidently bound after 1777, for the owner's name and date ("18 Decemb^r 1777") on the title pages have been cut into by whoever trimmed the pages. The American Antiquarian Society copy is in its original binding.

something the other copies lack—advertisements at the end of the second volume. The collation is as follows:

Volume One

Pp. 148, consisting of half-title: "ADVENTURES / OF / ALONSO." (verso blank), pp. [1, 2]; title page as above (verso blank), pp. [3, 4]; text, pp. [5], 6-148; "The END of the FIRST VOLUME.", at bottom of p. 148. Signatures: [A]², B-K⁸. Running heads throughout text: "The ADVENTURES Of ALONSO." ("The ADVENTURES, &c.", p. 148.)

Volume Two

Pp. 144, consisting of half-title as in Vol. I (verso blank), pp. [1, 2]; title page as above (verso blank), pp. [3, 4]; text, pp. [5], 6-129; "The END.", at bottom of p. 129; p. [130], blank; advertisements: "BOOKS, &c. printed for J. BEW . . .," pp. [131], 132-144. Signatures: A-I⁸. Running heads as in Vol. I, throughout text but not advertisements.

Binding

According to the magazines, there were two states: sewn at 4s. and bound at 5s. or 6s. The A. A. S. copy is in its original full leather binding, with red leather labels on spine; it has one fly leaf in the back of both volumes and a stub where one was originally in the front; but precisely when this copy was bound is uncertain. If the Yale copy represents the binding used at the time of not only the second but also the first issue, then what binding there is should be marble paper boards. This copy has a fly leaf front and back and the same paper throughout.

Measurements

The uncut Yale copy measures 10.5 x 17.0 cm. The edges of the pages are flush with the covers.

Whether or not the presence of the advertisements in the Harvard and Library Company copies and their absence from the British Museum and American Antiquarian Society copies indicate another issue is difficult to assert, for the identity of the binders is in doubt and, consequently, the absence of the advertisements may be due to the binder's or owner's whim. On the other hand, the Yale and New York Public Library copies also lack the advertisements, and from the Yale copy it can be seen that these final pages were never included in this issue at all, the first page (p. 129) of the signature of which they form a part (the I-signature) having been pasted onto the preceding page. So perhaps the advertisements do become

a "point." If so, the copies with them would be the first issue, while the copies having unchanged title pages but lacking the advertisements would be the second, and the copies with the changed title page would be the third.

The matter is somewhat confused by another "point." On page 120 of the second volume of the Harvard and American Antiquarian Society copies, the final period in the heading "CHAP. XXV." has slipped up a half-line. Whether this error is one that occurred or one that was corrected during printing cannot be determined from the text, which is everywhere else identical in all six copies—except, of course, for the advertisements—but it nevertheless indicates two states of the text, with resulting bibliographical complications. Thus, for example, even if the misplaced period should be a characteristic of the earliest sheets, it might still appear in a copy with the altered title page, inasmuch as the sheets of the text do not show signs of more than one printing. Assuming that the issue with the changed title page never contained the advertisements, there are then six possible variations: there are the copies having the original title pages, with and without the advertisements, with and without the misplaced period; and the copies having the changed title page, with and without the misplaced period.

No description of this book would be complete without mention of the German translation, which was published in Leipzig in 1787 by Schwickert, under the title, *Alonzo's Abenteuer* (in two parts, 154 pp., 8vo. "10 gr.").⁴⁰ "Welch ein Nonsense!" cried the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.⁴¹ "Eines von den Englischen Alltags-Producten—denn auch dort giebt es Papierverderber, wie bey uns!—das sicherlich keine Verdeutschung verdient hätte," they declared. Alonso was "ein Nichtswürdiger," and the discussions of politics, economics, and history were branded as "die einfältigsten Gespräche." If this review is indicative, *Alonso's* German reception was marked by very limited enthusiasm. Nevertheless, *Adventures of Alonso* was apparently the first novel by a citizen of the United States, and, not only that, it was the first American novel to be translated. In terms of priority, its value can scarcely be denied.

⁴⁰ Title spelled "*Alonzos Abendtheuer*" in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, No. 298, p. 686 (Dec. 13, 1787), and "*Alonzo's Abenteuer*" in *Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken* (Berlin, 1932), II, 3.

⁴¹ Pp. 686-687. The book is reviewed under the heading, "Schöne Wissenschaften."

THE DRAMATIC BACKGROUND OF ROYALL TYLER'S *THE CONTRAST*

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WHEN THE first professionally produced comedy by a citizen of the United States, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*, was printed for subscribers in 1790, its "Advertisement," written by its editor, the actor Thomas Wignell, contained the following well-known passage: "It is the first essay of American genius in a difficult species of composition; it was written by one who never critically studied the rules of the drama, and, indeed, had seen but few of the exhibitions of the stage; it was undertaken and finished in the course of three weeks. . . ."¹ The first and the last of these statements can scarcely be disputed, but the central one, implying Tyler's almost complete ignorance of the drama, has, I believe, been accepted far too easily and uncritically by practically all succeeding historians. Dunlap did not challenge it in his pioneering *History of the American Theatre* in 1832.² Seilhamer, echoing Dunlap's rather condescending view of the play, even improved on Wignell's assertion by remarking in 1889: "All this is not surprising when it is remembered that the author of this comedy had never seen a play performed until a day or two before he began to write it."³ Seilhamer's reckless "day or two" was penned in spite of the fact that, two years before, McKee had written in his Dunlap Society Edition of the play that Tyler,

up to within a few weeks of its production, had never attended a theatrical performance. . . . This was the first time that Tyler had left his native New England, and the first time he could have seen the inside of a regular theater, thus confirming the statement made in the preface of the play as to the author's inexperience in the rules of the drama, and as to the short time within which it was written, as his arrival in New-York was within but a few weeks of its first performance.⁴

¹ The Dunlap Society Edition of *The Contrast*, with an introduction by Thomas J. McKee (New York, 1887), p. xix.

² William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), pp. 71-74.

³ George O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1889), II, 226.

⁴ McKee, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

Modern historians and editors have retraced the same path. Montrose J. Moses, in his *Representative Plays by American Dramatists* in 1918, simply followed custom by recounting the story of how, two days after Tyler saw his first play in New York, "inspiration began to burn, and he dashed off, in a period of a few weeks, the comedy called 'The Contrast.' . . ."⁵ Arthur Hobson Quinn, in the first edition of his *Representative American Plays* in 1917, merely quoted Wignell, and has continued to do so up to his current 1938 edition; in his *History of the American Drama* in 1923, however, he took a more scholarly view by stating: "Tyler wrote it in three weeks, but he had before him good models. . . ."⁶ Tyler's own granddaughter, Helen Tyler Brown, referred to her grandfather in 1920 as an "inexperienced dramatist, who had not been inside a regular theatre before coming to New York."⁷ Even as late as 1935, Allan G. Halline, although he refers to Herbert R. Brown's discussion of the sentimental aspects of the play in 1932,⁸ concludes, after remarking that "the bulk of the play remains Tyler's own": "It is remarkable that a man so little trained dramatically as Tyler should write a play so sharp in its characterization, so effective in dramatic production, and so significant culturally."⁹ To some degree, then, recognition of the dramatic background of Tyler's comedy has increased, but this recognition has scarcely kept pace with the appreciation of the interest and effectiveness of his work as a play.

After all, can the serious student accept Wignell's assertion that his friend had "never critically studied the rules of the drama"? If one does so, one must at least call attention to the word "critically," for an examination of the play itself indicates that, if anything, Tyler knew the rules *too* well and followed them *too* closely to produce a really natural and original work. The play could scarcely have been written with as little study and preparation as Wignell and his successors have implied. There is no evidence to support the Boston newspaper story of April 16, 1887, quoted by Helen

⁵ *Representative Plays by American Dramatists* (New York, 1918), p. 433.

⁶ *Representative American Plays* (New York, 1917 and 1938), p. 46; *A History of the American Drama* (New York, 1923), I, 66.

⁷ Introduction to James Benjamin Wilbur's edition of *The Contrast* (Boston and New York, 1920), p. xxxv.

⁸ Herbert R. Brown, "Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century American Drama," *American Literature*, IV, 47-60 (March, 1932).

⁹ Halline, *American Plays* (New York, 1935), p. 7.

Tyler Brown, to the effect that when her grandfather arrived in New York from Boston he carried with him the manuscript of the unfinished play, though she points out that the journalist might have got this information directly from some surviving acquaintance of Mrs. Tyler; but she is moving on firmer ground when she admits: "It is certainly to be inferred from a perusal of the unpublished Memoirs of Royall Tyler that, prior to 1787, he had been urged by those who believed in his literary powers to try his hand at writing drama, and that, if he did not carry to New York the unfinished play in his pocket, he may have carried the idea in his mind."¹⁰

Undoubtedly, so far as structure is concerned, *The Contrast* is mostly an exemplification of the rules. It is divided into the conventional five acts, and it adheres to the dramatic unities. The plot is completely conventional, and clues to its future development are so obviously "planted" that there is no real suspense—the audience, if it is dramatically intelligent at all, knows at once what is going to be the outcome. When the sentimental and superpatriotic Colonel Manly is first described in Act II, scene i, we guess at once that he is to be matched off with his earnest female counterpart, Maria. Similarly, when we see the intrigues which Dimple, a pale imitation of the Restoration rake, is carrying on with the lively young ladies, Charlotte and Letitia, while at the same time being engaged to Maria, we anticipate his final unmasking, which is accomplished by the old tried-and-true device of eavesdropping. Moreover, the expositions are prepared with almost mechanical care. In practically every instance, from the first scene on, before a character enters he is thoroughly discussed and analyzed by those on the stage, so that there is no doubt as to how he is to be regarded by the audience.

In characterization, too, Tyler has obviously been going to school to the accepted models. Almost without exception his characters are drawn according to the still prevailing comic technique of the "humors." In conformity with these principles many of the names, such as Colonel Manly, Dimple, Van Rough, and Jonathan, give an immediate clue as to their possessors' dominating qualities. Nor does Tyler endeavor to conceal his master in this technique, for in

¹⁰ Helen Tyler Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

the lesson on laughter given by Jessamy to Jonathan in Act V, scene i, Jessamy informs his pupil: ". . . this is a piece written by Ben Jonson, which I have set to my master's gamut."

No utter novice, then, would have written such a play as Tyler saw produced at the John Street Theatre in New York on April 16, 1787,¹¹ less than a month after he had decided to write (or at least to finish) it. According to his biographers, he had reached New York on March 12, 1787, in pursuance of some military duties connected with the rounding up of certain persons implicated in Shays' Rebellion.¹² Since he had lived entirely in New England up to this time—mostly in Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont¹³—he could not have been in a theater before, because New England's first edifice of this sort was not erected until 1794, in Boston.¹⁴ It is possible, however, that he might have attended some amateur performances, readings, or "lectures," such as had been given in Boston, where *The Provoked Husband* had been read in 1770, and "Private theatricals clandestinely given." It is, at least, noteworthy that Wignell does not claim absolute unsophistication for his friend, but rather admits that he "had seen but few of the exhibitions of the stage." Helen Tyler Brown also says carefully that Tyler had not been inside a "regular" theater before coming to New York.¹⁵ For if he arrived in New York on March 12, wrote his play in three weeks, and saw it on the boards on April 16, he could scarcely have witnessed even these "few" exhibitions before he began to write.

It seems extremely likely, in fact, that Tyler's first visit to a real theater did not occur until March 21—a date which would fit precisely into Wignell's "three weeks."¹⁷ If this date be accepted, moreover, the play is even more autobiographical than has been realized, since the famous account (Act III, scene i) that the gullible Jonathan gives of his first play becomes a disguised and distorted

¹¹ George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), I, 255.

¹² E. g., Helen Tyler Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvii-xxviii. Tyler of course made use of much of this autobiographical material in Act II, scene ii, etc.

¹³ Helen Tyler Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

¹⁴ W. W. Clapp, Jr., *A Record of the Boston Stage* (Boston, 1853), p. 19. However, Clapp calls the "New Exhibition Room," fitted out in 1792, "a theatre in everything but name" (p. 7).

¹⁵ Seilhamer, *op. cit.*, II, 16; Clapp, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Helen Tyler Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

¹⁷ Helen Tyler Brown (*op. cit.*, p. xxviii), with no evidence, speculates about Tyler's going to the theater on the night of his arrival, March 12, when he would have seen Addison's *Cato*. But this seems to be hurrying matters considerably—and to no purpose.

version of Tyler's own initial experience in a regular playhouse. For the bill on the night when Jonathan strayed into "the devil's drawing-room" instead of the sword-swallower's "show" that he was looking for consisted of two dramatic pieces: the main play obviously being *The School for Scandal* (or "The School for Scandalization," as Jonathan calls it) and the afterpiece being the popular farcical opera by John O'Keeffe, *The Poor Soldier*, in which the character whom Jonathan recalls by the coalesced name of "Darby Wag-all" was actually the English country lout Darby, played by Wignell. Tyler, like Jonathan, was so entranced by Wignell on this occasion that in gratitude he created the part of Jonathan for him in *The Contrast*.¹⁸ Now it happens that the bill on the night of March 21 was also composed of *The School for Scandal* and *The Poor Soldier*.¹⁹ The combination was a popular one, but the only time when it occurred between March 12 and April 16 was March 21. The conclusion seems clear, therefore, that it was this combination, described by Jonathan in the play itself, that started Tyler on his dramatic career late in March, 1787. When *The Contrast* was produced, consequently, it was only fitting that *The Poor Soldier*, with Wignell in the part in which he had starred since 1785, should be used as the afterpiece for the second performance, on April 18.²⁰

The indebtedness of *The Contrast* to *The School for Scandal* has naturally been recognized since the beginning, although, as Odell puts it, "one feels on reading it, that Sheridan is at least twenty miles away."²¹ Yet this indebtedness does not extend much beyond the actual scene in which Jonathan's description occurs, and a short scandalmongering scene between Charlotte and Letitia (Act II, scene i). To anyone acquainted even superficially with the eighteenth-century English drama, nevertheless, it is evident that Tyler's familiarity with the dramatic literature of his day was far more extensive than the two plays which it can be proved he had seen on the public stage. He is so steeped in the atmosphere of the the-

¹⁸ L. E. Chittenden in his *Personal Reminiscences, 1840-90*, quoted by James B. Wilbur (*op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii), implies that Wignell was almost a collaborator in creating the part of Jonathan: "Tyler had made an accidental visit to New York City, where he had formed the acquaintance of Thomas Wignell, a leading comedian, who wished to introduce to the stage the character of Brother Jonathan. Judge Tyler had accordingly written the comedy of 'The Contrast,' in which Brother Jonathan was a principal character." Chittenden admits, however, that his knowledge of Tyler and his play was based entirely on "legend."

¹⁹ Seilhamer, *op. cit.*, II, 214. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 177-179, 215. ²¹ Odell, *op. cit.*, I, 256.

ater that he seems to be a real habitué. Some of his details, of course, he could quickly have picked up and inserted into his dialogue as he wrote. Charlotte, for instance, comments amusingly on the behavior of the beaux and the belles "in a side-box at the play," especially when they think they have detected an improper *double entendre* (Act II, scene i). Jessamy's satirical lecture on the types and occasions of laughter at the playhouse has already been mentioned (Act V, scene i). Maria contrasts Manly's solid type of conversation with the "hackneyed criticisms upon the theatre" which one is accustomed to hear in fashionable drawing-rooms (Act IV, scene i). But Charlotte's barbed remarks upon her brother Manly's "Well said heroics," in which she tells him plainly that "The belles would think you were a player run mad, with your head filled with old scraps of tragedy" (Act II, scene i), imply a more thorough knowledge of the bombast of the minor tragic writer and of the ranting style of delivery of the old-fashioned tragedian.

Obviously, if Tyler had not had the opportunity to see many plays, there was no reason why he should not have read plenty of them, as well as the dramatic criticism of the essayists and newspaper writers. In fact, his unpublished memoirs show that he had.²² After all, he held B.A.'s from both Harvard and Yale, as well as an M.A. from Harvard, and he at least hung on the outskirts of the famous "Hartford Wits."²³ His reading in the standard English essayists, novelists, and poets is attested by a dozen or so passages in the play itself, ranging from allusions to "the grave Spectator" (Act I, scene i) to citations of *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, *A Sentimental Journey*, and *Robinson Crusoe* (Act I, scene i; Act I, scene ii). He knows Mary Wortley Montague (Act III, scene i) and Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees* (Act III, scene ii). Dimple knows Milton (Act III, scene i) and Charlotte dubs Maria and Manly a couple of gloomy "penserosos" (Act IV, scene i). Shenstone is casually mentioned (Act I, scene i). Dominating all, of course, is Dimple's adoption of Chesterfield's letters as the guide-book for his ill-fated career as a gentleman and gallant—a curriculum in which he is followed closely by his valet Jessamy.

It may seem strange at first that the playwrights, with the exception of Ben Jonson, as mentioned above, are omitted from this

²² Helen Tyler Brown, as above, n. 10.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi; Halline, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

list of authors cited by names or titles in the play itself. Yet Herbert R. Brown has shown how permeated the comedy is with the sentimentalism of the drama as well as with that of the novel. Jenny, Maria's maid, he traces to *The Maid of the Mill*, Isaac Bickerstaffe's adaptation of *Pamela*.²⁴ Manly's refusal to engage in a duel with Dimple resembles young Bevil's argument against dueling in *The Conscious Lovers*, just as his temporary withdrawal as a suitor for Maria when he finds that her father has already engaged her to another is similar to Bevil's attitude toward Bevil, Senior.²⁵ Manly's humanitarianism toward his old soldiers; his sentimental conversation, "like a rich, old-fashioned brocade" (Act II, scene i); his strong stand against seduction and Maria's horrified fascination by the theme; his abstention from drinking and gaming; his ready tears and soft heart; the final conversion of the scoffers at sentiment—all combine to make the play a rival of its popular English contemporaries.²⁶

Brown's list of Sheridan, Steele, and Bickerstaffe, nevertheless, may be considerably augmented. Quinn attempts to find a possible contribution from what he styles "Farquhar's *Provoked Husband*," undoubtedly meaning Colley Cibber's completion of Vanbrugh's *A Journey to London*.²⁷ Even though *The Provoked Husband* was performed in John Street on March 29, so that Tyler could have seen it, the fact that the name "Manly" and the word "rantipole" are used in it can scarcely be considered an indication of much indebtedness. "Rantipole" is by no means a rare word, and a "Manly" is also the hero of William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*, a play of which the colonel would certainly not have approved. In this matter of names, however, it might be suggested that Tyler perhaps got his "Mr. Transfer, the broker," who is announced as waiting "below" in Act I, scene ii, from Samuel Foote's popular comedy, *The Minor*, which also contains a moneylender with the "humor" name Transfer. Foote's play had been well known in the United States ever since it was first performed by Howe's Thespians on January 26, 1778, to help while away the long winter in Philadelphia.²⁸

²⁴ Herbert R. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The resemblance, however, does not seem very close.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 57-58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 57-58.

²⁷ Quinn, *A History of the American Drama*, I, 70.

²⁸ Seilhamer, *op. cit.*, II, 29. Douglass had, in fact, planned to give the play as early

The transplantation of the English conflict between the sentimentalists and the antisentimentalists to the United States was, moreover, by no means limited to the echoes in *The Contrast* mentioned by Brown. At least three other popular English comedies cast as long shadows across the sea as did *The School for Scandal*. Although the sedate Maria at first glance would scarcely recall the girlish giddiness of Lydia Languish, Tyler's heroine nevertheless has one basic characteristic which relates her to the heroine of *The Rivals*. Just as Mrs. Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera* diagnoses her daughter's ailment with a "Those cursed play-books she reads have been her ruin," so Van Rough complains of his daughter's "moping over these plaguy books" with a "Now, what good have these books done you? . . . This comes of your reading your story-books; your Charles Grandisons, your Sentimental Journals [*sic*], and your Robinson Crusoes, and such other trumpery" (Act I, scene ii). Moreover, as Letitia carefully points out in her preliminary discussion of Maria (Act I, scene i), her friend has not always been so grave; originally, after she had read Richardson, Shenstone, and Sterne, she had held that "she ought to have rejected, according to every rule of romance, even the man of her choice," if he were imposed on her as Dimple was being imposed by her father. Here she is plainly following in the footsteps of the flighty Lydia, for as young Absolute sadly admits, he is "by no means certain that she would take me with the impediment of our friends' consent, a regular humdrum wedding, and a reversion of a good fortune on my side" (*The Rivals*, Act II, scene i). The cause of this fantasticality is quickly recognized by old Sir Anthony, who informs Mrs. Malaprop, ". . . aye, this comes of her reading" (Act I, scene ii). As everyone knows, Miss Languish has succumbed to the unholy lure of the circulating library, where she has read *A Sentimental Journey* and Chesterfield's *Letters* as well as *The Whole Duty of Man*, *The Man of Feeling*, Fordyce's *Sermons*, and *The Tears of Sensibility*—not to mention *Peregrine Pickle*, *The Innocent Adultery*, and many other head-turning romances (Act II, scene ii).

The parallelism between Maria and Lydia is evident, but there is also another link between the American and English heroines.

as June 20, 1770 (*ibid.*, p. 32). For the first performance in New York, on Feb. 6, 1779, cf. Odell, *op. cit.*, I, 199. The play went through four English editions in its first year, 1760, and reached its ninth by 1781.

When Sheridan offered his *Lydia* to the public on January 17, 1775, he had been anticipated by some fifteen years by George Colman the elder, who had perceived the comic possibilities of the romance-devouring young lady and had created his *Polly Honeycombe* as a horrible but charming example. As Polly says in the first scene of Colman's afterpiece: "A Novel is the only thing to teach a girl life, and the way of the world, and elegant fancies, and love to the end of the chapter;" but as her harassed father sums it all up in his concluding speech to the audience: "And a man might as well turn his Daughter loose in Covent-garden, as trust the cultivation of her mind to

A CIRCULATING LIBRARY."

For Polly, like *Lydia* and *Maria*, is the victim of a match being arranged by her parents, who wish to marry her to young Ledger, "the rich Jew's wife's nephew" (scene i), whereas her head runs only on Mr. Scribble, the lawyer's clerk. Not only does Polly continually refer for authority and precedent to *Clarissa*, *Sophia Western*, *Pamela*, *Amelia*, *Lovelace*, and *Tristram Shandy* (through Dr. Slop), but Colman, as part of his preface, has appended a five-page, double-columned "Extract" from "the Catalogue of the Circulating Library" for 1760 in which the "History of Sir Charles Grandison" is listed among the rest.

Both *Polly Honeycombe* and *The Rivals* had long been favorites with American audiences by the time *The Contrast* burst upon them. *Polly Honeycombe* had been used by Douglass as an afterpiece to *The Conscious Lovers* in New York in 1768, and was repeated several times by British officers stationed there between 1777 and 1780.²⁹ *The Rivals* had also received its first American production from Clinton's soldiers in April, 1778, only two years after its premiere in England; and it had been revived several times afterwards, its latest performance in New York—with *The Poor Soldier* as an afterpiece—having been given less than a month before Tyler arrived in town.³⁰ Even though the young man could have witnessed none of these productions, the popularity of the two comedies in the theater must have increased their circulation in printed form. There is therefore no reason at all why Tyler should not have read and remembered them.

²⁹ Odell, *op. cit.*, I, 133, 187, 190; Seilhamer, *op. cit.*, II, 23, 42.

³⁰ Odell, *op. cit.*, I, 191, 216, 245, 250.

Much as *The Contrast* owes to *The School for Scandal*, *The Rivals*, *Polly Honeycombe*, *The Conscious Lovers*, *The Poor Soldier*, and perhaps *The Maid of the Mill* and even *The Provoked Husband*, it seems to owe even more to another well-known eighteenth-century English comedy where sentimentalism and antisentimentalism had met in such an even battle that the literary historians are still arguing about the victor. It is extremely surprising that Hugh Kelly's *False Delicacy*, given at Drury Lane in January, 1768, and printed in the same year, has apparently been completely overlooked as a model for certain aspects of *The Contrast*. Kelly's main object in his play would seem to have been the exposure and overthrow of the hypersentimentalism (or "sensibility") of the day, with all its excesses of delicacy and refinement of emotion. Thus most of the female characters, but especially Lady Betty Lambton, are continually referring to their extraordinary delicacy of sentiment and scrupulosity of motivation, and most of their male counterparts admire, praise, and love them for this quality. Similarly Maria on her first appearance (Act I, scene ii) refers to herself in soliloquy as "a woman of delicacy" and ends her melancholy reflections on her future husband with the question, "For, can the most frivolous manners, actuated by the most depraved heart, meet, or merit, anything but contempt from every woman of delicacy and sentiment?" Moreover, the relationship between Maria and her father concerning the match with Dimple—though it may, as Brown believes, be derived from *The Conscious Lovers*—parallels even more closely that between another of Kelly's sentimental heroines, Miss Rivers (who in Act IV, scene ii, admits that she has "a delicate mind"), and her father the colonel. Miss Rivers, though deeply in love with Sir Harry Newburg, has been promised by her father to Sidney. The colonel, a heavy father with a Van Rough temper, refuses to alter his promise even when urged by Sidney himself, whereupon Miss Rivers, though strongly tempted to elope with Sir Harry, resolves to sacrifice her own happiness, for, as she pathetically asks, "is it possible that a woman can make a valuable wife, who has proved an unnatural daughter"? Similarly, at the end of the fourth act of *The Contrast*, Maria refuses to listen to Manly's pleas of love because she would be going contrary to her father's wishes in doing so, and Manly sadly acquiesces, saying: "We are both unhappy; but

it is your duty to obey your parent,—mine to obey my honour. Let us, therefore, both follow the path of rectitude; and of this we may be assured, that if we are not happy, we shall, at least, deserve to be so. Adieu! I dare not trust myself longer with you." In each instance, too, the father's hardness is so melted by his daughter's docility and her lover's nobility that he eventually breaks down and blesses their union with a large dowry.

Fortunately, then, in neither play are the unhappy characters left to suffer permanently from their ingrowing consciences. Both authors have introduced into their dismal tracts of delicacy two persons who by their liveliness and skepticism prove to be the life of the party. The two antisentimentalists in *The Contrast* are, as already indicated, the girls Charlotte and Letitia, who from the first show their impatience with "the grave Maria, and her sentimental circle" (Act I, scene i). Kelly (or perhaps Garrick, his silent partner) has, however, forestalled Tyler by creating his common-sense, sharp-tongued pair, Mrs. Harley and the elderly Cecil, who constitute a sort of critical chorus through their comments—sometimes in asides and sometimes in set speeches—on the absurdities and extravagancies of sentimental behavior. Compare, as a single instance among many, Mrs. Harley's aside in Act IV, scene i, with the last phrase in Maria's soliloquy quoted above: "Did ever two fools plague one another so heartily with their delicacy and sentiment?" This remark, directed toward Lady Betty and her self-sacrificing friend and companion, Miss Marchmont, would apply with equal appropriateness to Maria and Manly. Yet—and note again how *The Contrast* follows the general pattern of *False Delicacy* here—in the end it is the sentimentalists who prevail, with slight modifications. As early as Act II, scene i, Mrs. Harley has admitted: "Well, the devil take this delicacy; I don't know anything it does besides making people miserable. And yet, foolish as it is, one can't help liking it." And in the final scene, after all the couples are properly matched off, and while Cecil is remarking that he thinks it "extremely happy for your people of refined sentiments to have friends with a little common understanding," Kelly allows Mrs. Harley to "cry for downright joy," and his mouthpiece, Lord Winworth, makes his famous announcement that the "stage should be a school of morality." In *The Contrast*, in a somewhat more ex-

treme fashion, Charlotte and Letitia are shown the folly of their ways and repent, while true sentimentalism triumphs.

In America, although *False Delicacy* strangely enough never became one of the most popular pieces in the repertoire, it was still acted and read. Its first performance was given at the John Street Theatre on April 14, 1769.³¹ When Kelly's *A Word to the Wise* was to open the Annapolis theater on September 1, 1772, the *Maryland Gazette* announced it as "a comedy written by Hugh Kelley, author of False Delicacy, &c."³² As in the case of Colman's and Sheridan's plays, it is difficult to believe that a comedy which sold three thousand copies in London on its first day of publication, as did *False Delicacy*,³³ could have failed to get a fairly wide audience of readers in America. Among these, the evidence implies, was Royall Tyler.

In view of the many common features of situation, character, and point of view shared by *The Contrast* and at least a half-dozen well-known English comedies of the eighteenth century, the student today may well hesitate to accept the implication of Wignell and his successors that the author of the "first American comedy" was almost completely unversed in the theory and literature of the drama.

³¹ Odell, *op. cit.*, I, 149.

³² Dunlap, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³³ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama* (Cambridge, England, 1927), p. 130 n.

HAWTHORNE AND LITERARY NATIONALISM

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THE MOST obvious literary influence on Hawthorne is the work of Sir Walter Scott. Scott's influence on Hawthorne, in all its main aspects, has been recognized since G. E. Woodberry's *Nathaniel Hawthorne*.¹ We now realize, too, that Hawthorne's early practice conforms to a critical demand that American materials be treated in the manner of Scott. Scott's work had a great influence on American literary theory in general, because it combined significantly with the patriotic nationalism of American writers and, as G. Harrison Orians has said, "converted the demand for nationalism into a quest for Scott-like ingredients in American life."² By 1825 the success of this quest was apparent.³

Hawthorne started out in his treatment of historical materials very much as current literary theory prescribed, but he developed away from and modified the theory which had directed his early work. To overlook the influence of current literary theory and fashion upon Hawthorne is to attribute to him an unwarranted isolation; to overlook the individuality of the treatment he gave quite ordinary materials is to miss something of his greatness as an artist. It is the purpose of this note to review the connections between Hawthorne's work and the contemporary desire for na-

¹ See G. E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902), pp. 125-126; G. H. Orians, "Scott and Hawthorne's *Fanshawe*," *New England Quarterly*, XI, 388-394 (June, 1938). There is ample evidence of Hawthorne's intimate acquaintance with Scott's work. See Julian Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 105, II, 269; G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), p. 108, Appendix, pp. 341, 343; James T. Fields, *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1879), pp. 101-102; Hawthorne's *Works*, Riverside ed., VII, *passim*, VIII, 263-274, 504-508, and *passim*.

² "The Romance Ferment after *Waverley*," *American Literature*, III, 409 (Jan., 1932).

³ Jared Sparks, in an 1825 review of ten American novels published within a year, says that he finds "it expedient first to settle . . . the peculiarities" of the *Waverley* pattern, of which most of the ten novels are "acknowledged copies." He makes an excellent statement of the appeal the imitation of Scott had for his time: "... the actors in these works have not only a human, but a national, and often a provincial character. . . . The subject of manners and customs is, moreover, one of general interest, and as an adherence to these serves to give individuality to the characters in these narratives, it is so far an improvement on the practice of the older novels, and advantageous to the writer." See *North American Review*, XXI, 78-104 (July, 1825).

tionalistic fiction patterned after the work of Scott, and to discuss Hawthorne's final attitude toward the critical demand in which his work had its inception.

Hawthorne had been in college but one year when W. H. Gardiner, in some prefatory paragraphs to a review of Cooper's *The Spy*, stated the three great historical resources of the American fiction writer: the Colonial period, the Indian wars, and the Revolution. "What would not the author of Waverley," Gardiner asked, "make of such materials?"⁴ Ten years later, when Hawthorne was beginning to write for *The Token*, his first publication outside of *Fanshawe* and a few pieces for the *Salem Gazette*, the young Whittier was calling for the use of the same materials.⁵ Hawthorne makes important use of only one of these "three matters of American Romance,"⁶ the Puritan material.⁷ W. C. Brownell has remarked, rather unaccountably, that Hawthorne's works "are thoroughly original, quite without literary derivation upon which much of our literature leans with such deferential complacency. Even the theme of many of them—the romance of Puritan New England—was Hawthorne's discovery."⁸ Actually, parallels in literary theory to Hawthorne's practice in his first period may be found as early as a Phi Beta Kappa address by William Tudor, which was printed in the second volume of the *North American Review* and which helps to mark the beginnings of a distinct New England literary consciousness. Writing almost prophetically at the beginning of Scott's career as a novelist, Tudor stated those characteristics of Scott's work which were to influence American literary theory and

⁴ *North American Review*, XV, 255-257 (July, 1822).

⁵ *The Literary Remains of John G. C. Brainard*, ed. J. G. Whittier (Hartford, 1832), p. 35.

⁶ Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (New York, 1933), p. 15.

⁷ Hawthorne regrets that he "was shut out from the most peculiar field of American fiction by an inability to see any romance, or poetry, or grandeur, or beauty in the Indian character, at least till such traits were pointed out by others." And he adds, "I do abhor an Indian story" (*Works*, II, 483). He remarks in "Roger Malvin's Burial" that "Lovell's Fight" is "one of the few incidents of Indian warfare naturally susceptible of the moonlight of romance" (II, 381). Even in "The Great Carbuncle," an allegory made from an Indian legend, Hawthorne keeps the tale well away from Indians. Likewise, his use of material from the time of the Revolution is carefully limited, in tales like "Howe's Masquerade" or "Old Esther Dudley," to the use of incidents which have an implicit unity and a symbolic quality. At the end of his career, in *Septimius Felton*, he disclaims interest as an artist in the surrounding action, and seems to feel that there might be danger of its intrusion upon his real theme (XI, 242-243).

⁸ *American Prose Masters* (New York, 1923), p. 51.

practice so deeply. Tudor says, speaking of the resources of American history for the fiction writer, that "Perilous and romantick adventures, figurative and eloquent harangues, strong contrasts and important interests, are as frequent in this portion of history, as the theatre on which these actions were performed is abundant in grand and impressive scenery." In this single sentence we see something of Hawthorne's early practice in the use of history: the perilous and romantic adventure of "The Grey Champion," the eloquent harangue of "Endicott and the Red Cross," the strong contrast of "The Maypole of Merry Mount," the important interest of "Howe's Masquerade." But it is perhaps more important that two of Tudor's four suggestions of specific historical incidents available for the writer are used by Hawthorne—the career of Ann Hutchinson, in "Mrs. Hutchinson" (1830), and the striking "incident mentioned by President Stiles . . . of Dixwell, one of the regicides, suddenly emerging from his concealment, and by his presence animating an infant settlement . . .," in "The Grey Champion" (1835), though changed to fit Hawthorne's purpose.⁹ John Neal, writing in *Blackwood's* in 1825, also suggests the life of Mrs. Hutchinson and the accounts of the regicide judges as story material, as well as "the female Quakers . . . or the witches," the materials of "The Gentle Boy" and "Young Goodman Brown." Neal complains, indeed, of the pre-emption of the story of the regicide judge by Scott in *Peveril of the Peak* (1822).¹⁰ "The Grey Champion" particularly well illustrates the connection between Hawthorne's work and the literary climate about him, for in it Hawthorne is not only fulfilling Tudor's prescription, as three Americans had done before him, and almost certainly deriving (at least his title) from *Peveril of the Peak*,¹¹ but also changing the traditional story—in which the "infant settlement" was imperiled by Indians—in order to combine it with the history of the resistance in Massachusetts to the government of Sir Edmund Andros. Just the year before the publication of "The Grey Champion," Rufus Choate, in an address called "The Colonial Age of New England," had made the resistance to Andros the

⁹ *North American Review*, II, 28-29 (Nov., 1815). Stiles identifies the regicide judge concerned in the incident cited as Goffe, not Dixwell.

¹⁰ John Neal, *American Writers: A Series of Papers Contributed to Blackwood's Magazine* (1824-1825), ed. F. L. Pattee (Durham, N. C., 1937), pp. 191-192.

¹¹ G. H. Orians, "The Angel of Hadley in Fiction," *American Literature*, IV, 257-269 (Nov., 1932).

prime example of the Colonial spirit of liberty, an example to be remembered and taught to succeeding generations.¹²

The literary addresses of Rufus Choate are particularly interesting in reference to Hawthorne because Choate is so eloquently representative of the dominant trend in the critical theory of his time. An address delivered at Salem in 1833, called "The Importance of Illustrating New-England History by a Series of Romances like *The Waverley Novels*,"¹³ sums up impressively the combination of a literary nationalism, natural enough to a new nation, with the influence of Scott. Orians has well called it "the finest expression" of the demand for a Scott-like national literature.¹⁴ It is Choate's contention that the writer of historical fiction vivifies and fills in for the imagination the story of the past, and that every lover of American literature would like, not one, but a thousand American Scotts. Moreover, the American fiction writer ought not only to preserve, but to make intelligible and to universalize history: he must accommodate "the show of things to the desires and needs of the immortal moral nature." Particularly is the Puritan past available for this purpose, and it should be exalted and made to represent an ideal spirit of liberty and nobility.¹⁵ Hawthorne's "The Grey Champion" is as perfect an exemplification of Choate's theory as could be desired; "Endicott and the Red Cross" (1838), is, but for one ironic paragraph, as much so.¹⁶ Hawthorne says the Grey Champion himself is "the type of New England's hereditary spirit," his march "the pledge that New England's sons will vindicate their ancestry"; he makes Endicott's "rending of the Red Cross from New England's banner the first omen of that deliverance which our fathers consum-

¹² *The Works of Rufus Choate*, ed. S. G. Brown (Boston, 1862), I, 356-359.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 319-346. Something of the representative quality of Choate's address may be seen in a comparison of a passage from it with a stanza from Whittier's "The Garrison of Cape Ann." Choate wishes the American writer to be "like Old Mortality among the graves of the unforgotten faithful, wiping the dust from the urns of our fathers,—gathering up whatever of illustrious achievement... their history commemorates, and weaving it all into an immortal and noble national literature. . . ." Whittier writes:

So, with something of the feeling which the Covenanter knew,
When with pious chisel wandering Scotland's moorland graveyards through,
From the graves of old traditions I part the blackberry-vines,
Wipe the moss from off the headstones, and retouch the faded lines.

¹⁴ "The Romance Ferment after *Waverley*," p. 428.

¹⁵ See Choate's "The Colonial Age of New England" and "The Age of the Pilgrims the Heroic Period of Our History," *Works*, I, 347-393.

¹⁶ It is not, of course, contended that Hawthorne had Choate's address consciously in mind in the composition of these tales, though it is likely enough that he heard it. For the resemblance of these tales to the work of Scott, see Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-136.

mated after the bones of the stern Puritan had lain more than a century in the dust."

But there is an emphasis in Choate's theory from which Hawthorne makes a significant departure. He will not use the past only to glorify and idealize it. Choate's motives are worthy enough; he believes that historical fiction would foster a corporate imaginative life and reassemble "the people of America in one vast congregation": "Reminded of our fathers, we should remember that we are brethren." He urges a selection from the varied materials of history to achieve artistic unity; but he urges, too, a selection in which all that is regrettable in Puritan society be suppressed. The writer of historical fiction will neglect that large portion of history which "chills, shames and disgusts us." Choate makes explicit what he thinks unavailable in New England history: "The persecutions of the Quakers, the controversies with Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, the perpetual synods and ecclesiastical surveillance of the old times; a great deal of this is too tedious to be read, or it offends and alienates you. It is truth, fact; but it is just what you do not want to know, and are none the wiser for knowing." Choate would hardly have wished Hawthorne to include, in "Endicott and the Red Cross," the Wanton Gospeller's question, "Call you this liberty of conscience?" or the suggestion of an answer in the "sad and quiet smile" which "flitted across the mild visage of Roger Williams." Much less would Choate have had Hawthorne write "The Gentle Boy" or "Mrs. Hutchinson"—perhaps not even "The Maypole of Merry Mount," almost certainly not "Young Goodman Brown." While Hawthorne's work has the ethical emphasis in which Choate's theory is representative of the best in New England literary theory, Hawthorne comes, early in his career, to relegate history to background, and to be less interested in the picturesqueness of individual incident than in history as background for the development of a general, not specifically national, moral theme.

Hawthorne himself makes it plain that, in his maturity, his acceptance of the conventional doctrine for the use of American materials was limited. In 1846 Hawthorne reviewed W. G. Simms's *Views and Reviews in American Literature, History and Fiction* (New York, 1845),¹⁷ which has for its main theme a belated repe-

¹⁷ Part I of Simms's book, with which Hawthorne is mostly concerned, begins with a review of an address by Alexander B. Meek on "Americanism in Literature," and then

tition of the familiar plea for an American literature that will use the materials of American history. Hawthorne's review represents his dislike for the bombastic generalization in which Simms is fairly typical of middle nineteenth-century literary theory in America. But Hawthorne's most important stricture on Simms's book suggests his own position concerning the use of historical material. For Hawthorne, historical background relieves, and at the same time gives perspective to, an ethical or spiritual theme. He says of Simms's book:

. . . we cannot help feeling that the real treasures of his subject have escaped the author's notice. The themes suggested by him, viewed as he views them, would produce nothing but historical novels, cast in the same worn out mould that has been in use these thirty years, and which it is time to break up and fling away. To be a prophet of Art requires almost as high a gift as to be a fulfiller of the prophecy. Mr. Simms has not this gift; he possesses nothing of the magic touch that should cause new intellectual and moral shapes to spring up in the reader's mind, peopling with varied life what had hitherto been a barren waste.¹⁸

But it may very well be that Hawthorne's feeling that the mould of American historical fiction was outworn influenced his own departure, after *The Scarlet Letter*, from the field of historical fiction.¹⁹

proceeds to a discussion of historical subjects in general, with illustrative suggestions such as "Benedict Arnold as a subject for Fictitious Story" and "Pocahontas: A Subject for the Historical Painter."

¹⁸ Randall Stewart, "Hawthorne's Contributions to the *Salem Advertiser*," *American Literature*, V, 331-332 (Jan., 1934).

¹⁹ Hawthorne has his share, too, in the negative aspect of the literary nationalism discussion. Passages in the prefaces to both *The Blithedale Romance* and *The Marble Faun* repeat, and rather belatedly, the complaint of many American writers in the first quarter of the century that the American scene, particularly the contemporary scene, did not furnish the proper background and materials for the fiction writer. Hawthorne, in turning from materials in which he had had distinguished success, recurs to the frayed phrases of this complaint as a ready-to-hand explanation for his way of treating a scene in the present. These two prefaces should not be cited (as they have been) exclusively as evidence of a special temperamental quality in Hawthorne or of a special romanticism, for they resemble closely, indeed repeat, what literally scores of his predecessors had said before him. See, for example, a passage in Cooper's *Notions of the Americans* and his preface to *Home as Found* in Robert Spiller, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1936), pp. 15-16 and 303-304. Bryant in the third of his *Lectures on Poetry* (1825) offers a concise and fair statement of the position of those who find American materials unavailable for literature, a position which he opposes. For a good discussion of the whole problem see William Ellery Sedgwick, "The Materials for an American Literature," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVII, 141-162 (1935). Henry James seems to have attributed to Hawthorne his own (James's) feeling about the availability of the American scene, in an often quoted passage. See his *Hawthorne* (London, 1887), p. 43.

The mature Hawthorne found that his early admiration for Scott had become limited with the passing years and his changing concept of the function of literature. He was aware of a certain lack of depth in Scott which perhaps he consciously contrasts with his own seriousness. In "P's Correspondence" (1845), Hawthorne makes "P" say of Scott: "Were he still a writer, and as brilliant a one as ever, he could no longer maintain anything like the same position in literature. The world, nowadays, requires a more earnest purpose, a deeper moral, and a closer and homelier truth than he was qualified to supply it with." In the same sketch is included a characterization of Abbotsford (long before Hawthorne had seen it) and a judgment of Scott: ". . . that splendid fantasy . . . which grew out of his brain and became a symbol of the great romancer's tastes, feelings, studies, prejudices, and modes of intellect. Whether in verse, prose, or architecture, he could achieve but one thing, although that one in infinite variety."²⁰ Some years later in his account of a visit to Abbotsford in the *English Notebooks*, Hawthorne, after a description of Scott's collection of curios, is led to reflect on the lack in Scott's character that Abbotsford typifies. What he writes seems to be partly an unconscious reminiscence of the passage just quoted:

On the whole, there is no simple and great impression left by Abbotsford; and I felt angry and dissatisfied with myself for not feeling something which I did not and could not feel. But it is just like going to a museum, if you look into particulars; and one learns from it, too, that Scott could not have been really a wise man, nor an earnest one, nor one that grasped the truth of life; he did but play, and the play grew very sad toward its close. In a certain way, however, I understand his romances the better for having seen his house; and his house the better for having read his romances. They throw light on one another.

Yet Hawthorne confesses "a sentiment of remorse" for having visited the home of Scott "with so cold a heart and in so critical a mood,—his dwelling-place . . . whom I had so admired and loved, and who had done so much for my happiness when I was young." He still cherishes Scott in "a warm place" and he anticipates rereading all his novels.²¹ Hawthorne may indeed have cherished Scott, for much of his work is to be regarded as a development in an American tradition which nourished itself on Scott.

²⁰ Works, II, 415-416.

²¹ Works, VIII, 273-274.

MARK TWAIN AND THE "CAMPAIGN THAT FAILED"

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I

FEW PERIODS in the life of Mark Twain are so obscure as that during the spring and early summer of 1861 when the outbreak of hostilities in the Civil War ended his career as a pilot and enlisted his sympathies in the Southern cause. Concerning his brief experience as a Rebel soldier in Missouri, Mark Twain has presented us, indeed, "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed," but this obviously burlesqued account cannot seriously be accepted as an accurate exposition of events and motives. Particularly it does not explain the very thing it purports to explain—why he, like thousands of others who entered the war, "stepped out again, permanently," after a brief taste of it, and why, thereafter, "he didn't do anything in the war."¹

Whatever the truth of Mark Twain's war record may have been, some critics have seen in it further evidence of flaws in his character and of his failure to live up to the call of his genius. Chiefly they charge him with desertion from the colors and assert that immediately after his desertion he went west in response to the lure of gold and to escape a possible military draft. Thus Mr. F. L. Pattee, speaking of Mark Twain's war record, made no effort to hide his scorn when he asked:

What of Mark Twain during this Gethsemane [Civil War] of his nation, when hundreds of thousands of his generation were dead upon the battlefields of the South that had been his home? Not a word in all his works concerning the Civil War save a humorous exaggeranza ["The Private History of a Campaign That Failed"] describing his desertion from the colors. And when the nation's fate hung in the balance, this in a letter from Mark Twain [then in the Nevada gold mines]: "I have got the thing sifted down to a dead moral certainty. I own one-eighth of the new 'Monitor Ledge, Clemens Company,' and money can't buy a foot of it. . . ."²

¹ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 193 (Dec., 1885).

² *Mark Twain: Representative Selections* (New York, 1935), p. xlv.

And thus Mr. Edgar Lee Masters:

He probably foresaw that the call for troops might be followed by the draft. If he were drafted he would be in the war in very earnest. If he joined one of the loose companies being organized at Hannibal his destiny might be more or less in his own hands. There is no vestige of conviction in anything that he did in facing the war. . . . When he could walk [after Clemens had allegedly sprained his ankle in a fall from a hay loft, during the "campaign"], he deserted the army, abandoned the military life. . . . During the war thousands of men went west to escape military service. They had no interest in the war or its issues. They wanted gold and silver, land and riches. Mark Twain was one of these. . . . He did not, as many youths did in that state . . . shoulder a musket to prevent disunion. He was not sufficiently interested on that score. He wanted to travel, to make money.³

The purpose of the following study is to determine as far as possible the justification of the charges that have been brought against Mark Twain's war record, to discover what blame may be attached to him for his alleged desertion, and what motives led to his defection. Was he a "skedaddler" into parts unknown, as Mr. Pattee elsewhere charges,⁴ and was love of gold the primary reason for his going? Besides dealing with these questions it is hoped the study will furnish a more complete and dependable picture of Mark Twain's life during the period in question and in some particulars correct the impression given in his own account, "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed."

II

Three accounts concerning Mark Twain's war record supply most of the pertinent information: Mark Twain's "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed," already mentioned; Chapters XXIX to XXXI, Volume I, of Albert Bigelow Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography*; and Ab Grimes's account in his book *Absalom Grimes, Confederate Mail-runner*.⁵

³ *Mark Twain: A Portrait* (New York, 1938), p. 34, *passim*.

⁴ Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

⁵ New Haven, 1936. Other accounts that refer to Mark Twain's war experiences are as follows: "A Biographical Sketch" by Samuel Moffett, Mark Twain's nephew, in Mark Twain's *The \$30,000 Bequest and Other Stories* (New York, 1906), pp. 330-349; *Mark Twain: His Life and Work*, by Will M. Clemens (San Francisco, 1892); a news article in the *Missouri Republican*, April 22, 1910, in which Horace E. Bixby, the pilot who taught Clemens the river, speaks of Mark Twain's war experiences; an article in the *Daily Chronicle-Herald*, Macon, Mo., Dec. 11, 1916, titled "Grant and Mark Twain were in

Each of these deserves some comment at this point. Mark Twain's "The Private History" is admittedly fictionized; at least Mr. Paine admits it and cites the pathetic incident of the shooting of the soldier in the dark as a particular case in point.⁶ Yet it is this very incident which Mark Twain offers as a major reason for his retirement from the army. It spoiled his campaign, he said. "It seemed to me that I was not rightly equipped for this awful business. . . . I resolved to retire from this avocation of sham soldiery while I could save some remnant of my self-respect."⁷ The point is important; for if this incident is pure invention, introduced, as Mr. Paine says, "to present the real horror of war,"⁸ it is utterly without value as a reason why Mark Twain didn't do anything in the war, the explanation of which was his stated purpose in writing "The Private History."

Noteworthy also is Mark Twain's apparently deliberate effort to present his military campaign as a Tom Sawyerish episode that presently developed into "a very jolly time . . . full of horse-play and school-boy hilarity."⁹ After a burlesque description of the personnel of the company he says: "Well, this herd of cattle started for the war. What could you expect of them? They did as well as they knew how, but really what was justly to be expected of them? Nothing, I should say. That is what they did."¹⁰

In the account Mark Twain represents himself as being twenty-four years of age. Actually he was nearer twenty-six. E. W. Kemble's illustrations in the first publication of "The Private History" (December, 1885) support the juvenile tone of the piece by presenting the members of the company as ragged backwoods boys. Certainly it is a far cry from the customary picture of Mark Twain as a proud pilot-lord of the Lower Mississippi to Mark Twain's picture of himself as a schoolboy soldier in Missouri.

Neighboring Towns at First of Civil War"; article in the *Courier-Post*, Hannibal, Mo., Sept. 2, 1922, titled "Tells of Mark Twain's Brief Soldiery in 1861"; a reminiscence of Mark Twain's war experience by an anonymous writer in the *Gate City*, Keokuk, Iowa, Jan. 17, 1885; a brief reference by Mark Twain in his *Life on the Mississippi* (New York, 1883) p. 427; another brief reference in a fragment of a letter from Mark Twain to an unnamed person, *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, p. 541; and his speech at Carnegie Hall, Feb. 11, 1901, on Lincoln's Birthday. Excepting Mark Twain's comments in the references here cited, and possibly William Bixby's comment, the accounts listed are too full of misinformation to merit serious attention.

⁶ *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 169.

⁷ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 203.

⁹ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 202.

⁸ Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 195.

A final observation to be made about "The Private History" is the fact that in it Mark Twain was trusting his memory concerning an event that had occurred a quarter of a century previously and that consequently misstatements other than those deliberately made for the purposes of fiction may be found in it.

As might be expected, Paine based his account largely upon "The Private History." This fact led him to follow Mark Twain's lead in treating the military experience in similar fashion as a humorous and inconsequential interlude in the career of the great humorist. It is apparent that Paine endeavors to show that Mark Twain, living in a border state and encountering a crosscurrent of conflicting opinions and loyalties, is to be excused for wavering in his convictions and for taking an indecisive stand.¹¹ He might also have emphasized the fact that the crosscurrents were strong even within the Clemens family circle, since Orion Clemens, Mark Twain's brother, an out-and-out abolitionist, had newly been appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory.

For many of the details of his account Paine was indebted to Ab Grimes.¹² Grimes, an Upper Mississippi pilot whose home was in Ralls County twelve miles west of Hannibal, claimed that he had been a member of Mark Twain's company and that he had been closely associated with Clemens during the campaign. Grimes's story is so detailed that it gives the appearance of authenticity. It is to be noted, however, that he supplies almost no dates, an omission which argues that his account, like that of Mark Twain, was based upon memory rather than upon diary entries made at the time.

When Grimes, for example, quotes Sam Clemens's speech of acceptance at the presentation of a sword, he is obviously fictionizing; and when he remembers that Sam's equipment consisted of one valise, one carpet sack, one pair of grey blankets, one homemade quilt, one frying pan, one old-fashioned Kentucky squirrel rifle, twenty yards of sea-grass rope, and one umbrella, it is obvious that he remembers too much. Discrepancies between Grimes's account and that of Mark Twain, though not vital, nevertheless indicate that his story must be taken with a grain of salt and that Paine's use of Grimes's account furnished embellishment rather than fact for his narrative.¹³

¹¹ *Mark Twain: A Biography*, I, 160-162.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 168-169.

¹³ Grimes represents himself as intimately associated with Clemens during the campaign;

III

From the three accounts just commented upon the most important features of Mark Twain's war record may be tentatively sketched as follows:

Sometime in the spring or early summer of 1861 the blockade of the Mississippi forced Mark Twain off the river. He made his last trip up-river to St. Louis, his home port, as a passenger on the packet *Uncle Sam*. After an indefinite period in St. Louis he went up to Hannibal for a visit and there joined a loosely organized Rebel militia forming under the command of General Thomas H. Harris. Clemens, elected second lieutenant, had for his mount a mule remarkable for its bad temper and stubbornness. Rumors of approaching Union forces kept the company continually retreating to points along Salt River until they reached a position near the village of Florida, in Monroe County. Incessant rain, fatigue, dissatisfaction with the thought that Tom Harris, whom he had known familiarly in the early days as a lowly telegraph operator at Hannibal,¹⁴ was living off the fat of the land near by dampened his ardor for the cause. Complete disillusionment concerning his fitness as a soldier, however, came one night when he, together with a few comrades, shot and killed a lone enemy soldier whose death they instantly regretted. When news came, about this time, that a Union colonel with a whole regiment at his heels was sweeping down upon their camp, Clemens fell back, without waiting for orders, and abandoned the campaign. The Union colonel, who nearly captured him, according to Mark Twain, was none other than U. S. Grant. Having thus voluntarily retired from the Rebel militia, he hastened to Keokuk, Iowa, to visit his brother Orion, who had recently been appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory and who was making last-minute preparations for the trip west. According to Mr. Paine, Sam agreed that if Orion would overlook his defection from the Union cause and appoint him as his [Orion's] secretary, "he would

while Clemens, in "The Private History," speaks of Grimes as a member of another company; Grimes has a long story about Clemens falling out of a hay loft window, spraining his ankle, and recuperating at Nuck Matson's house near New London; Clemens includes none of these incidents and gives the impression that he retired in good order. It is easy to believe that Grimes sought, in his story, to capitalize his slender acquaintance with the celebrated humorist.

¹⁴ But Mark Twain fails to mention that Harris was then (1861) prominent in Missouri politics, a member of the Lower House and of important legislative committees.

supply the funds for both overland passages . . . and start with no unnecessary delay. . . ."¹⁵

IV

In order to supply a reliable background for examining the tentative war record sketched above and to furnish a working basis for an analysis of his conduct and motives, a chronology of events, established beyond reasonable doubt, is indispensable. In examining this chronology the reader should remember that when Paine was preparing his life of Mark Twain he was unaware of many of the items listed below; or, where he knew of them, he was unaware of the exact dates of events. Nor was Mr. A. V. Goodpasture aware of them when in his article "Mark Twain, Southerner,"¹⁶ he implies that Sam Clemens might not have joined the Confederate Army had he known sooner of Orion's appointment to the Nevada post. According to Mr. Goodpasture, when Clemens did hear of it, while convalescing from a sprained ankle, he could not resist the call of adventure which the Western journey promised to offer, and joined Orion.

Besides offering a basis for testing the charges made by Mr. Masters and Mr. Pattee, the chronology will show that Mr. Goodpasture's conjectures are not well founded. It will also help to brush away some misapprehensions that arise from a reading of the three accounts.

December 26, 1860. Samuel Clemens petitioned the Polar Star Lodge No. 10, at St. Louis, for membership.¹⁷

January, 1861. Orion Clemens went to St. Louis to see Edward Bates, newly appointed United States Attorney-General under Lincoln, about a political appointment.¹⁸ Orion, an abolitionist, sought the appointment on the basis of his political activity in behalf of the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln and on the basis of his early friendship with Bates. It is reasonable to suppose that Orion or other members of the Clemens family informed Sam of his brother's political aspirations.

¹⁵ *Mark Twain: A Biography*, I, 170.

¹⁶ *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Series II, I, 253-260 (July, 1931).

¹⁷ For this and later references to Mark Twain's Masonic activities during 1861, see *Grand Lodge Bulletin*, Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., XXIX, 575-576 (May, 1928).

¹⁸ See *Palimpsest*, X, 359 (Oct., 1929).

- January 26, 1861. Louisiana seceded from the Union. Samuel Clemens was in New Orleans on this day,¹⁹ but did not make his last trip up the river at this time nor was the river blockaded at this early date, as Samuel E. Moffett states in his biographical sketch of Mark Twain.²⁰
- February 6, 1861. Sam Clemens wrote to Orion about his visit to a fortuneteller in New Orleans. The fragment, printed in *Mark Twain's Letters*, contains no hint of the impending national crisis nor of any difficulties he may have had as a pilot, but it attributes to the fortuneteller, among other things, the knowledge that Orion is seeking political appointment. The fragment informs us that the fortuneteller assured Sam that Orion stood "a better chance than the other two" applicants for office.²¹
- February 13, 1861. Samuel Clemens, in St. Louis, was elected to receive degrees in the Masonic Order.
- March 27, 1861. Orion Clemens received notice of his appointment as Territorial Secretary of Nevada.²² Since the appointment was published in the newspapers, Sam could have been, and probably was, aware of it a few days after this date.²³
- April 9, 1861. Samuel Clemens's pilot license expired within a few weeks after this date.²⁴
- April 15 1861. President Lincoln called for troops. Governor Jackson of Missouri, strongly pro-Southern, refused.
- April 19, 1861. Last reported arrival in St. Louis of the *Uncle Sam*, the packet on which, according to Paine, Samuel

¹⁹ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 193.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*

²¹ I, 48-51. Clemens had probably heard from home, by this date, that Orion was seeking political appointment. Was the letter a hoax?

²² *Palimpsest*, loc. cit.

²³ Orion's appointment was noticed in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger*, for example, March 30, 1861.

²⁴ Clemens's license, issued in St. Louis in 1859, expired April 9, 1860. Thirty days were allowed for renewal; but it is unlikely that Clemens allowed more than fourteen days of a renewal period to elapse, since most of the packets could make the round trip from St. Louis to New Orleans within that period. The license issued in 1860 would therefore have expired within thirty days after April 9, 1861. For a discussion of the licenses issued to Samuel Clemens see *The Twainian*, I, Nos. 8 and 9 (Nov. and Dec., 1940).

Clemens made his last trip up the river.²⁵ Booked as a passenger, Clemens was apparently without employment by this date. Notices in the *Missouri Republican* concerning the *Uncle Sam* do not allude to any incident at Jefferson Barracks, where Paine alleges the boat was fired upon and damaged. The *Republican* does report, however, that the boat "has been laid up for a few days."²⁶ Paine's statement that it was "the last steamboat to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis" is dramatic but incorrect.²⁷ It was nearly a month later before all traffic stopped. (See the *Missouri Republican* for May 16, 19, 23.)

- April 20, 1861. Orion Clemens received official notice of his appointment as Territorial Secretary of Nevada.²⁸
- April 26, 1861. Orion left Keokuk for St. Louis, presumably to visit his mother and sister, and perhaps to explore the possibilities of a loan to make the trip west.²⁹ If, as Paine says, Sam spent a few days in St. Louis (in retirement) after leaving the river,³⁰ it appears highly probable that Orion met Sam at this time and talked with him about his appointment and about his prospects in the new Territory. At any rate Sam would have been informed of Orion's visit and of his prospects by his mother.
- May 14, 1861. Governor Jackson's legislature passed a pro-Southern militia act. The Governor immediately began to enlist militia under the command of General Sterling Price.
- May 22, 1861. Samuel Clemens was initiated Entered Apprentice in the Polar Star Lodge.
- June 12, 1861. Samuel Clemens passed to Fellowcraft Degree in Masonry, at St. Louis. On this day, too, Governor Jackson called his state militia into active service. If the following statement in "The Private History" may be trusted, Mark Twain left St. Louis for

²⁵ *Missouri Republican*, April 20, 1861. The boat was referred to both as the *Uncle Sam* and the *New Uncle Sam* (see issue of April 13, 1861).

²⁶ *Missouri Republican*, April 20, 1861. ²⁷ *Mark Twain: A Biography*, I, 162.

²⁸ *Palimpsest*, X, 359.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Mark Twain: A Biography*, I, 163. Paine assumes, mistakenly, that Sam Clemens joined the Rebel militia soon after quitting the river.

Hannibal almost immediately following the Governor's call for troops:

"In that summer . . . the first wash of the wave of war broke upon the shore of Missouri. Our state was invaded by the Union forces. They took possession of St. Louis, Jefferson Barracks, and some other points. The Governor, Calib Jackson, issued his proclamation calling out fifty thousand militia to repel the invader.

"I was visiting in the small town where my boyhood had been spent—Hannibal, Marion County. Several of us got together in a secret place by night and formed ourselves into a military company."³¹

June 17, 1861.

Jackson's troops were defeated at Boonville.

July 3, 1861.

Colonel U. S. Grant with his regiment left Springfield, Illinois, for Quincy and thence to points in eastern Missouri. An examination of his movements in this campaign indicates that he did not reach Harris's Rebel camp at Florida, Missouri, till about three weeks later.³²

July 4, 1861.

Orion Clemens arrived in St. Louis to visit his mother and sister before setting out for Nevada Territory to assume office. Between this date and July 10 Orion met Sam in St. Louis and induced him to go west with him.³³

July 10, 1861.

Samuel Clemens was raised to the degree of Master Mason in St. Louis.

July 18, 1861.

Sam and Orion departed for the West.³⁴

V

An examination of the chronology permits us to make the following observations:

1. That if Clemens made the last trip up-river on the *Uncle Sam*, as Paine asserts, he was off the river nearly two months before he joined the Rebel Militia in Missouri.³⁵ This fact invalidates Mark

³¹ *Century Magazine*, p. 193.

³² *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885), I, 246-249.

³³ *Palimpsest*, p. 359.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Was Clemens in the Confederate service for a brief time before his final return to St. Louis, as Horace Bixby claimed (*Missouri Republican*, April 22, 1910)? It is a clue

Twain's statement in "The Private History" that he was "full of unreasoning joy to be done with turning out of bed at midnight and four in the morning," and that his campaign was consequently a holiday and a welcome change from the routine of the pilot house.³⁶ It is more likely that soldiering was a relief from an extended period of restless inactivity.

2. That Mark Twain's claim in "The Private History" that he was nearly captured by U. S. Grant and that "I came within a few hours of seeing him when he was as unknown as I was myself" cannot be accepted.³⁷ Although Grant's *Memoirs* do not furnish the exact dates of his movements in eastern Missouri, it is apparent that Grant did not move against Harris's camp at Florida, where Clemens said he retired, until approximately three weeks after his departure from Springfield, that is to say about July 20. But Clemens, as we have seen, was out of the army and back in St. Louis taking a Masonic degree by July 10. Probably he was there a few days earlier. It is more likely that by the time Grant reached Florida Sam and Orion Clemens had already left St. Louis for the West.³⁸

that deserves some attention in view of M. M. Brashear's conjecture that letters published in the *New Orleans Crescent* in the winter and spring of 1861 and appearing under the signature of "Quintus Curtius Snodgrass" were contributed by Sam Clemens (see *Mark Twain: Son of Missouri*, Chapel Hill, 1934, pp. 182 ff.).

³⁶ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 194 (Dec., 1885).

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 246-249.

³⁸ Clemens published "The Private History" in 1885, the same year his publishing house, Charles L. Webster and Company, brought out the *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*. While it is possible that his lively interest in Grant led Clemens to capitalize on an alleged slender connection with the national hero, another motive may have been operative. Early in January, 1885, Mark Twain read publicly in Keokuk from his forthcoming book *Huckleberry Finn*. Two days later, on January 17, the following reminiscence appeared in the *Keokuk Gate City*:

"While the Sherman-Davis controversy is before the people raking up old war issues, and while anecdotes of Mark Twain are pat in this locality, I think it proper that his war record should be known and I am surprised that he has not given it himself as it is a funny chapter in his history. I gathered the following from an old schoolmate and friend who can vouch for it all:

"At the opening of the War Mark Twain was piloting a steamboat on the lower Mississippi, but on one of his trips was stopped by a blockade, and he returned to his boyhood home in Florida, Mo., and there joined a company of rebel soldiers. This company remained at this point until rumors of approaching yankees induced them to go farther South. Mark Twain was mounted on a mule and the company moved off, making a slight detour and finally bringing up at Louisiana, Mo., where Mark Twain, tiring of the army, after continuous service of fully three weeks, sold his mule for \$15 and resigned his position as a private. On being interrogated as to his cause of so soon leaving the army, he replied that the mule was too rough and he couldn't stand it any longer and that it hurt his feet to walk.

"Thus because of a mule did the South lose a valiant soldier and the world gain an

3. That Sam Clemens knew of Orion's appointment to office in Nevada Territory at least two and a half months before he joined the Rebel militia in Missouri, and that over three months elapsed from the time he probably first heard of it until the time he decided to go west with Orion. The latter observation has important bearings: First, Sam Clemens obviously did not retire from the Rebel army to avoid embarrassing Orion, a loyal Unionist. He joined the Rebel group long after he knew of Orion's appointment to office. Second, contrary to Mr. Goodpasture's conjecture, Sam resisted for months "the call of adventure, exploration, and gold-diggings in the Pacific West."³⁹ He did not precipitately join Orion's venture and "skeddadle" into ports unknown, as Mr. Pattee charges. Nor is there the slightest evidence that he looked upon Orion's appointment as a fortunate excuse for an escape from the war zone. In fact, a passage from the journal of Mrs. Orion Clemens, concerning the events leading up to her husband's departure for the West, indicates that even after his retirement from the militia Sam Clemens made his decision to go west with some reluctance. According to Mrs. Clemens, when Orion arrived in St. Louis on July 4, "There he met and *prevailed* [the italics are mine] upon his brother Sam to go to his new home with him."⁴⁰ According to Mrs. Clemens's report, therefore, Sam had to be *induced* to go, and did not make a decision until Orion had already said farewell at Keokuk and was paying a final visit at St. Louis.

In view of Sam's three months' hesitation in joining Orion's Western venture the following conjectures concerning Sam Clemens's motives for going are offered as more reasonable:

Orion had received what appeared to be, and was, a promising political appointment. With his friend Edward Bates in the Cabinet, and with reasonably good fortune in Nevada, he might well expect higher political offices. Orion's star, so long obscure, appeared now to be clearly rising, while Sam's was declining. The river was closed

author, and should the house of Twain ever have an Escutcheon, what better emblem could be emblazoned upon it than a mule."

That Orion, then living in Keokuk, should have failed to send Mark Twain a copy of the item is inconceivable; for while the tone of the reminiscence is not unfriendly, it implies a subtle criticism of Mark Twain's war record. Mark Twain, sensing danger in such a story, if unchecked, immediately presented his own version and managed in his own day at least, to laugh it off.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Palimpsest*, X, 359 (Oct., 1929).

and the war was definitely on. If Sam now took a job piloting out of St. Louis, it would have to be on a Union boat, but Union or Rebel, salaries had dropped considerably.⁴¹ The old affluence was gone, grass was growing on the St. Louis levee, and business was languishing.⁴² Troublesome days were ahead with little prospect for employment. To join effective Rebel forces again would have necessitated his going far to the south, for by mid-July St. Louis and northern Missouri were definitely in Union hands. But while Orion had a good office, he lacked the money to get to it, except such as he may have arranged to borrow. Sam still had money, saved from his earnings on the river. With the probable aid of mother and sister, Orion urged Sam to go with him, partly for company, partly for financial aid, and partly to wean Sam from his Rebel sympathies.

That the prospect of mining gold in the Nevada diggings may have been a contributing factor in Sam's decision to go west need not be denied. The St. Louis papers carried frequent and promising accounts of activities in the gold fields, and many Missouri people were there, people that Sam knew. Several were in Nevada Territory.⁴³ No doubt Orion, in urging Sam to go, played up the mining prospects as an inducement, if business or political opportunities should fail. But the primary motive for going was not the lure of gold, nor even of adventure, but rather, after three months of mental confusion, idleness, and military fiasco, the prospect of some sort of constructive activity, of employment, and perhaps of some share in Orion's job of state building. It is obvious that Sam did not join Orion out of remorse, or to save Orion political embarrassment, or because he was hot for adventure. He went west because Orion urged him to go and because the venture held promise of employment.

VI

There yet remains to consider Sam Clemens's retirement, or, to use the harsher term, desertion, from the Rebel militia. Why

⁴¹ In August, Commander John Rodgers, U. S. Navy, fixed pilot's wages for service on Mississippi gunboats at \$150, considerably less than the wage previously paid (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Washington, 1908, Series 1, XXII, 298).

⁴² *Missouri Republican*, April 29 and May 16, 1861.

⁴³ For example, William H. Claggett, George Claggett, O. B. O'Bannon, and a man named Van Horn of Keokuk, Harrown and Jo. Byers, of Memphis, Missouri, all of which names appear in letters written by Sam Clemens during his early Nevada days.

did he desert? While there can, of course, be no absolute answer to this question, an examination of a series of events preceding and during his "campaign" may offer clues.

On May 22, as we have seen, Sam Clemens was in St. Louis, taking a degree in Masonry. It is highly probable that he was in the city twelve days earlier when Union troops under Captain Lyon captured Camp Jackson, allegedly held by pro-secessionists, and unfortunately killed a number of citizens. The effect of the capture upon the citizens of St. Louis is clearly explained by U. S. Grant, who was in the city during these crucial days:

Up to this time the enemies of the government in St. Louis had been bold and defiant, while Union men were quiet but determined. The enemies had their head-quarters in a central and public position on Pine Street, near Fifth—from which the rebel flag flaunted boldly. The Union men had a place of meeting somewhere in the city, I do not know where. . . . As soon as the news of the capture of Camp Jackson reached the city the condition of affairs was changed. Union men became rampant and aggressive. . . . The secessionists became quiet but were filled with suppressed rage. The Union men ordered the rebel flag taken down from the building on Pine Street. The command was given in tones of authority and it was taken down, never to be raised again in St. Louis.⁴⁴

Despite the unfavorable turn of events for secessionists in St. Louis, and the rapidly growing tension between hostile forces elsewhere in the state, Clemens remained in the city till June 12, when he took his second degree in Masonry. On that very day Governor Jackson, knowing a crisis had arrived, called his militia into active service.

Whether Clemens now went up to Hannibal for a visit, as he implies, or whether he went there with the intention of joining the Rebel militia, is, of course, problematical. At any rate, on his arrival there he probably expected to find widespread Southern sympathy. But the situation in Hannibal, strongly pro-Southern in the early days of the crisis, had rapidly changed in favor of the Unionists. At mid-June, when Clemens arrived, three companies of Union Home Guards were in complete control, and the open organization of a Rebel company such as Clemens now joined would have been out of the question in Hannibal.⁴⁵ At Palmyra, however, the neigh-

⁴⁴ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, I, 235-236.

⁴⁵ On June 14 the *Hannibal News*, a strong secession organ, was ordered to cease

boring village to the west, and at New London, ten miles away in Ralls County, Rebel groups were forming. This fact accounts for Clemens's statement in "The Private History" that they met secretly at night in Hannibal to form their company, and then marched to New London to drill and complete their organization.⁴⁶

But while Ralls County was safer for Rebel organization than Hannibal, it was only *comparatively* safe. Rumors of approaching Union troops, says Mark Twain, kept them in a continual state of alarm. These rumors were well founded. Day after day Federal regiments from Iowa and Illinois were coming down the river and proceeding along the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad to guard

publishing. (See the Hannibal *Daily Messenger*, June 14, 1861. The file of the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* used in this study is the property of Franklin J. Meine of Chicago, President of the Chicago Mark Twain Society. The author wishes to acknowledge his considerable indebtedness to Mr. Meine for permission to use the file and for his interest and liberal aid in Mark Twain research.)

⁴⁶ *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 194. An item of news correspondence that may have come from the pen of Sam Clemens upon his arrival in Hannibal appeared in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* of June 20; the correspondence, signed "Sam" and addressed to the editor of the *Missouri State Journal*, reports the state of affairs in Hannibal. The editor of the *Messenger* reprints the correspondence as follows:

"Four of the Home Guards deserted Saturday night, and left for parts unknown. I heard from a very reliable source that there were seventeen bodies sent up the river this morning, killed in a skirmish up the railroad somewhere. It is not known wherefore the wires have been cut down. There are about 250 Home Guards here at present, and there is a requisition from General Scott here, for the troops that have been sent here.

"The boys are responding bravely to the call of the Governor—about fifty have left already, and plenty left to strike when the proper time comes. Major T. A. Harris received his commission Friday night, (per courier) and has left for the seat of war. He is Brigadier General of this district. Our city is perfectly quiet at present."

Commenting on this letter, the editor of the *Messenger* says: "The above 'interesting and reliable' correspondence, we find in the *St. Louis Journal* of Tuesday. Will 'Sam' be kind enough to furnish us with the names of the 'four deserters?' If he will we shall take pleasure in publishing them.

"And while he has his hand in, will he also be kind enough to inform us at what point 'up the railroad somewhere' the 'skirmish' occurred in which seventeen United States troops were killed. If he will we shall also make an item of that too. It is true a vague rumor was flying about the streets to that effect Saturday night and Sunday, but the very ridiculousness of the thing has long since caused its explosion.

"Where 'Sam' got his information from 'here' that there are only two hundred and fifty Home Guards 'here' and the 'requisition' from General Scott *here* for the troops that have been sent 'here,' we know not, nor neither do we care, but have simply to say we have heard no such 'requisition.'

"Of the information that 'Sam' communicates about 'the boys responding bravely'—about 50 having left, 'Major T. A. Harris' receiving his commission of Brigadier General, and leaving for the seat of war, and 'our city is perfectly quiet at present,' we have only to say that the farther 'Sam' goes in his correspondence, the much nearer he approaches the truth."

bridges and to break up Rebel concentrations.⁴⁷ While his statement that he was hunted like a rat during the entire campaign may be somewhat exaggerated,⁴⁸ there is little doubt that Clemens's company had to keep moving despite the growing difficulty of acquiring supplies and finding places to camp.

Then came the rains which Clemens alleges contributed so much to his discomfort. When Clemens entered upon his campaign the weather had been dry, so dry in fact that drouth conditions existed. But about June 26 heavy rains began to fall, rains so heavy and prolonged that on June 28 the editor of the *Hannibal Daily Messenger* exclaims: "It can dry up; we've had enough for the present." But it was still raining hard the next day.

The discomfort caused by the rains, the lack of fixed shelter and headquarters, the fatigue occasioned by constant moving, the probable difficulty of securing provisions, and the absence of any effective authority in the loosely organized company were unquestionably factors that led to Clemens's retirement. There was, however, another factor, perhaps a decisive one. Clemens had scarcely entered upon his campaign when Governor Jackson's Rebel army, under the command of General Sterling Price, was completely routed at Boonville, up the Missouri River, and compelled to make a hasty retreat southward.⁴⁹ While the significance of the defeat may not have been immediately apparent either to Clemens or to the Rebel units forming under the command of Thomas H. Harris, they must soon have realized, what presently became a fact, that it gave the Union forces control of the Missouri River "from Kansas City to its mouth and placed a formidable barrier in the way of recruits from the North side of it reaching Price."⁵⁰

Jackson's defeat at Boonville resulted in wholesale defection from his army. Rebel soldiers that had engaged in the battle soon began filtering back to Monroe, Ralls, and Marion counties with their war lust satisfied⁵¹ and spreading stories, it may be, of Governor Jackson's unsoldierly trepidation during the engagement.

⁴⁷ Beginning with the issue of June 8 the *Hannibal Daily Messenger* reports almost daily the arrival of Union troops at Hannibal and Palmyra, chiefly from Illinois and Iowa.

⁴⁸ *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 541.

⁴⁹ The skirmish at Boonville occurred on June 17.

⁵⁰ *Confederate Military History* (Missouri), IX, 45-46.

⁵¹ *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, June 23, 1861.

There was also widespread defection from other units, probably both Rebel and Union, during these days, partly because of misapprehension concerning the scope of their service and partly because there was no power to hold the men. A picture of the chaotic conditions that presently developed in loosely organized companies such as Clemens joined is clearly reflected in the following item which appeared in the *Missouri Republican* of June 22:

At one time between 3,000 and 4,000 troops were collected in Jackson County. They were not however harmonious. A large portion regarded themselves as only called out for service in the county, and they objected to going anywhere else—just as our Home Guards do. Another party were anxious for a fight. . . . Finally the whole camp became demoralized, and more than one half the number deliberately threw up their guns, washed their hands of the whole concern, and went home, there to attend to their farms. A similar proceeding is not unlikely in other sections of the state. Such should be the result. . . . All of them should go home!

Samuel Clemens was one of those who went home.⁵² Striking across country toward the Mississippi, he reached the river at Louisiana,⁵³ and apparently proceeded to St. Louis at once.⁵⁴ There, as previously shown, he resumed his preparation for the third degree in Masonry and presently was persuaded to join Orion on the Nevada venture.

⁵² Paine, following Ab. Grimes's account, says that Mark Twain, following his retirement, spent several weeks at Nuck Matson's farm, convalescing from a sprained ankle. In "The Private History" Mark Twain mentions neither the sprained ankle nor the period of convalescence, but he does speak of spending several lonesome days at the house of farmer Mason, that is to say, Matson; but whereas Paine and Grimes place Sam Clemens's stay at Matson's after the retirement, Mark Twain places it before, during the rains. Mason, says Mark Twain, "was a friend of the cause," that is, Confederate in his sympathies, or at least opposed to the invasion of the Union forces. It is apparent, however, despite Mark Twain's assertion, that Matson's allegiance to the Southern cause was not deeply rooted. Before the year was out he enlisted in the services of the United States under the command of General Parsons. That Matson's sympathies were wavering toward the Union cause during the days Sam Clemens stayed at his house and that his uncertainties concerning the justices of the various causes that were being espoused in Missouri may have exerted an unsettling influence upon Clemens, can be offered, if at all, only as conjecture.

⁵³ Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* (New York, 1883), p. 427.

⁵⁴ Albert Bigelow Paine's statement, in *Mark Twain: A Biography*, I, 168, that Clemens went up to Keokuk to visit Orion at this time seems unfounded. According to Mrs. Orion Clemens's Journal (see *Palimpsest*, X, 359, Oct., 1929), Orion and Sam met in St. Louis, not in Keokuk.

To speak of his retirement as desertion, appears, under the circumstances here sketched, unduly harsh. Whatever his motives may have been, it is clear he did not give up military service and leave for the West either in response to the lure of gold or to escape war service, as Mr. Masters and Mr. Pattee charge. If one may judge, however, from Mark Twain's long silence concerning his war record and from the defensive and somewhat apologetic account of it in "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed," one senses that perhaps he was none too proud of it. The study here presented tends to exonerate him, however, from the deliberately base motive ascribed to him.

THE THEATER IN THE OLD SOUTHWEST THE FIRST DECADE AT NATCHEZ

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SIR GILES OVERREACH was probably the first character from English drama to tread the boards in the Old Southwest. In January, 1806, a vaudeville artist and actor, a Mr. Rannie, who had appeared in New York, landed with his troupe at Natchez, Mississippi Territory. Rannie first baited his audience with a performance of feats of ventriloquism, bird mimicking, and magic. A fortnight later the lines of Philip Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* added a new note to the somewhat less formal and more bawdy entertainments hitherto enjoyed in the flesh-pots of Natchez-under-the-Hill. On the same bill was *The Provoked Husband*, product of Colley Cibber's completion of a fragment left by Sir John Vanbrugh, "the whole to conclude with a laughable combat between two Blind Fiddlers."¹

It is worth remarking that these plays were presented almost twelve years before the date 1817, given in a leading reference work on the history of the American theater for the first performance in Natchez.² In probably every intervening year, there was a regular season of drama.

It was in 1808, with the organization of the Natchez Theatrical Association, that Natchez gave itself to the drama with an assiduity which lasted for two generations. Those citizens who were interested in the drama entered subscriptions; and an English traveler, in August, found them fitting up the old Spanish hospital on the commons for a theater.³ A lovely site it was, a strip of grass and

¹ *Mississippi Messenger*, Jan. 28, Feb. 3, 1806. The date of the dramatic performance was Feb. 12. For Rannie see G. C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (12 vols.; New York, 1927-40), II, 143-144, 209-210, 344. Professor R. P. McCutcheon's recent researches led him to believe that Rannie's appearance in New Orleans, later in the spring, marks the first dramatic performance in English in that city ("The First English Plays in New Orleans," *American Literature*, XI, 184, May, 1939). Natchez therefore was possibly the first seat of drama in the native tongue in the region.

² Oral Sumner Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr., *The American Stage (Pageant of America)*, XIV, New Haven, 1929, p. 131. In 1817 "Stopping at Natchez, they were finally persuaded to give a performance at that small Mississippi town—the first ever to be given there."

³ F[ortescue] Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country*. . . reprinted in

trees on the edge of the two-hundred-foot bluff, overlooking the gambling houses and mercantile establishments and the busy landing, the great river, and the lowlands of Louisiana as far as the eye could see.

The members of the Association organized and elected managers and a treasurer November 12,⁴ and "the first representation" was expected on December 30. The subscribers were enjoined to call at the Franklin Hotel to designate the number of their families entitled to admission, and to secure tickets.⁵ The calls for payment by subscribers, and additional assessments, were frequent; and on the pretext of relieving qualified visitors of the embarrassment of requesting tickets gratis, they were soon granted the privilege of purchasing tickets at two dollars the performance.⁶

Unfortunately we do not possess the rules of the Association. The managers, with regret, found it necessary to call attention to their eighth article: "Servants cannot be admitted into the Audience Room under any pretence." It was requested that servants left in charge of carriages and horses be prevented by their masters from being guilty of noisy or disorderly conduct during the performance.⁷

The activities of the Natchez Theatrical Association derive the more interest from the fact that there is little doubt that for years the plays were presented by "home talent," with the possible assistance of a hired director for a season or two. More vigorous and long-lived than a sporadic manifestation of the universal desire to act, the work of this Natchez group anticipated some of the modern established little theaters. It apparently carried on under its own steam until about 1817, when the practice began of leasing the theater to the companies which arrived by the river highway.

The year 1808 was a depression year; the embargo had closed the chief markets for cotton. In that year Natchez was a village of less than a thousand white souls, men, women, and children. Ten years later, at the close of the period covered by this paper, her

Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* . . . (32 vols.; Cleveland, 1904-1907), IV, 322.

⁴ *Weekly Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1808. Every fact on the Association, and the name of each play, is derived from advertisements in the Natchez papers. The author has never seen a theater bill from Natchez. It may be remarked that the completeness of the account therefore suffers from gaps in the extant files of the papers.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1808.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, Feb. 8, 22, April 29, July 1, Sept. 23, Oct. 28, Dec. 9, 1809.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1809.

white population did not number fifteen hundred. To the north, the nearest white settlement of any consequence was Nashville, five hundred miles away through the wilderness.

Why was this handful of people culturally capable of conceiving the idea of dramatic performance; and having done so, how were they able to support a regular season of plays each year? The answers lie in the nature of the population, the location of the village, and the economic base of its society.

The Natchez District boasted in its population elements not traditionally associated with the frontier. Its first wave of settlement, in the 1770's, had included men of substance and culture, Loyalists fleeing the disturbances on the seaboard. Subsequently the fertility of its soil, its beauty, and the opportunities it offered lawyers, surveyors, and merchants had enriched this initial leaven. There is ample evidence that by 1808 respectable private libraries were in existence. By that year, the gentry had attempted to found a college, and had launched The Mississippi Society for the Acquisition and Dissemination of Useful Knowledge.

On three sides of Natchez, for thirty to forty miles in each direction, lay high and rough ridges of rich soil, broken by even richer creek bottoms. Affluent settlements stretched along the latter. In this agrarian society, the planters built their seats at a distance from town, but within an easy ride. Along St. Catherine's Creek, three miles from town, along Second Creek, ten or twelve miles away, and in the Jersey Settlement but a little more removed, were plantations whose owners rode into Natchez to transact business on the 'change and to read the papers in their coffeehouses. The relation between Natchez and its hinterland was similar to that between Charleston and the Low Country. The theater could therefore count upon a wider clientele than the population of Natchez itself would indicate.

At the feet of Natchez ran the Mississippi River, culturally as well as economically its great artery. It brought new people, new ideas, books, and visitors to what else might have been another backwoods village. For the theater it had brought Rannie; it was to bring N. M. Ludlow and Sol Smith and J. H. Caldwell and Tyrone Power.

Ten years before 1808, the district had discovered the virtues

of cotton as a staple crop, and its economy was firmly grounded upon it. The bales flowed out through Natchez, the entrepôt for the entire region; and the bacon and whiskey from Kentucky, the cloth and the wines from the entire world, flowed in. The proximity of New Orleans, the close economic if not cultural relations with her, stimulated the social and intellectual life of Natchez. A little later, of course, most of the riches of the Natchez theater came from crumbs dropped on the way to and from the New Orleans table.⁸

But in the winter of 1808-1809, the first season of drama was launched quite independently of either travelers or metropolis. Unnamed performances were given on January 26, February 17, and March 2,⁹ but it is only for the last play of that season that the advertisements give a name. The fare on this occasion was Thomas Otway's *The Orphan, or the Unhappy Marriage* and John O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier*.¹⁰ Here is a typical pattern of all the programs on the Natchez stage—a longer tragedy or comedy, sometimes a farce, followed invariably by a short farce or an afterpiece. With possibly one exception, all the plays were English, or English versions of foreign dramas, and of course were of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. They were apparently those most popular also in New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. There was no American play, nor any one original with a Natchez citizen, so far as available sources show. It is hardly necessary to remark that the name of a play is no indication of its contents. Alterations, excisions, adaptations must have been common. One wonders where the Natchez Association secured the scripts for its own productions.

The 1809-10 season opened with George Farquhar's best comedy, *The Beaux' Stratagem*,¹¹ and included Thomas Morton's *Cure for the Heart Ache*;¹² and *John Bull, or The Englishman's Fireside* by George Colman, Jr., which was followed by the afterpiece,

⁸ For economic and social pictures of the Natchez District, 1808-18, see W. B. Hamilton, "American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: The Mississippi Phase" (MS Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1937); Mack Swearingen, *The Early Life of George Poindexter* (New Orleans, 1934), chap. ii; and Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham, N. C. 1938), *passim*.

⁹ *Weekly Chronicle*, Jan. 18, Feb. 8, 22, 1809.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, May 6. Performance, May 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1809 (on Friday evening next).

¹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1809. Performance Dec. 15.

J. T. Allingham's *The Weathercock*.¹³ A disappointment in filling the characters prevented the Association from presenting a play for the benefit of sufferers from a fire in February, 1810.¹⁴

From available records, performances through the next two years seem to have been infrequent. Early in 1812 there was Richard Cumberland's *The Jew, or the Benevolent Hebrew*. The afterpiece was *A House to Be Sold*, which may doubtless be identified as a two-act musical piece adapted from the French by James Cobb, with music by Michael Kelly.¹⁵ A month later the play was O'Keeffe's *Wild Oats*.¹⁶ But it is quite evident that the hiatus is in the records extant, not in the performances. The Natchez Theatrical Association must have been flourishing, for by the spring of 1813 it had built a new theater.

There on June 1 was presented "the celebrated Comic Opera" *The Highland Reel* (O'Keeffe again) "with the original overture, appropriate Highland Dresses and New Scenery, prepared for the occasion." To this was added "a Pantomimic Ballet called a Trip to Vauxhall Gardens," into which was introduced the humorous song of "Four and Twenty Fiddlers," concluding with a dance by the characters. To top off a gala evening, there was "the favorite Farce," *The Spoiled Child*. This performance was for the benefit of a Mr. Decker,¹⁷ identity unknown. His presence might indicate that of a traveling troupe, or the guess might be hazarded, from a later joint announcement of a play by him and the Natchez Theatrical Association, that he was a professional director engaged by the Association.

Toward the close of that year, the managers announced the performance of *The Point of Honor*, by Charles Kemble (from Mercier's *Le Deserteur*), with "the interesting and much admired farce of *The Jew and the Doctor*" by Thomas Dibdin. Because the erection of the new theater had thrown the institution into debt,

¹³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1810. Performance Feb. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19. Probably the New Orleans fire in this year.

¹⁵ *Natchez Gazette & Mississippi General Advertiser*, Jan. 9. Performance Jan. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1812. Performance Feb. 12.

¹⁷ *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, May 25, 1813. Odell (*op. cit.*, I, 385) says of *The Spoiled Child*: "... of doubtful authorship, whether of Bickerstaffe, Hoare, or another . . ." but it might well be a two-act farce attributed by "*The Stage Cyclopaedia*, comp. Reginald Clarence (London, 1909), p. 424, to Mrs. (presumably Dorothea) Jordan, which it says was probably performed at the Drury Lane Theatre, March 22, 1790.

the managers resolved that subscribers would for this and subsequent presentations be charged an additional dollar for their tickets.¹⁸

The Association's chief venture into Shakespeare came in the following year, when, as the announcement modestly put it, "On Friday evening the 15th of April, will be attempted the performance of *Othello the Moor of Venice*." The mood of gloomy tragedy was dispelled by a repetition of *The Spoiled Child*.¹⁹

Mr. Decker again needing benefit, he and the Association announced that he had in preparation the *Lovers' Vow* by August Friederich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, which would be followed by some more O'Keeffe, *The Farmer, or The World, Its Ups and Downs*. The comment of the local paper was that

Mr. Decker certainly deserves considerable credit for the happy selection he has made for the performance of the last evening this season. The Lover's [*sic*] Vows is undoubtedly among the best of Kotzebue's plays—and on whatever stage it has been performed, has received deserved applause. In London, its merit was well tested by the performance of it for several succeeding nights, with unbounded applause. In the present instance the writer is warranted in saying the characters will be admirably filled.²⁰

Lovers' Vows was not, however, the last performance of the season. For the benefit of "Mr. Capron" were given the "admired comedy" J. T. Allingham's *The Marriage Promise*, and the musical farce by P. Hoare, *The Prize, or 2, 3, 5, 8*.²¹

The annoyance of an audience caused the temperamental players to exclude all spectators from rehearsals, in November, of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Good-Natur'd Man*; at the same time the managers ruled that the "Green Room" was to be strictly reserved for per-

¹⁸ *Mississippi Republican*, Dec. 1, 1813. Performance Dec. 10.

¹⁹ *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, April 13, 1814. "N. B. Those bringing young persons are requested to keep them under their own eyes to prevent the noise sometimes experienced from too great an assemblage of youth on one seat."

²⁰ *Mississippi Republican*, May 4, 1814. The *Washington Republican*, May 18, 1814, announces the date of this performance as May 24. "Kotzebue's *The Natural Son* had been adapted in England by both Mrs. Inchbald and Miss Plumptre, and Dr. Coad has shown that the 1814 edition of the play printed in New York is a version of the latter, with slight indication of indebtedness to the German original. Dunlap, in his *American Theatre*, states that his version was not printed, but the New York edition of 1814 bears his name on the title page. He used the title, *Lovers' Vows*, given to Mrs. Inchbald's Covent-Garden version" (Odell, *op. cit.*, II, 51). Translations by Stephen Porter and Benjamin Thomson were printed in 1798 and 1800 respectively ("*The Stage*" *Cyclopaedia*, p. 266).

²¹ *Mississippi Republican*, June 8, 1814.

formers and their attendants. In rehearsal with the comedy was the afterpiece *The Spanish Barber*, a comedy with songs, by George Colman out of Beaumarchais.²²

All record of the season of 1815 has been swallowed up with the newspapers; or perhaps audience and players alike were devoting all their talents to the entertainment of the British at New Orleans. A circus troupe took over the theater early in the next year.

This evening [14th February] will be performed, The Grand Comic Pantomime called HARLEQUIN HUNTER. On Friday evening next, (the last performance at the Theatre) will be presented the Grand Comic Pantomime of DON QUIXOTE. And, on Monday next at the Circus (the last performance in this City) will be presented GREAT feats of Horsemanship, Trampolin Exercises &c &c And conclude with a REPRESENTATION of PERRY'S VICTORY on LAKE ERIE.²³

In the autumn season, the Theatrical Association presented Richard B. Sheridan's *The Rivals*, followed by the younger Colman's *The Review, or Wags of Windsor*,²⁴ and in the next spring, *John Bull*, with the afterpiece, *The House to be Sold*.²⁵ The latter two had been given six years before, and *John Bull* enjoyed a third performance when it was repeated within ten days by request. The afterpiece of the latter play was J. T. Allingham's *Fortune's Frolic*.²⁶

The season was polished off with two "divertissements," of which the program for the second survives. A Mr. King informed the ladies and gentlemen of Natchez that he would give the following entertainment in the theater on the evening of June 7:

Part 1

(By particular request, the Songs "Paddy
Carey" and "My Deary" will be repeated.)
Song—Young Lochinvar—Walter Scott
Recitation—The New Castle Apothecary—Coleman
Song—The Eighth House—Moore
Recitation—Clarence's Dream—Shakespeare
Song—"Oh, why should the girl of my soul
be in tears?"—Moore
Ditto—The County Club

²² *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1814.

²³ *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, Feb. 14, 1816.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1816.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1817. Performance April 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 16. Performance April 22.

Part II

Song—Jessie, the flower o' Dumblane
 Recitation—The Modern Wife
 Song—Bound prentice to a Waterman
 Recitation—Alexander's Feast—Dryden
 Song—The Jubilee of Freedom—R. T. Payne
 Recitation—Cato's Soliloquy on the
 immortality of the Soul—Addison
 Song—The Wood-pecker—I knew by the smoke—
 Moore
 Ditto—Paddy M'Shane's seven ages.²⁷

The last season of the first decade of the Natchez theater, the first year of statehood for Mississippi, marked a departure in its history. The Association rented its building to a traveling troupe, and henceforth depended upon professionals for its drama. In the dying days of 1817, N. M. Ludlow and company, styling themselves "The American Theatrical Commonwealth," stopped on their way to New Orleans, and gave at least one performance, George Colman, Jr.'s *The Poor Gentleman*, followed by J. T. Allingham's *The Weathercock*, with songs by Ludlow, Bainbridge, and Morgan sandwiched in between.²⁸

In the following spring, the company returned for an extensive stay. The theater was opened May 14 with J. Kenney's musical farce, *Turn Out*, "to which will be added a laughable comedy in 3 acts, written by Shakespeare and altered by Garrick, called *Catherine and Petrucio*."²⁹ A Mr. Jones, "late of the Theater Kingston," made his Natchez debut in Edward Moore's *The Gamester*, with the afterpiece of O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier*.³⁰

Moore's tragedy of misspent youth may well have given pause to the youngest cadet in a society given to the bottle and the gaming table—children under twelve were admitted at half price. At least the local critic liked to pretend that so far as the young were concerned, the theater existed for instruction and edification, a rather untenable assumption in view of the current taste in drama. The first dramatic criticism in the Natchez papers appears during this season, with the correspondence of a man signing himself "Z."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1817.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1817. Performance same date.

²⁹ *Mississippi Republican*, May 14, 1818. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 21. Performance May 22.

His style and the bases of his criticism are equally stilted. On the performance of *The Gamester*, he wrote:

"Player: I hope we have reformed that indifferently with us.

Ham: Reform it altogether."

On Friday evening the *Gamester* and *Poor Soldier* were presented to a crowded house; we are well pleased in finding that admonition roused on this occasion the dormant talents of the players, who gave a sample of what they possess. Such exertions, tho' accompanied by some blemishes, will always command the smiles of our audience ever ready to reward by a full house and timely applause. To maintain in its purity this rational medium of instruction for youth and amusement to the mature, each player must "act well his part," or at least his pictures must not be the result of carelessness.

Mr. Jones in Stukely, gives promise of a successful assistant. Mr. Vaughn in Beverly, was the favorite. Mrs. Cummins displayed much force and judgment, in Mrs. Beverly. The residue of the company, some of whom are fitted for better things, still pursue the "noiseless tenor of their way."

The Gamester never fails in reviving [*sic*] the attention. It is a new and bold attack on folly, or rather disease too common among men of wealth & leisure, we cannot withhold pity from the deluded wretch, conscious of his disorder, but without resolution to resist its progress—our feelings are easily interested in the fate of a misguided family who makes not a single effort to reclaim the miserable husband. *The Gamester* is a favorite with those who believe in the efficacy of reforming this evil by fair reasoning. But it is doubtful, whether in its exhibition our feelings are too much governed by pity, to admit a free exercise of those of detestation and horror.

Annoyed because Mrs. Ludlow failed to appear as Lucy, "Z" wanted to know, "without trespassing too far on female delicacy," whether the failure was owing to severe indisposition or to some other cause.³¹

Colman's *John Bull*, a favorite in Natchez, enjoyed its fourth performance, along with an interlude translated from the Spanish of Lope de Vega, *The Father Out-Witted*.³² Evidently Kotzebue never failed to please. *Lovers' Vows*, Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald's version of his *Child of Love*, already favorably received years before, was repeated this season. Of the afterpiece for this performance, Thomas Dibdin's musical farce, *Of Age Tomorrow, or the Faith-*

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1818.

³² *Ibid.*, May 28, 1818. Performance May 29.

ful German,"⁸³ Odell says: "The sagacious reader identifies this as an English version of Kotzebue's *Wildfang*, hitherto [1806] acted in New York in the Dunlap form—The Wild Goose Chase."⁸⁴

Long familiar to its audience also was *The Weathercock, or Love Alone Can Fix Him*, which made an evening with William Dimond's five-act play, *The Doubtful Son, or Secrets of a Palace*.⁸⁵ On June 16, the American Commonwealth Company gave the "celebrated tragedy," presumably by Nicholas Rowe, called *Jane Shore, or Houses of York and Lancaster*. It was followed by a two-act farce by Allingham, of whom Natchez had been a devotee for years, *'Tis All A Farce*⁸⁶—so amusing that it had to be repeated at the next performance, by request, as afterpiece to "the celebrated Melo-Drama," *The Magpie and Maid, or Who's the Thief*, for which the music was composed and arranged by "Dr." Bainbridge, a member of the company.⁸⁷

For Mr. Jones's benefit, once postponed because of the illness of his fellow actors, Morgan and Hanna, the company returned to Kotzebue, this time *Pizarro, or the Death of Rolla*, billed as a translation by R. B. Sheridan,⁸⁸ but probably more Sheridan than Kotzebue. Between the play and the farce, two songs were sung, "Paddy's Description of Pizarro" and "The Star-Spangled Banner." The farce was Mrs. Susanna Centlivre's *The Ghost, or Dead Man Alive*.

The very next performance was that of Kotzebue's *Misanthropy and Repentance*, billed as *The Stranger*; the announcement gave the translator as "J.," but doubtless meant "Benjamin," Thompson. It was followed by "a very laughable farce," *The Village Lawyer*.⁸⁹

⁸³ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1818. Performance June 5.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 277.

⁸⁵ *Mississippi State Gazette*, June 6, 1818. Performance June 9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1818. Performance June 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1818. Performance June 23. The melodrama cannot be identified with certainty. Of a performance by this name in New York, Odell (*op. cit.*, II, 452) writes: "I do not know whether Dibdin's or Pocock's version was used. In any case, both were founded on a French original, the story being that of Rossini's opera, *La Gazza Ladra*." "The Stage" *Cyclopaedia* lists *The Magpie or the Maid*, a three-act melodrama by J. Pocock, but gives the first performance as 1830 (p. 272). It also lists *The Maid and the Magpie; or Which is the Thief*, from a Lyceum playbill of 1815, and describes it as a musical afterpiece from a French melodrama.

⁸⁸ *Mississippi Republican*, June 25, 1818; *Mississippi State Gazette*, June 27. Performance probably June 30.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1818. Performance July 7. *The Village Lawyer* as presented in Natchez cannot be identified positively. Lyon's adaptation of the well-nigh immortal

In the following week there was announced George Lillo's tragedy, "as performed in every Theater in Europe and America with unbounded applause," called in the Natchez announcement *George Barnwell, or A School for Youth*. The correct subtitle, *The London Merchant*, is more usually given as the title; the Natchez company must have had in mind its responsibility as a moral preceptor. The afterpiece was "a very favorite farce," *The Megrimms, or American in France*.⁴⁰

It is rather doubtful that this performance was given, for on the day for which it was announced, Thomas Morgan, aged thirty-two years, comedian of the Commonwealth Company, died. He was given a Masonic burial, followed to his grave by his fellow comedians and "many respectable citizens." The company, of course, proposed a benefit for his widow; here chronology and the newspapers play a sorry trick on the student. The *Mississippi State Gazette*, following its obituary notice, announced the benefit for July 28; the play was to be Otway's *Venice Preserved, or the Plot Discover'd*.⁴¹ The *Mississippi Republican* for October 27, some three months later, announces for October 29 a benefit for Mrs. Morgan, presenting the same play. Perhaps there is no problem; Mrs. Morgan doubtless needed benefit as well in the autumn as in the summer, and the coincidence of the play was fortuitous. This latter performance was distinguished by "Mrs. Turner's first appearance here from the Theater [in] Boston. . . ." David Garrick's farce, *Miss in Her Teens, or The Medley of Lovers*, was the afterpiece for the occasion.

The company appearing after this interval included enough of the names associated with the Commonwealth Company to justify the conclusion that it was still Ludlow's troupe. However, the name of Ludlow himself does not appear during the remainder of the year. He relates that he went to Nashville in July, 1818, to settle down to housekeeping and to direct a few amateur theatricals in that town;⁴² but Ludlow is not reliable as a source on his own career.

Whoever the director was, his efforts made the autumn of 1818,

L'Avocat Patelin was produced in London in 1787; a farce by that name by Mrs. Macready, in 1795 ("The Stage" *Cyclopaedia*, p. 469).

⁴⁰ *Mississippi State Gazette*, July 18, 1818. Performance July 21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1818.

⁴² According to Coad and Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

rounding out a full ten years of the drama in Natchez, a notable season indeed. On November 9 there was "repeated," "by particular request," A. Cherry's comedy, *The Soldier's Daughter*, to which was added the farce "(never performed here)," *Lovers' Quarrels, or Like Master, Like Man*, probably by T. King, an adaptation of Vanbrugh's *The Mistake*.⁴³ Two days later, when the troupe played *Romeo and Juliet*, Natchez had what seems, from present records, to have been its second real glimpse of Shakespeare, if we may discount the bastard version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. The after-piece was the oft-repeated *The Weathercock*.⁴⁴

"X. Y. Z." (perhaps our old critic "Z"), who passionately admired the Bard, went in fear and trembling to see *Romeo and Juliet* mangled. He was agreeably disappointed.

Mr. Vaughn in the character of Romeo, played extremely well and, generally speaking, with much animation and judgment. His conception of the character is certainly a correct one, although we were sorry to perceive that occasionally he passed too suddenly from a moderate & correct to a ranting expression of his ruling passion. In Mrs. Turner, the character of Juliet found both a pleasing and able representative. Graceful in her action, pretty in her person, she united with considerable effect, the lovely bashfulness of Capulet's daughter, to the enthusiastic passion of Romeo's wife. The principal error in this lady's performance of Juliet, consisted, we thought, in the commencement of the play when she first appears. Her voice was rather loud, and her manner not quite bashful and retiring enough. We cannot help paying Mr. Jones the tribute of praise to which we think him entitled for the masterly and natural performance of the death scene after the rencontre with Tibalt. The gradual ebb of life, and the painful approach of death, could not have been exhibited with more accuracy while at the same time, even in death he preserved the predominant features of Mercutio's character.

One must agree with the critic that this was quite a feat. Mrs. Vaughn, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Stuart did not know their lines, in spite of the "gentle hint which we gave in a former paper." "Mr. Bainbridge's buffoonery, in the character of Peter the nurse's servant, would have done very well in a farce, but, as it was, appeared entirely out of place." Concluding, "X. Y. Z." let the manager know that he needed some new and more handsome scenery.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Mississippi State Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1818.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1818.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1818.

However, the critic soon had something more irritating than forgotten lines and drab backdrops to fulminate against. The company had presented (no advertisement seen) Mrs. Susanna Centlivre's "indecent comedy," *The Wonder; A Woman Keeps a Secret*. Even after ten years of drama more or less in the Restoration tone, this play was offensive. The managers of the Natchez theater had entirely mistaken the taste of Natchez patrons if they imagined that coarse and vulgar allusions and indecent expressions were calculated for that meridian. Only the good nature of the audience last Friday, so the critic wrote, prevented the greater part, at least the females, of the audience from leaving their seats. "... Blush of offended modesty . . ., lewd immorality . . ., mingled feelings of contempt and indignation . . ., exhibition of Billingsgate, indecency and vicious corruption of style. . . ." There was a clause in the contract between the present occupants of the theater and the gentlemen from whom they rented which called for the tenants to submit their plays to the lessors for inspection. "We advise the managers to look to it. A word to the wise."⁴⁶

Under the watchful eye of this critic, December began with a performance of *A Child of Nature*, by Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald, and the afterpiece, T. Knight's *Honest Thieves*.⁴⁷ Another English version of Kotzebue (*Fraternal Enmity*) was spread before the Natchez audience in Thomas Dibdin's *The Birth Day, or Veteran Tars*, followed by *High Life Below Stairs*, a farce by James Townley.⁴⁸ *Honest Thieves* received a second performance ten days after its first appearance, as afterpiece of Pocock's "grand melodrama," *The Miller and His Men, or The Robbers of Bohemia*. This was presented in Natchez "with original music—new appropriate scenery, and Decorations."⁴⁹

Lacking bills and programs, we know the names of very few of the actors who appeared in Natchez in the period covered. Only the scribbling of "Z" gives us a hint of the personnel of the troupe. In any event, most information stops with the actor's last name, and the annals of the American stage are singularly devoid of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov., 21, 1818.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1818. Performance Dec. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, December 5. Performance postponed from fourth to fifth because of weather. Odell (*op. cit.*, II, 565) gives subtitle of Dibdin's comedy as *Reconciliation*.

⁴⁹ *Mississippi State Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1818. Performance announced for Dec. 11, and the same bill for Dec. 12 (*ibid.*, Dec. 12) without a note that it was a repetition or a postponement.

Christian names to make our identification of players doubly sure. A little interest, therefore, attaches to an announcement in December that Messrs. Hanna and Cargill would divert the citizens with recitations and songs in the City Hall.⁵⁰ Hanna had been a member of the Commonwealth troupe of Ludlow in New Orleans, in the spring of that year, and Cargill had been found there by Ludlow, performing with another troupe.⁵¹ On almost the same day as the joint entertainment of these two gentlemen, "The directors of the Theatrical Company of this city . . . [meaning the Commonwealth Company or the Natchez Theatrical Association?] in justice to themselves" begged leave to tell the public that they had offered to engage Mr. Hanna on as liberal terms as the theater could afford, but as regarded Mr. Cargill, "*he cannot be admitted on any consideration.*"⁵² Mr. Cargill had had the misfortune to offend someone. Both Hanna and Cargill subsequently appeared with Ludlow's troupe.⁵³

For December 19 was announced in one paper the "last" performance of *The School for Scandal*, followed by a comic song by Mr. Adams; a skit, *The Irish School Master*, with Mr. De Grusche as teacher and Master Turner as pupil; and a farce, "never performed here," called *How to Die for Love, or The Rival Captains*, an adaptation of Kotzebue's *Blind Geladin*.

"To die for love" the ladies will exclaim
There's no such thing; the farce must have a name.
That men have died, there needs no ghost to prove,
And worms have eaten them, but not for love.⁵⁴

For the same date, the performance was advertised in the rival newspaper as consisting of *George Barnwell*, already performed in Natchez that season, the same skit with the same cast, and the afterpiece, *Fortune's Frolic, or The True Use of Riches*, by Allingham.⁵⁵ The former announcement appeared later, and may represent a hurried change in program.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 5, 9, 1818.

⁵¹ McCutcheon, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 198, 199.

⁵² *Mississippi State Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1818.

⁵³ McCutcheon, *op. cit.*, p. 199; and a bill, dated Dec. 15, reproduced in Coad and Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 133, indicating that Cargill, Hanna, and Ludlow appeared in Nashville in *Henry IV*. The year 1818, assigned by Coad and Mims, is obviously an error. Actors could not then play in Natchez on Dec. 10 and in Nashville on Dec. 15.

⁵⁴ *Mississippi Republican*, Dec. 18, 1818. Performance Dec. 19.

⁵⁵ *Mississippi State Gazette*, Dec. 16, 1818. Performance announced for Dec. 19.

Christmas week saw *The Heir-At-Law*, by George Colman, Jr., and Kenney's *Raising the Wind*,⁵⁶ John Tobin's *The Honeymoon* with Dibdin's *The Jew and the Doctor*,⁵⁷ and the last performance of the year, *Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage*, probably Garrick's version of Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery*. "The power of Southern [*sic*] is the power of Nature," ran the blurb, in the hackneyed phrase of the eighteenth century. "No author, since Shakespeare, possesses so sure a clue to all the labyrinths of the heart." At the end of the play, Mr. De Grusche sang a comic song, and the evening was concluded with *Fortune's Frolic, or the True Use of Riches*.⁵⁸

Thus we have the names of about seventy-five plays, pantomimes, and afterpieces presented in the first ten years of English drama in Natchez. There were more. The younger Colman, Kotzebue in English versions, Allingham, and O'Keeffe seem to have been the favorite authors. Farces, especially of a musical nature, seem to have outnumbered the comedies, and comedies to have been more popular than tragedies. The consistent support of the theater in Natchez, so long expressed in amateur performances, had at the end of its first decade demonstrated that professional troupes could profitably appear in the city for lengthy seasons. The theater was well launched, and its more flourishing days lay ahead, when J. H. Caldwell, Sol Smith, and other impresarios of the West were to build on the foundations laid by the Natchez Theatrical Association.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1818. Performance same date.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1818. Performance same date.

⁵⁸ *Mississippi Republican*, Dec. 29, 1818. Announced for same date, but rained out. "This evening, weather permitting" (*Mississippi State Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1818).

NOTES AND QUERIES

THOMAS GODFREY: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHAUCERIAN

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

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GODFREY the dramatist has long held a secure position in American literature. Godfrey the poet, however, has been undeservedly neglected (his *Juvenile Poems on Various Subjects* not having seen an edition since 1765), for now and then his verse rises above a pedestrian level; and he is of some historical interest for reflecting in his writings the influences of a good many English poets.¹

Most of the English poets whose works influenced Godfrey had a considerable following in America, but there is one important exception—Chaucer, who was little known in the Colonies. There are, to be sure, a few allusions, and a few copies of his poetry found their way to Colonial libraries; but so far as I know, no American poet before Godfrey shows definite Chaucerian influence. This fact, however, is hardly a discovery, for the connection between Godfrey's "The Court of Fancy" and Chaucer's *House of Fame* has long been known, and the indebtedness of the American's "The Assembly of Birds" to the Englishman's *Parliament of Fowls* has been variously pointed out.² No one, however, has been specific as to the extent or type of influence exerted on Godfrey by Chaucer.

Prefixed to "The Court of Fancy" is the following note:

The learned reader need not be acquainted that the Author took the hint of the Transition from the Court of Fancy to that of Delusion, from Chaucer's Poem called the House of Fame, where the change is from the House of Fame to that of Rumour; and that he likewise had Mr. Pope's beautiful Poem on that subject in his eye, at the Time when he compos'd this Piece.³

¹ Archibald Henderson (ed.), *The Prince of Parthia* (Boston, 1917), p. 38; S. M. Tucker, *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 176.

² M. C. Tyler, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765* (New York, 1878), II, 246; W. B. Cairns, *Selections from Early American Writers, 1607-1800* (New York, 1927), p. 295.

³ *Juvenile Poems* (Philadelphia, 1765), p. 44.

Literary historians have presumably accepted this statement without question, for after an examination of "The Court of Fancy," Pope's "Temple of Fame," and Chaucer's *House of Fame*, I am unable to find anything in the American poem that stems directly from Chaucer; I find nothing that Godfrey could not have come upon in Pope.⁴

With "The Assembly of Birds" it is another matter. Below the title of this poem Godfrey puts the phrase "from Chaucer," and he goes on to comment:

Begins at the thirteenth Stanza of Chaucer's Poem, called, "The Assembly of Fowles." The Argument of which is, all Fowles are gathered before Nature on St. Valentine's Day, to chuse their Mates. A Female Eagle being beloved of three Falcons, requireth a Year's respite to make her Choice: Upon this Trial, *Qui bien aime tard oublie*: He that loveth well, is slow to forget.⁵

Godfrey devotes one hundred and seventy-five lines to a retelling in heroic couplets of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (ll. 85-371). As Pope had done with *The House of Fame*, Godfrey leaves out a good bit; for example, the passages concerned with Africanus (ll. 106-112, 155-168); the stanza on Priapus (ll. 253-259); the list of the lovers whose stories are depicted on the temple walls (ll. 284-294); the stanza on Alanus de Insulis (ll. 316-322). There is, of course, nothing of the book that Chaucer was reading before he fell asleep and dreamed, and Godfrey breaks off his paraphrase before the core of Chaucer's poem is reached. In addition to these omissions Godfrey at times condenses Chaucer. For instance, the catalogue of birds in lines 330-364 corresponds to lines 158-173 in Godfrey's poem, where only some of the birds listed by Chaucer are named. Godfrey omits altogether the waterfowl but keeps the birds of prey, the worm-eaters, and the seed-eaters.

A comparison of several passages in the two poems will make clear what Godfrey did with his original. Chaucer's stanza on the dreams of all sorts and conditions of men may first be examined:

⁴In addition to Chaucerian influence on the two pieces already referred to, F. H. Williams ("Pennsylvania Poets of the Provincial Period," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII, 15 [1893]) suggests that "the internal evidence of other portions of his work" shows Godfrey to have been indebted to Chaucer. With this observation I am wholly unable to agree.

⁵*Juvenile Poems*, p. 83.

The wery huntere, slepyng in his bed,
 To wode ayeyn his mynde goth anon;
 The juge dremeth how his plees been sped;
 The cartere dremeth how his cartes gon;
 The riche, of gold; the knyght fyght with his fon;
 The syke met he drynketh of the tonne;
 The love-re met he hath his lady wonne (ll. 99-105)

This becomes in Godfrey's poem:

The Sportsman sleeping on the dewy ground,
 Pursues the Game, and cheers the eager hound:
 The Miser tells in dreams his hidden store,
 And warlike Knights fight all their battles o'er;
 While those who burn amid the fever's rage,
 In fancied Cups their parching thirst assuage. (ll. 13-18)

The two inscriptions over the gate, which Chaucer took from Dante, may also be compared:

"Thorgh me men gon into that blyful place
 Of hertes hele and dedly woundes cure;
 Thorgh me men gon unto the welle of grace,
 There grene and lusty May shal evere endure.
 This is the way to al good aventure.
 Be glad, thow redere, and thy sorwe ofcaste;
 Al open am I—passe in, and sped thee faste!"

"Thorgh me men gon," than spak that other side,
 "Unto the mortal strokes of the spere
 Of which Disdayn and Daunger is the gyde,
 Ther nevere tre shal fruyt ne leves bere.
 This strem yow ledeth to the sorweful were
 There as the fish in prysoun is al drye;
 Th'eschewing is only the remedye!" (ll. 127-140)

Godfrey's version:

To that delightful place thro' me men go,
 Where wounded hearts no longer feel their woe;
 To that delightful place where ever gay,
 And jocund, sports the green and lusty May.
 No more let pining grief your breasts annoy,
 Haste, enter in, and taste of deathless joy.

To that curs'd place, then spake the other side,
 Men go thro' me where joy shall ne'er abide;
 To that curs'd place where trees no leaves shall bear,
 But chilly Winter shivers thro' the year.
 Here wasting Sorrow spreads her gloomy reign,
 Danger attends, and sad distressful Pain. (ll. 29-40)

The catalogue of trees shows how slavishly at times Godfrey followed Chaucer. The older poet writes:

The byldere ok, and ek the hardy asshe;
 The piler elm, the cofre unto carayne;
 The boxtre pipere, holm to whippes lashe;
 The saylynge fyr; the cipresse, deth to playne;
 The shetere ew; the asp for shaftes pleyne;
 The olyve of pes, and eke the dronke vyne;
 The victor palm, the laurer to devyne. (ll. 176-182)

Godfrey uses the same trees:

The builder Oak, the lofty pillar Elm,
 The hardy Ash, and the victorious Palm;
 The Cypress, friend to Sorrow, mournful Tree,
 The Fir, bold sailor o'er the restless sea.
 The Holme for whipper's lash, the Box tree too,
 The Asp for shafts, for bows the bending Yew;
 The peaceful Olive, and the drunken Vine,
 And Laurel sacred to the tuneful Nine. (ll. 56-63)

There are two similes in *The Parliament of Fowls* that Godfrey also uses. Here, surely, some change might have been expected, but there is little. In describing his feelings as he reads the two inscriptions on the gate, Chaucer writes:

Right as, betwixen adamauntes two
 Of evene myght, a pece of yren set
 Ne hath no myght to meve to ne fro—
 For what that oon may hale, that other let—
 Ferde I. . . (ll. 148-152)

Godfrey paraphrases this:

So when the ever-faithful Needle set,
 Between two Magnets, each of equal weight,
 While pow'r to power oppos'd [*sic*] the war maintains,
 Fix'd and immoveable [*sic*] it still remains. (ll. 46-49)

In the other simile Chaucer describes Nature:

Tho was I war wher that ther sat a queene
That, as of lyght the somer sonne shene
Passeth the sterre, right so over mesure
She fayrer was than any creature. (ll. 298-301)

Godfrey keeps the figure:

Rais'd on a bank with fragrant flow'rs made gay,
Great NATURE sat, whose laws we all obey.
(As Summer's sun the Stars in light excel,
So she surpasses all that tongue can tell.) (ll. 146-149)

Two or three other points may be noted. Godfrey's imperfect rhyme, *Nightingale: small* (ll. 166-167), can be traced directly to his source, where Chaucer quite correctly rhymes *nyghtyngale* and *smale* (ll. 351, 353). At least once Godfrey makes a change in his source when the sense of Chaucer's poem is not readily clear to the modern reader: *bees* (l. 167) is substituted for *foules* (l. 353). In the catalogue of birds Chaucer has the line:

The crane, the geaunt, with his trompes soun. (l. 344)

Godfrey fails to recognize "geaunt" as an appositive and makes out of his source an unheard-of bird, "the Geaunt" (l. 170). And he reveals how thoroughly he has come under the neoclassic diction of the time when he substitutes "finny squadrons" (l. 69) for Chaucer's:

. . . Smale fishes lighte,
With fynnes rede and scales sylver bryghte. (ll. 188-189)

These quotations show that Chaucer was not Godfrey's spiritual master; at the same time, they make clear that *The Parliament of Fowls* was the direct source of "The Assembly of Birds." Granted that "The Court of Fancy," which was first published in 1762, is the earlier of the two poems here dealt with and granted that it stems from Chaucer through Pope, it is not beyond all conjecture to suggest that Godfrey's first acquaintance with Chaucer came through Pope and that he later sought out the Middle English poet in the original. Had he not been prematurely cut off, Godfrey might have gone on to absorb a bit of Chaucer's spirit. As it is, he is unique among the American poets of his time for having done more than allude to Chaucer.

WHITMAN'S DEBT TO JOSEPH GOSTWICK

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RECENT STUDY of Whitman's knowledge of German philosophy has recognized his use of Joseph Gostwick's popular handbook *German Literature* (1854) chiefly as a source for his ideas of Hegel.¹ But a biographical note, hitherto unnoticed, on Barthold Niebuhr, in which Gostwick's book is cited by title and page number, suggests that Whitman may have used it more widely than has been observed so far.² The purpose of this article is to examine the extent of Whitman's use of this source.

First, as to Hegel: besides the fact that Whitman's only two references to Gostwick were made in connection with remarks on Hegel, it is significant that the stress generally placed on him by Whitman is closely proportionate to that made by Gostwick,³ and that the discussion itself of Hegel in the Carlyle essay follows Gostwick's analysis quite closely.⁴ In the next place, Whitman ignores "the Hegel who thought Napoleon 'the World-Spirit on Horseback,'" as Newton Arvin has noticed; so Gostwick took the one-sided, optimistic view of the Hegel "who spoke out for spirit . . . and for good emerging out of evil and ostensibly for freedom

¹ Richard Riethmueller, *Walt Whitman and the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1906), reprinted from the *German American Annals*, IV, 19, apparently the first to mention Gostwick, believed that Whitman used his *German Culture and Christianity* (London, 1882). But Mody Boatright, "Whitman and Hegel," University of Texas *Studies in English*, IX, 134-150 (July 8, 1929), showed, by the misspelling of the author's name on the title page, and by borrowings and parallels, that Whitman used the earlier book as at least one source of his knowledge of Hegel. In a footnote to the Carlyle essay in *Specimen Days* Whitman acknowledged indebtedness to "J. Gostick's abstract," *Complete Writings* (New York and London, 1902, IV, 321). Boatright also noted another reference to Gostwick in the "Sunday evening lecture" notes on the German philosophers in the *Complete Writings*, IX, 171.

² This note, which summarizes the chief data given by Gostwick, concludes: "See pages 249-50-51 *German Literature*" (*Complete Writings*, IX, 116).

³ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-272. He gives to Hegel almost five out of seven pages on the German philosophers after Leibnitz.

⁴ *Complete Writings*, IV, 319-322; Gostwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-272. Both begin with the essential idea of the resolution of apparent oppositions in the "endless ['eternal' says Gostwick] process of creative thought," and then apply it in the same order to politics, ethics, and religion. Direct borrowing, in addition to that noted by Boatright, occurs in the following: "A majority or democracy may rule as outrageously and do as great harm as an oligarchy or a despotism" (*Complete Writings*, IV, 321). Gostwick said, "A majority or democracy in any country may rule as oppressively as an oligarchy" (*op. cit.*, p. 270).

and unity.⁵ And, finally, the character of the comments themselves which are not taken directly from Gostwick suggest that Whitman relied more upon Gostwick's summary than Hegel's own work: they are of a very general nature, there are no direct quotations even from a translation, and he mentions specific titles only twice in notes. There is no reference at all to any books of Hegel in the later Carlyle essay.⁶

Furthermore, beyond his use of Gostwick for his essential analyses of Hegel, it is clear that Whitman in the early notes relied extensively upon him for ideas on other Germans. Whitman borrowed not only factual and critical materials but probably emphasis and organization as well. Both writers cited Kant, Schelling, Hegel, and Fichte as the chief philosophers following Leibnitz; Whitman relied heavily upon Gostwick for his analyses of the first three and of Leibnitz; and both said relatively little about Fichte.⁷

First, in the earlier lecture notes on the German philosophers, after several pages of general observations, Whitman reaches the heart of his analysis of Kant with the following :

We must sum him up briefly . . . denies the possibility of absolute knowledge of the external world—begins with Hume—admits that we receive all the materials of our knowledge through the senses—but immediately rises above that admission . . . Kant's entire speculations are but a splendid amplification of this reply [i.e., Leibnitz to Locke]. He endeavors to get and state the philosophy of the understanding. The problem of the relation between the understanding and the universes of material nature, he did not attempt to solve.⁸

This fundamental analysis comes directly from Gostwick, who says: Kant began his theories with the scepticism of David Hume . . . Like Hume, he begins by denying the possibility of a real knowledge of the

⁵ Newton Arvin, *Whitman* (New York, 1938), pp. 195-196; Gostwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-272.

⁶ Once in a set of biographical notes Whitman cites the *Encyclopaedia* as "developing his whole philosophy" (*Complete Writings*, IX, 167), and in the lecture notes he mentions the *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, making a brief reference to the chapter on "History as a manifestation of Spirit" (*ibid.*, p. 173). As Arvin suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 192), Whitman could have read selections from Hegel in Frederic Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*, which he owned. But it is significant that Whitman not only omitted direct quotations from Hegel, but felt he needed to use Gostwick's handbook for essential analyses in preparing his lectures and writing for publication.

⁷ Newton Arvin (*op. cit.*, pp. 308-309) has suggested other possible handbook and encyclopedic sources; much of Whitman's biographical data on these figures did come from sources other than Gostwick.

⁸ *Complete Writings*, IX, 176.

external world. He admits that we receive all the materials of our knowledge through the senses, and that from these materials we induce general laws in accordance with the nature of the human understanding. . . . The whole of Kant's system was simply an exposition of all that was implied in the remark of Leibnitz. Kant explained the laws of the understanding. But are these laws accordant with external truth and reality? Schelling and Hegel have endeavoured to answer this question.⁹

In his lecture notes Whitman also relied upon Gostwick for his main analysis of the ideas of Schelling:

Schelling . . . professes to largely answer the questions left open by Kant with a doctrine of "spontaneous intuition"—in other words to solve the problem left open by Kant with the theory that the human mind and external nature are essentially *one* [*sic*]. That that which exists in concrete forms etc. in Nature, exists morally and mentally in the human spirit.¹⁰

Gostwick's summary of Schelling's position is as follows:

[Schelling] professes to solve [Kant's open question] by an appeal to a "spontaneous intuition," which discovers that the human mind and external nature are essentially *one*; or, in other words, that the same intelligence which exists in a conscious state in man, lives in an unconscious condition throughout the universe.¹¹

However, Whitman not only used Gostwick for his studies of Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, but he relied upon him, first, for his explanation of the basic Locke-Leibnitz controversy; then further on in the same lecture notes, when he thought he should give a more adequate account of Leibnitz, he turned again to Gostwick. First, in his summary of Kant, Whitman said: "Long before, the speculations of Locke and the other materialists, had reached the formula that 'there is nothing in the understanding which has not arrived there through the senses.' Leibnitz had replied, 'Yes, there is the understanding itself.'" This is taken directly from Gostwick's account of the development of German "Idealism" from Leibnitz's time: "The writings of Locke and Condillac, and others, led to the conclusion, 'there is nothing in the understanding which has not arrived there through the senses.' To this Leibnitz replied by saying, 'Yes; there is the understanding itself.'"¹²

⁹ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-269. One should doubt Riethmüller's statement that "Whitman's allusions to Kant, scarce and brief though they be, go to prove a close study of the Königsberg philosopher" (*op. cit.*, p. 35).

¹⁰ *Complete Writings*, IX, 180.

¹¹ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

¹² *Complete Writings*, IX, 176.

¹³ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

Toward the end of these notes, in giving a further account of Leibnitz, Whitman copies almost exactly Gostwick's only critical comment in this place on Leibnitz's ideas, saying, "His favorite themes were natural theology and the moral government of the world."¹⁴ Gostwick had written: "The favorite philosophical topics of Leibnitz were connected with natural theology and the moral government of the world."¹⁵

Besides these early borrowings on Leibnitz, certain notes on other German writers are also taken from Gostwick. A set of jottings on Friedrich Schlegel, dated 1857, for example, contain not only derivative biographical data but also summaries of leading ideas and critical opinions.¹⁶ Whitman's statement that the "most valuable tenet" of the *Philosophy of History* is "*the inexpediency of destroying old institutions before new ideas are prepared to develop themselves in consistency with the order of society*"¹⁷ is simply an italicizing of Gostwick's own summary of what he calls "the only valuable argument" of these lectures.¹⁸ But further than this, Whitman's critical comment on Schlegel's lectures entitled "Literature of all Nations," is also derived from Gostwick. Schlegel, Whitman wrote, "*makes literature the representative expression of all that is superior in a nation*, thus elevating it, especially poetry, far above the views of trivial and commonplace criticism, and regarding it as incorporating and being the highest product of human life and genius."¹⁹ Gostwick says that Schlegel's great purpose in these lectures is

to describe the development of literature, in its connection with the social and religious institutions of various nations and periods. He thus elevates literature, and especially poetry, far above the views of trivial and commonplace criticism and regards it in its highest and most important aspect, as the product of human life and genius. . . .²⁰

¹⁴ *Complete Writings*, IX, 184.

¹⁵ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Neither Gostwick nor Whitman makes any close analysis of the ideas of Leibnitz. Newton Arvin (*op. cit.*, p. 192) mentions the *Atlantic Monthly* article on Leibnitz noted in the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, May 21, 1858.

¹⁶ Similar borrowings make up Whitman's note on Lessing, in which he concludes that Lessing "was the R. W. Emerson of his age" (*Complete Writings*, IX, 155); Gostwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁷ *Complete Writings*, IX, 120-121.

¹⁸ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, p. 279. Cf. Boatright's citation of this borrowing (*op. cit.*, p. 147).

¹⁹ *Complete Writings*, IX, 121. These lectures are mistakenly called "Lectures (*History of Literature*)."

²⁰ Gostwick, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

Gostwick closes his discussion by emphasizing Schlegel's Catholic bias, and Whitman ends his notes with the following: "Prejudices. —But remember in reading these lectures Schlegel was full of the prejudices of a zealous, newly converted Roman Catholic."²¹

Moreover, in addition to this early reliance in lecture notes upon Gostwick, Whitman later in life continued to use the same book, and perhaps also the notes themselves, when he commented on Hegel and the other German philosophers in the Carlyle essay in *Specimen Days*. Here, when speaking of the contributions of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel as being "indispensable to the erudition of America's future,"²² he again follows Gostwick's book in his discussion of Kant's "open question" as answered chiefly by Schelling and Hegel, and, as noted above, in placing by far the greatest emphasis upon Hegel.²³

Whitman's essential analysis here of Schelling is also taken from Gostwick:

Schelling's answer [to the open question of Kant] is . . . that the same general and particular intelligence, passion, even the standards of right and wrong, which exist in a conscious and formulated state in man, exist in an unconscious, or in perceptible analogies, throughout the entire universe of external Nature, in all its movements and processes—thus making the impalpable human mind, and concrete nature, notwithstanding their duality and separation, convertible, and in centrality and essence one.²⁴

This summary, which is all that Whitman had to say about Schelling in this essay, is only a free wording of Gostwick's sentence quoted above.²⁵ Although he did not acknowledge Gostwick as his source for his opinions of Schelling, it was in the succeeding discussion of Hegel that Whitman made his footnote of indebtedness.

Of recent estimates of Whitman's knowledge of German philosophers Newton Arvin's is probably the most temperate and sound.²⁶ After citing several possible sources, he concludes that Whitman's

²¹ *Complete Writings*, IX, 121. This note was dated by Whitman "1857."

²² *Ibid.*, IV, 322-323.

²³ Gostwick's comments on Fichte were not entirely without significance to Whitman, for in a footnote Gostwick said that "The doctrines of the American essayist and lecturer, Emerson, are simply a reproduction of the ideas of Fichte in a new dress" (*op. cit.*, p. 273).

²⁴ *Complete Writings*, IV, 319.

²⁵ Above, p. 493. The two halves of Gostwick's sentence are reversed, and a few words are substituted or added.

²⁶ Arvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192, 308-309.

reading on the subject was confined largely to the type of material illustrated in the present article. He cites Gostwick, however, only as one source for Whitman's knowledge of Hegel.²⁷ The present study suggests that, although other popular books were certainly used, mainly for general data, Joseph Gostwick's *German Literature* was probably Whitman's chief single source for biographical and critical materials, and especially for his exposition of the essential ideas, not only of Hegel but also of the other important German philosophers and writers.

A LATE EMERSON LETTER

WILLIAM PEIRCE RANDEL

University of Minnesota

THROUGH the generosity of the heirs of James Kendall Hosmer (1834-1927), librarian of Minneapolis and historian, a letter written to him by Emerson in 1877 has been made available for publication. Its chief interest lies in the references to Hermann Grimm. It is one of Emerson's last letters, and one of the last in his own hand.

In 1856 Grimm began a correspondence with Emerson that lasted for some years; in 1903 it was collected and published as *Correspondence between Ralph Waldo Emerson and Hermann Grimm*, edited by Frederick William Holls. In his letter of October 19, 1867, Grimm suggested that it would give him pleasure to receive portraits of both Emerson and his daughter, to complete his collection of the family. Emerson welcomed a photograph of Grimm in the same spirit.

The "*Vorlesungen* volumes" refer to two volumes now in the Emerson library in the Concord Antiquarian House and catalogued as follows:

Grimm. *Vorlesungen gehalten an der Kgl. Universität zu Berlin*. Vols. 1 and 2. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz, 1877.

Inscription: An Ralph Waldo Emerson

Hermann Grimm.

The photostatic copy reveals that Emerson's signature and complimentary close were clipped out (to be mounted with an Emerson

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192, 308-309.

photograph in the Hosmer household) and later restored to position.

Professor Rusk did not include this letter in his edition because he had only a photostat of a copy of it in an unknown hand and was not willing to publish it from that state.

CONCORD, 26 December '77

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope it is not quite too late to thank you for the valued photograph of Hermann Grimm, which you sent me more days ago than I like to count. Old age is slow to write, and my daughter spoils me by occasionally writing in my stead. But this gift of yours is so precious that I must take my own risks. Grimm long years ago interested himself in some of my books,—translated one or two of them himself, opened a correspondence with me, & has sent me faithfully all his own works, and those of his wife. Meantime I never saw him until '73, when I found him in Florence with his wife on the last day of my stay in that city. He sent me a few months since two solid *Vorlesungen* volumes, 600 pages—which I trust when finished will be that adequate history of Goethe that we have hitherto waited for.

With very kind regards, yours,

R. W. EMERSON

Rev. James Kendal [*sic*] Hosmer.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- Balzac in the United States. Rubin Cohen (Columbia, French).
The Development of Willa Cather. Nora Lewison (Iowa).
Moncure Daniel Conway. Mary Elizabeth Burtis (Columbia).
A Study of the Development of Washington Irving as a Literary Artist before 1824. Robert Stevens Osborne (North Carolina).
The Reputation of Alexander Pope in America. Agnes Sibley (Columbia).
George and Sophia Ripley: A Biographical Study. Lisette Riggs (Maryland).
William Gilmore Simms' Contributions to Magazines, Newspapers, and Annuals. J. Allen Morris (North Carolina).
An Analysis of the Harned Collection of Whitman Notes and Clippings in the Library of Congress. Bernice G. Lamberton (Maryland).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Current Concepts of Literary Regionalism and Their Significance for the Teaching of American Literature. Myra L. Dunham (Columbia, Teachers College).
The Decline of Romantic Economics in American Literature. David White (Iowa).
Historical and Critical Study of Histories of American Literature. Evelyn R. Rezek (Columbia, Teachers College).
A History of Alabama Imprints and Printers before 1870. Rhoda C. Ellison (North Carolina).
A History of the Pittsburgh Theatre, 1861-1900. James A. Lowrie (Pittsburgh).
Individualism in New England Literature, 1620-1691. Mark M. Horton (Stanford).
Iroquois and Ojibway Legends and Culture in Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Deerslayer*, and in Longfellow's *Hiawatha*: A Study in the Use of Anthropological Methods for Teachers of English. Emily L. Freeman (Columbia, Teachers College).

La Louisiane dans la Littérature Française. Yvonne Weiss (Columbia, French).

Mark Twain and Henry Adams in Account with the Gilded Age. Jennie Suddath (Missouri).

The Negro Novel and the American Scene: Its Significance for Teachers of American Literature. Waters Turpin (Columbia, Teachers College).

Problems of Lincoln Biography. William H. Ford (Pittsburgh).

Romanticism in the American Drama and Theatre from the Beginnings to 1900. Richard Moody (Cornell).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century. Sister Mary Augustina Ray (Columbia, History, 1936).

American Styles and Theories of Acting from Edwin Forrest to David Belasco. Garff Bell Wilson (Cornell, Drama, 1940).

American Travellers in France, 1830-1860. Robert C. L. Scott (Yale, History, 1940).

The Americas as Revealed in the *Encyclopédie*. Beulah Hope Swigart (Illinois, French, 1940).

Amos Kendall, Propagandist of Jacksonian Democracy. Powrie Vaux Doctor (Georgetown, Political Science, 1940).

An Analysis of the Theatrical Criticism of William Winter. Charles J. McGaw (Michigan, Speech, 1940).

Aspects of Southwestern Regionalism in the Prose Works of Mary Austin. Muriel H. McClanahan (Pittsburgh, 1940).

Bibliography, Lists, and References to Performances (Criticisms and Translations Included) of Strindberg in England and America. Mrs. Esther Rapp (Colorado, 1940).

Carlyle's Reputation and Influence in America. H. DeF. Widger (Illinois, 1940).

The Civil War and Its Aftermath in American Fiction. Rebecca Washington Smith (Chicago, 1932).

The Controversial Writings of William Ellery Channing. Carl W. McGeehon (Iowa, Religion, 1940).

A Critical Estimate of the Educational Theories and Practices of A. Bronson Alcott. George Edward Haefner (Columbia, Education, 1937).

- Criticism of Education in Twentieth-Century American Novels. Herbert Eugene Fowler (New York University, College of Education, 1932).
- Dana and the *Sun*. Candace Stone (Columbia, History, 1938).
- The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850. Warren Alan Guthrie (Northwestern, Speech, 1940).
- The Development of the Idea of God in Contemporary Negro Literature. Benjamin Elijah Mays (Chicago, Religion, 1935).
- The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. James Dombrowski (Columbia, Philosophy, 1937).
- The Educational Philosophy of Louis Agassiz. William Esdaile Byles (New York University, Education, 1940).
- Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Transcendentalist. Queenie Bilbo (New York University, 1934).
- The Equestrian Drama of the Nineteenth Century. Clet Anthony Girard (Louisiana, 1939).
- The French Drama in America in the Eighteenth Century and Its Influence on the American Drama of that Period, 1701-1800. Lewis Patrick Waldo (Michigan, Comparative Literature, 1940).
- The Generation of the 1850's, 1860's and 1870's in the Fine Arts in the United States in Relation to Parallel Phases of American Culture. John F. Kienitz (Wisconsin, Fine Arts, 1938).
- Heinrich Armin Rattermann, German-American Author, Poet, and Historian, 1832-1923. Sister Mary Edmund Spanheimer (Catholic University, German, 1938).
- Henry J. Raymond and the New York *Times* during Reconstruction. Dorothy Dodd (Chicago, History, 1933).
- The History of Old Testament Higher Criticism in the United States. Charles Farace (Chicago, Divinity School, 1939).
- The History of the Interpretation and Criticism of the New Testament in America, 1620-1900. Donald Stanley Klaiss (Chicago, Divinity School, 1934).
- Horace Greeley, Whig or Socialist. Leo Brophy (Fordham, History, 1940).
- The Influence of Editorship and Other Forces on the Growth of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, 1849-1909. Richard Benjamin Eide (Missouri, Journalism, 1940).

- Invention in Ingersoll's Lectures on Religion. Orvin P. Larson (Iowa, Speech, 1939).
- Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More: A Comparison. Howard Boniwell Warren (Drew, Homiletics, 1940).
- John Quincy Adams' Theory and Practice of Public Speaking. Horace G. Rahskopf (Iowa, Speech, 1935).
- Jonathan Edwards as a Christian Educator. Rebecca R. Price (New York University, Education, 1938).
- Literary Culture in Colonial Maryland, 1700-1776. Joseph T. Wheeler (Brown, History, 1939).
- The Literary Reputation of Baudelaire in England and America, 1857-1934. Jacob Canter (Harvard, Romance Philology, 1940).
- Makers of America; . . . A Study of the Lives of Sixty-three Persons Elected to the American Hall of Fame, from the Point of View of Their Heredity, Social and Economic Status, Education, Religion, and Moral Training . . . Hugh Anderson Moran (Columbia, Education, 1936).
- Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England. Mary Latimer Gambrell (Columbia, History, 1937).
- The Munich Period in American Art. Aloysius George Weimer (Michigan, Fine Arts, 1940).
- Nathaniel Parker Willis: His Literary Criticism of His Contemporaries. Charles Arthur Huguenin (St. John's University, Brooklyn, 1940).
- Noah Webster, Pioneer of Learning. Erwin C. Shoemaker (Columbia, Education, 1936).
- The Norwegian-American Reaction to Ibsen and Bjørnson, 1850-1900. Arthur Christopher Paulson (Iowa, 1933).
- An Objective Study of the Speech Style of Woodrow Wilson. Howard Lucius Runion (Michigan, General Literature, 1936).
- Periodical Literary Criticism, 1800-1865; a Study of the Book Reviews from 1800 to the Close of the Civil War, Dealing with the Successive Works of Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Poe, Hawthorne, and Thoreau, Which Appeared in American Publications within the Lifetime of the Individual Authors. Hazel Tesh Pfennig (New York University, 1932).

- Philip Freneau: A Critical Biography. Lewis G. Leary, Jr. (Columbia, 1940).
- Philosophy in the Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson. Estelle Kaplan (Columbia, Philosophy, 1940).
- The Place of Maxwell Anderson in the American Theatre. Fred C. Blanchard (New York University, Dramatic Art, 1939).
- Puppets in American Life, 1524-1915. Paul McPharlin (Michigan, Fine Arts, 1940).
- The Realistic Tendency in the Theatre. Leland Schubert (Cornell, 1938).
- Religion and the State of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century. Reba C. Strickland (Columbia, History, 1939).
- Rufus W. Griswold. Joy Bayless (Columbia, 1940).
- Society in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1731-1741. Ernest M. Hall (Illinois, History, 1939).
- Some Factors Related to Achievement in American Oratory. Hugo E. Hellman (Marquette, Education, 1940).
- Some Social Trends in W.P.A. Drama. Clarence J. Wittler (Catholic University, Sociology, 1939).
- Spanish Folksongs in New Mexico. Arthur L. Campa (Columbia, Spanish, 1940).
- The Spirit of America as Interpreted in the Works of Charles Sealsfield. William Paul Dallmann (Washington University, St. Louis, German, 1938).
- Studies on the Pennsylvania German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois. Alfred L. Shoemaker (Illinois, German, 1940).
- Three Studies in Propaganda in the American Theatre. Frederic Oliver Crandall (Michigan, Speech, 1940).
- A Transcendental Philosophy of Education, a Study of the Educational Philosophy of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Mary Mendenhall (Yale, Education, 1934).
- Voltaire's Reputation in America, 1750-1800. Mary-Margaret Barr (Columbia, French, 1940).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

Orestes A. Brownson. H. D. Williams (Yale).

Spanish Influence in Early American Literature. Carl Easter (Pittsburgh).

Utopian Elements in American Literature. James L. McAndrew (Catholic University).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Miss Frances H. Babb, Springfield, Vermont, has ready for publication a study of Abby Maria Hemenway (1820-1890), Vermont historian, anthologist, and poet. The study is the result of research at the University of Maine.

Dr. Minnie M. Brashear (University of Missouri) is engaged on a history of the literature of the Mississippi Valley.

The life of James Athearn Jones (1791-1850), minor poet and novelist of Massachusetts, is the topic of a study completed in 1940 at the University of Maine by Katherine A. Conley (Bath, Maine).

Professor Francis Wolle (University of Colorado) has revised his "Fitz-James O'Brien, a Critical Biography," completed at Columbia, for early publication by the press of the University of Colorado.

Through an oversight, responsibility for the "Research in Progress" list appearing in the November, 1940, issue of *American Literature* was not indicated. That list was contributed by the compiler of the present listing.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

BOOK REVIEWS

FORCES IN AMERICAN CRITICISM: *A Study in the History of American Literary Thought*. By Bernard Smith. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1939. x, 401 pp. \$3.00.

Bernard Smith deserves the thanks of scholars for his recent history of American criticism. In the strict sense, he has had no predecessor, since De Mille and Foerster by design limited themselves to analytic studies of certain "masters" of our criticism; and, as Smith properly remarks, the "definitive work . . . remains to be done. It must be done in several volumes—when there are more special studies and monographs than are now available. . . ." Meanwhile this interim-volume will undoubtedly "be read by teachers and referred to by students"; and since that is so, it is regrettable that Smith gives no bibliography of such "special studies and monographs" as already exist: his footnotes show a considerable acquaintance with the academic productions, including such as appeared in *American Literature*; but—to mention some examples—one misses references to Charvat's *Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-35* (1936), Morris Roberts's *Henry James's Criticism* (1929), and the studies of Margaret Fuller's criticism by Braun, McMaster, and Wallace. David Clark's work on Brockden Brown is mentioned but not Milton Ellis's on Dennie. Mott's work on American magazines was an obvious and acknowledged source; but Lyon Richardson's *A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1789* (1931) passes uncited.

Besides the vigor and spirit with which it is written, the book may fairly be said to possess two further and central merits: the judgments passed on particular critics are obviously based upon first-hand and independent reading of the texts; and—what does not inevitably accompany such freshness—the judgments assemble into a generally coherent view. In consequence the critical reader finds himself forced to more than a moment-by-moment and name-by-name definition of his own position. As for Smith's particularities, it is sufficient to speak of his acquaintance with such minor but useful critics as Whipple and Verplanck; his discerning appraisals of Margaret Fuller's reviews and Bryant's essays and Stedman's books; his considered justice to Howells and Brownell. If one were to single out a chapter for special praise, it would be that on Transcendentalist criticism. Emerson, by the complexity and elusiveness of his thought, furnishes a test case for the discrimination of his judge; and it is high tribute to Smith when one says that there exist few if any disengagements of Emersonian motifs more deft, more exact than his.

Forces in American Criticism does not purport to be "scientific" by virtue of doctrinal neutrality. It is a critical history of criticism, and therefore judges the critics who judged their literature. It is a "history," not a series of essays, and therefore has to provide some continuum, some principle admitting of sequence, change, and development. It finds this continuum in the relations of literary criticism to social history: specifically, it is a Marxist study of our critics and critical movements as economically determined.

The fact need neither frighten nor confuse. A chief requirement of contemporary criticism, whether of past or present, ought to be its clear declaration of presuppositions, standards, and methods. If those avowals are unambiguously offered and consistently illustrated, the reader whose criteria derive from a different system can readily differentiate statement of fact from judgment of value and make his own translation of the latter.

Within limitations of human fallibility, Smith meets this requirement. Chief provocation to emotive misstatement is naturally provided by the parties and issues of the twentieth century, to which he gives approximately a third of his book; and here there are occasional plain misrepresentations, as when Ransom's *The World's Body* is said to "attempt to prove that literary criticism must be founded upon religion—which, admittedly, flourishes in a hierarchic society," and when *I'll Take My Stand* is said to plead for a restoration of ante-bellum feudalism. Customarily, however, the distinction between information and verdict is easy enough to make: for example, when Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism* is termed "a work of great erudition and sustained thought, the final effect of which is grotesque," it is clear from the context that "sustained thought" represents honest tribute to a considerable opponent, while "grotesque" represents an opponent's estimate of his opponent's "doctrine"; and no serious student of American criticism can absolve himself from reading, at first hand, a critic who, though dubbed "the enemy," is credited with so rare a commodity as "sustained thought."

In simplified outline, Smith's charges against non-Marxian critics may be said to concern either *form* or *content* or both. By *form* I here mean the conception of literature's function and that of criticism; by *content* I mean the specific doctrine held and taught by the critic or implied by the imaginative structure of novel or drama. Thus the Marxists and the Neo-Humanists, Babbitt and More, are found to agree in their formal conception of criticism, concurring on "social responsibility as the touchstone of value," while on the other hand they differ sharply in the *content* of their standards, political and moral—the Neo-Humanists being Hamiltonians in politics, and in ethics adherents of Christian

morality, while the Marxists are hostile not only to "private property" but also to the "bourgeois sexual code" and the traditional position of the family. Thus, again, the "Neo-Humanists" and the "Neo-Classicists" share a considerable agreement in their extra-literary standards; their social "tradition," but disagree on the *form* of criticism—the one practicing the ideological method, the other the esthetic. And thus again—to take a last example—there was, before 1930, a partial agreement of *content* between Bohemian and Socialist critics, the Bohemian sharing two important hostilities with the Socialist: opposition to the bourgeois and, specifically, opposition to the "bourgeois sexual code."

The reader of this history might well be advised to begin with "The Twentieth Century," follow to the end, and then, having defined the author's point of view and learned his terminology, turn back to the chapters concerned with the past. In his terminology, "Marxist" equates "Stalinist," while "radical" equates Trotskyite or other Communist "hostile to present tendencies in the Soviet Union" (p. 376 and n.). In his own point of view, Smith is not what contemporary Russian estheticians call a "vulgar sociologist." It would be clumsily erroneous to think of him as endorsing all criticism in which the imaginative writer criticized is damned or eulogized for his class-origins and his explicit "message," or to think of him as insensitive to literary discriminations between authors equally "correct" in their attitude toward the Revolution. If Smith ignores very considerable distinctions within the groups labeled "Neo-Humanist" and "Neo-Classicist"—the latter a term under which he subsumes Eliot, Ransom, Tate, and Winters, he is sharply aware of differences between those critics who centrally interest him—the critics of the Left. He censures the "dogmatic socialists" who simplified the relations of literature to society, who overlooked the dictum of Marx that "certain periods of highest development of art stand in no direct connection with the general development of society, nor with the material basis and the skeleton structure of its organization" (pp. 288-289); he passes considered pejorative judgment upon Calverton, the first critic to use the Marxist method, for his disregard of esthetics and his "mechanical materialism"; he sharply distinguishes Marxist "literary criticism" from what is often confounded with it—a "political criticism of literature" (p. 378). He acknowledges that Marxist critics, with the exception of Kenneth Burke, "have not effectively dealt with the problem of communication" and that they have "consistently slighted esthetic appreciation" (p. 379).

Thus far I have been chiefly concerned to point out that such a critical history becomes usable to a reader not sharing its critical doctrine once he has made out that doctrine and accustomed himself to calculating its

effect upon particular judgments. It remains to speak briefly of the doctrine itself, its difficulties, and the difficulties of applying it.

One difficulty is perhaps terminological. Does the social critic of literature maintain that literature inevitably expresses "life" or that it should do so? He probably wants to maintain both, and they are not incompatible if one resolves the ambiguous "life" into its parts. Every writer inevitably expresses his experience of life and his own conception of life (what is "real" for him); but the critic may always say, "That is not what I mean by 'life.'" Henry James, writing of his English aristocrats, was writing about the kind of life lived by some people and the kind of life with which (in later years) he was chiefly familiar; the critic, however, can say, "he should have written about Americans," or "he should have written about the wage-slaves," or "he should have written about all nations and social classes"; or the critic can say, "he should change his attitude toward his subject matter," that is, conceive of "life" differently.

But can a man—novelist or critic—obey such an "ought"? Is not his attitude toward life determined by his class origins? "Yes" would seem the answer of "historical materialism." But then there are the admitted facts that most proletarians (outside of Russia) are not Communists and that many Communists are persons of bourgeois origins and economic status. Evidently, men's philosophies are not inevitably determined by their origins or even their own economic interests (as judged by a spectator). If so, then sociological biography should disappear from a "criticism of criticism." A doctrinal criterion can always be applied without the biographical aid which Smith frequently invokes: provided with our own philosophy of history, we can examine the explicit doctrinal statements or the implicit "life philosophies" of critics and novelists; or, as statisticians and literary sociologists, we can endeavor to calculate the social consequences of those statements as published, bought, and read.

Another critical difficulty concerns the relations of structure to "content." In a statement published since his book (*History of Ideas*, I, 370) Smith professes to condemn equally those who believe that literary criticism is entirely a matter of ideology and those who believe it entirely a matter of esthetics, and, by implication, to take his stand with those who aim at a "synthesis of ideological and esthetic criticism." But of course such an ideal, admirable as it is, does not solve the methodological problem; and, in his present volume, Smith is very far from giving equal attention to both kinds of criticism. Indeed, he charges, in his *Forces*, that esthetic criticism is the product of a leisure class society and associated with escape from politics or with reactionary political views;

and he calls upon Poe (a poor working journalist albeit haunted by recollections of early grandeur) and Henry James to substantiate this representation. This, however, is a view not easy to maintain, since many critics politically leftist (signally Burke, Blackmur, and Troy) write nonideological criticism, and since Babbitt and Mencken, both politically "reactionary," took little interest in analysis of form.

But these are difficulties encountered—and unresolved—not alone by Smith; they are difficulties of the kind which forcibly beset any historian of literature who is not content with composing a series of essays on as many authors, each with its "background," its biographical sketch, its chronological summary of the "works." They are the difficulties which confront our scholars as they contemplate producing a new history of American literature. Mr. Smith's honest and intelligent book deserves examination for its methodology—and concern for methodology—as well as for its information and its "criticism of criticism." It deserves our praise for its achievement and for the inquiries it excites.

The University of Iowa.

AUSTIN WARREN.

BRONSON ALCOTT, *TEACHER*. By Dorothy McCuskey. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. xvii, 217 pp. \$2.50.

Any new book on Bronson Alcott naturally asks comparison with Odell Shepard's *Pedlar's Progress*. Miss McCuskey makes it clear that her study was first written in 1935-36 (before *Pedlar's Progress*), and that it embodies her own independent research among the Alcott manuscripts. Recently she rewrote the study to win a prize offered by an honor society in education. The book is well organized, clearly written and thoughtful. But it inevitably suffers from the earlier publication of a more inclusive and more popular biography of Alcott.

Bronson Alcott, Teacher contains only 171 pages of text, plus 46 pages of appendices. But *Pedlar's Progress* devoted approximately the same amount of space to the same educational activities of Alcott. The new book does not print many new facts or new quotations, except in the appendices. Its new material does not justify its publication. Its style is neither better nor worse than its predecessor—only different. Its distinctive quality is, perhaps, its philosophical analysis of Alcott's educational ideas.

Miss McCuskey calls Alcott "our first educational philosopher." Throughout she compares and contrasts him to men like Pestalozzi and Horace Mann. Where Pestalozzi (for example) emphasized the education of the poor, vocational training, and mechanical methods of teaching, Alcott emphasized abstract moral and religious education, and the per-

sonal method. But both men agreed on treating the child as a human being, and relating education to the rest of life. Miss McCuskey believes that Alcott's first educational insight was that the child was an *active* being: he tried to "lead out" the child's active nature. And she prefers him to the other transcendentalists because "he always attempted to put his theories into practice. . . . Alcott was surprisingly practical." She even suggests that his educational philosophy was a forerunner of John Dewey's.

But at this point the analysis becomes confused. Alcott was not a practical man, nor a pragmatist, in any sense of the word. True, he tried to put his theories into practice, but he did not modify them when experience proved them impracticable. He conspicuously lacked the scientific temper, and refused to learn from experience. Perhaps his serene denial of what Emerson called "the discipline of Nature" even disqualified him for the title of "typical American transcendentalist" (see the article by this reviewer in the *New England Quarterly*, March, 1940). Certainly it disqualified him as a typical philosopher of progressive education. Unlike Pestalozzi, Alcott neglected the educational problems of the poor. Unlike Horace Mann, he ignored the practical problems of school administration. Unlike John Dewey, he ignored the larger problem of means, and the experimental method. He remained utterly impractical, even though he was, in a sense, active.

Miss McCuskey offers a clear analysis of some of Alcott's educational ideas, and suggests the problems which they raise; but she does not add a great deal to Mr. Shepard's biography, either in facts, or in philosophical analysis.

Belmont, Massachusetts.

FREDERIC I. CARPENTER.

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON: *A Biography*. By Hermann Hagedorn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. xii, 402 pp. \$3.00.

In preparing the first full-length biography of Robinson, Hermann Hagedorn possessed the advantage of twenty-five years of close acquaintance with the poet. He was also in touch with the whole small circle of Robinson's other friends, and devotedly gathered their letters, reminiscences, and anecdotes. He has thus preserved much that would otherwise have been lost, and his book must be the source for any further study. His disadvantages are that he was too close to his material always to see it in proportion: many of his anecdotes are strung out quite beyond their significance, and others are handled so elliptically that they hardly convey a direct meaning. For instance, the chatty description of Isadora Duncan's rapid fascination with the unresponsive poet only serves to make

the whole incident sound unreal. Nor is the firmness of Hagedorn's narrative increased by his fondness for such evocative phrases as "the gifted sylvan being," or "a lovely colorful butterfly," when describing the wives of two of Robinson's friends.

This biography makes no effort at criticism, yet from it we can gather the materials that are essential to an understanding of Robinson's poetic career. In this review I want simply to note a few of the problems and triumphs of that career which Hagedorn has thrown into sharper light. In the first place, he gives us intimate, if fleeting, glimpses of the cultural life of Gardiner, Maine, in the eighteen-seventies and eighties: a provincial town where several lonely New Englanders were still aspiring to culture, and where Robinson as a high-school boy met weekly with a group composed of one of the early graduates of Radcliffe, a local doctor, and a local judge, all of whom wrote verse and alternated the reading aloud of their own latest things with Villon or Verlaine. The boy brought to that group a fondness for exploring the meanings of words that he seems to have had from the age of ten. The youngest son of a prosperous storekeeper and of a mother with a tenuous gift for literary composition, Robinson was neither the student nor the man of action that his two considerably older brothers had respectively shown themselves to be. From his school days he regarded himself as a misfit, with a fatal lack of energy and with an apathy towards everything that practical New England valued as success.

The succession of tragic events against which he grew to maturity can hardly be exaggerated. His family's fortunes had declined before the death of his father; his two promising brothers both came to disaster and died as alcoholics; his mother met a horrible death from black diphtheria. These events, spaced over several years, conditioned the world in which Robinson had to find his way. An early injury to his eardrum, neglected while a child until the bones had become diseased, made him dread for long periods that his brain might be threatened. He had already learned, by the time he was a special student at Harvard, that "life is a terrible thing," but his response to it was far less somber than has often been supposed. His first strong tastes had been for Dickens and Kipling, and he continued to possess the interest in character of the one, and the fresh delight in common speech which had been stimulated in him by the other. At Harvard he came into his own heritage: he distinguished the wide separation between Emerson's value and Longfellow's, and when a friend read to him "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed," he said, "If that's not poetry, it is something greater than poetry." Santayana's verse struck him as though it had been written "by a highly sophisticated corpse"; and he judged that Moody had "many things to unlearn." Rob-

inson often felt himself drifting without purpose, and years later he was still uncertain whether he really knew how to write, but his keenness to speech rhythms, quickened by a special fondness for Crabbe, had brought him by his mid-twenties to his formed style.

What he most wanted to say in those early years is contained in his first long poem, *Captain Craig*, finished in 1899. The garrulous old man who is its hero is impoverished, a failure by all worldly standards, and yet insists that

There is no servitude so fraudulent
As of a sun-shut mind.

He provided Robinson with the opportunity to test his theory—laconically phrased to Laura Richards—that “it is possible to apply good natured common sense even to the so-called serious events in life.” Through the figure of the Captain the poet developed his fondness for what he termed “semi-intellectual humor,” which to him was “the only real kind—that is, the only kind that has to do with the realities.” Failure to perceive the subtle play of ironic comedy even in Robinson’s most somber passages has often caused him to be misunderstood. It is Hagedorn’s contention that the poet’s difficulty in finding a publisher for *Captain Craig*—it kept going from office to office for three years—robbed him of initial buoyancy which he never recovered. Certainly those were the years when he was existing most precariously in New York, and when he began to drift into seeming aimlessness and hypochondria. He often said, “We are living in hell,” but he grew able to accept and endure that fact, and his endurance finally allowed him to write a poem like “The Man Against the Sky.” He had early confessed his weakness in abstract thought; he had said that he lacked “the stamina to be a Christian,” yet his concern with the “light,” his dogged conviction that there was something beyond materialism, composed the substance of all his meditations. In a letter written in 1931 he was still insisting that he should not be called a pessimist, that the acceptance of life’s actual horror could give one at last the release that belongs to tragedy.

As a child Robinson had dreaded that he was never going to be able to elbow his way to “the trough of life.” As a young man he was sure he would die young. Yet his strangely resistant passiveness, the quality which enabled him to say, when his prospects were bleakest, that he could “keep on waiting for some time longer in the dark,” carried him through to old age. From the time when he first went to the McDowell colony (1911), his external routine finally began to be regularized. That kind of induced stability saved him from his worst loneliness and checked his drinking. He became far more prolific, but it is questionable whether that in the end was a good thing. The long series of narratives which

occupied most of his last twenty years lack the intensity of his character studies. Into his short portraits he had distilled his suffering and tenderness over the disorder of men's lives, and had expressed the heart's strength in meeting failure.

Harvard University.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN.

SELECTED LETTERS OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. xi, 191 pp. \$2.50.

Edwin A. Robinson wrote Percy MacKaye, "I doubt if a book of my letters would be of much general interest, but a book of selections from them might be readable and possibly mildly amusing." Ridgely Torrence, who signs the Introduction, has in the *Selected Letters* prepared such a book, with the collaboration of Hermann Hagedorn, Lewis M. Isaacs, and Louis V. Ledoux. Percy MacKaye himself, "one of the five originally chosen," took no part in the work "owing to his absence in Europe." The book is edited in the spirit of Robinson's suggestion. The Robinson of the editors is a living man and the qualities of the book are human and literary rather than scholarly. Extracts instead of entire letters are often given and omissions made at discretion. It is obvious that no effort is made to include a "complete" correspondence or to aid the future biographer. The result is more than a fulfillment of Robinson's judgment. It is a readable and also an amusing book; but it is also a book that contains many arresting and some wise passages and it builds up a clear and valuable total impression of a personality.

The letters begin in 1890 when Robinson, a lad of twenty, thought that his "school education was completed" when he left the friendly doors of the Gardiner High School and was looking back with nostalgia to his school days. They end with a letter written from a New York hospital a little more than two months before he died in 1935. The outline of his life, his essentially unchanging characteristics and ideas, his attitude toward his poetry and to life, his judgments of many contemporary poets, and his fundamental beliefs are all here in the mosaic that these selected letters build.

As a young man the poet was a bit apologetic that he did "not wish to teach school or work with tools or much of anything even that brings money to a man." Yet he had faith in himself and his work: "I shall never be a Prominent Citizen and I thank God for it, but I shall be something just as good perhaps and possibly a little more permanent." At sixty, he could write, "As lives go, my own life would be called, and properly, a rather fortunate one." He was blessed with faithful friends who helped him over the hard years, but he never took the hardships

as seriously as some of them did. When Josephine Preston Peabody was distressed by the thought of his working in the subway of New York, he compared himself thankfully with Torrence "reading bad manuscript or D(aniel) G(regory) M(ason) trying to fit his immortal soul into the mould approved by the sons of the Reverend Lyman Abbott—not to mention Hamilton W. Mabie." The time came when his letters instead of frequently acknowledging favors carried evidences of his own generosity and ability to be generous—with money. Before his death he could record that it had cost him seven thousand dollars to live during the year past—and the money had been made by his own pen.

His letters give his ideas on religion and his abhorrence of a mechanistic interpretation of life and of prohibitory legislation. They are less explicit in expressing his general views on literature. There are many specific references to individual books and authors. As a youth he found reading *Wuthering Heights* like digesting a thunderstorm and dated his unchanging love for Northern Spies to a time before he had ever questioned "the unqualified greatness of Mr. Poe's 'Raven.'" *Beauchamp's Career* was "a part of everybody's education," and *Esther Waters*, though "too much 'realism,'" a "great book," yet not to be placed "along with Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, his one book that is true." Shaw he found an "illogical composite of red rags and white corpuscles," but he referred again and again to his enjoyment of Dickens, in spite of bad parts. He came to feel that George Meredith had a disagreeable personality that leaked out through his pages but "still he was a genius."

Robinson would seem, from these letters, not to be eagerly interested in the life of his time. The seclusion of Peterborough suited him and he felt it a refuge even after a brief excitement in England. New York and New England were the limits of his world: "New England is in my blood and bones, and will not be denied." The trip abroad showed him a shrewd observer, none the less, and as far back as August, 1933, he wrote a friend, "I see in France a sort of short-sighted Samson, and wonder when the roof is going to fall—assuming that there is any roof left."

There are fewer interpretations of his own poems in these letters than one could wish, though he does indicate his intentions at times. The fullest comment on his own work is contained in a letter to Professor Lewis Chase in 1917, in which he acknowledges a debt of influence to Wordsworth and Kipling and denies consciousness of any to Browning.

His appraisals of other contemporary poets are as interesting as anything the book offers. To Amy Lowell herself, he wrote that her book had upon him the effect of "an avalanche." To Frost in 1917, he wrote that in "Snow," "In the Home Stretch," "Birches," "The Hill

Wife," and "The Road Not Taken" he had undoubtedly "added something permanent to the world" and he liked everything else in the book. Of Sandburg, he wrote, "He is a sweet singer, and one of the best, I am told, in Amy's jazz band." Writing of A. E. Housman, he said, "His kingdom is a small and not very jolly one, but he is the boss of it, and that's enough." In January, 1932, he thought Miss Millay's last book "a most remarkable business, and yet it seems to me more literary than alive." "All the same, she is an eminent little critter, and deserves to be eminent." And of Elinor Wylie, "She is to John Donne what The Millay is to Shakespeare—if you care to figure that out. . . ." He wrote enthusiastically to Archibald MacLeish, "*You Andrew Marvell* is really a magical thing. And the whole book is one to make a fellow sit up and be glad." The last sentences in the last letter given in the book are, "I doubt if you would care much for Auden and Spender. They are for the youngsters."

The frontispiece portrait is excellent and the few notes in the back are informative and all that is needed to make the text clear. It may be wished that, for the sake of those readers who never saw the elegance of a letter written in Robinson's infinitesimal script, a facsimile of a letter had been given.

University of Virginia.

JAMES SOUTHALL WILSON.

STILL SMALL VOICE: *The Biography of Zona Gale*. By August Derleth. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. 319 pp. \$3.00.

A biography written as shortly after the death of its subject as Mr. Derleth's life of Zona Gale has an excellent chance of not coming off just right, particularly when the author is, as in this instance, very close to his subject. Mr. Derleth's biography does come off.

The literary aims of Zona Gale at the height of her career (which Mr. Derleth correctly represents as signalized by *Birth* and *Miss Lulu Bett*) coincide in many respects with his own: considering the circumstances, possibly Mr. Derleth himself is only partially conscious of the extent to which he was confirmed in his practical literary creed of regionalism by his patronal neighbor who dwelt on the other side of the Wisconsin River, only thirty miles to the north of his own Sauk City.

Regionalism in literature, particularly in the novel, has shown a remarkable fecundity for begetting crusaders and engendering cults, the sententious froth of whose creeds and manifestoes is beguiling adolescents of all ages into setting up as regional novelists. Although Mr. Derleth's book on Zona Gale—a tempting subject for the propagandist for re-

gionalism—leaves no doubt regarding his own leanings, it is restrainedly objective.

By an adroit interweaving of biographical fact, literary detail, and critical judgment, the biographer has succeeded admirably in recounting the life of Zona Gale, at the same time demonstrating her growth in stature as a literary personality—from her earliest misdirected efforts, through the long career as newspaper reporter in Milwaukee and New York, her “arrival” in *Birth*, the distraction of her sociological and political forays, until her death on December 27, 1938, in her sixty-fifth year—much of her work yet undone. Artfully worked into the very texture of the story, there runs, from the first page to the last, the certain, unwavering “still small voice” that was the spirit of Zona Gale—tenaciously clinging to her idealisms, undergoing no essential change of character except such as the “years bring to perspective,” often meeting rebuffs and disappointments, but never losing her vision of “that something more” which she caught as a little girl. This thread is handled with consummate art.

On the basis of the synthesis which this biography presents one cannot be certain—nor is the author certain—that Zona Gale’s performance as a writer is quite first-rate. It would be too much, at this close range, to expect finality of judgment. What is clear is that she played a prominent role during three decades of the most fertile period of American literary history. She regarded the thirties as a “high moment” in American literature. Although she expressed, in 1938, some doubt about the limits to which the scope of American literary material had been extended, she herself made a notable contribution by depicting, in a series of books that grew unmistakably out of the woman she was, the American “village conscience.”

The fact that this biography is the work of a novelist and poet involuntarily directs attention to the style, manner, and structure of the book. The expectation is that it be both something more and less in performance than what is expected from the run of biographies. This is no fictionized life. Mr. Derleth had at his disposal the papers of Zona Gale; he made excellent use of them, demonstrating a practiced hand and good judgment regarding what to include and what to exclude. One exception occurs, at least to me, who found the edge taken off Zona Gale’s unfinished autobiography, covering her childhood (comprising some thirty pages, printed near the end of the volume), by the frequent repetitions between this really delightful fragment and Mr. Derleth’s first chapter, which, in and of itself, is quite as engaging. But the story does not bear retelling in terms so nearly identical. It is easy to see that the author faced a difficult problem. Zona Gale’s account could not be sacrificed. Neither could it be admitted readily to substitute for Mr. Derleth’s first chapter—if only

because of the resulting clash in style between it and what follows, and more notably because of the gaps, from the biographer's point of view, in Zona Gale's account. A satisfactory solution might have been found in the expedient of printing the autobiographical fragment verbatim in the first chapter, together with prefatory remarks, interpolations and liberal footnotes, and conclusion supplied by Mr. Derleth. However, since one or the other is in the nature of a gratuity, I am not minded to quarrel with the author on this score, nor on account of the typographical errors and minor discrepancies between the two versions. The latter are trifles which the proofreader or editor of the Appleton-Century Company might well have caught.

The style is perfectly modulated to the subject, forceful without being too masculine, poetical without being flighty. The author is sure of his subject, and much surer of his style than in some of his earlier novels. His sentence structure falters only once.

The general reader will be entertained by the charm of this book as the more serious student will be rewarded by Mr. Derleth's perspicacious judgments. The bibliography and index add greatly to the general utility of this biography; Mr. Derleth's own elegiac verses heighten the poetical value of the book.

There will doubtless be other biographies of Zona Gale—academic studies replete with crisp facts, precise dates, possible sources, vague parallels, and other marks of erudition; but so far as the essentials of Zona Gale go, there need be no new life of her for some time.

University of Wisconsin.

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

AMERICA'S LOST PLAYS. Barrett H. Clark, General Editor. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Volume III, *Glaucus and Other Plays*. By George Henry Boker. Edited by Sculley Bradley. xiv, 228 pp. \$5.00. Volume IV, *Davy Crockett and Other Plays*. By Leonard Grover, Frank Murdock, Lester Wallack, G. H. Jessop, J. J. McCloskey. Edited by Isaac Goldberg and Hubert Heffner. xxv, 231 pp. \$5.00. Volume V, *Trial without Jury and Other Plays*. By John Howard Payne. Edited by Codman Hislop and W. R. Richardson. xvii, 264 pp. \$5.00. Volume VI, *The Last Duel in Spain and Other Plays*. By John Howard Payne. Edited by Codman Hislop and W. R. Richardson. 265 pp. \$5.00.

FRENCH THEATRE IN NEW YORK: *A List of Plays, 1899-1939*. By Hamilton Mason. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. viii, 442 pp. \$3.75.

American theatrical and dramatic history has recently profited by the publication of four additional volumes of the "America's Lost Plays" series

and Mr. Hamilton Mason's *French Theatre in New York*. Many of the plays which the series now first makes available in published form belong to dramatic rather than theatrical history. Of the eleven lesser plays by Payne in *Trial without Jury and Other Plays* and *The Last Duel in Spain and Other Plays*, only three were certainly played, and only one found production in the United States. Two of the three plays by Boker in *Glaucus and Other Plays* had some stage history, and two, the unacted *Glaucus* and *The Bankrupt*, have literary interest. Moreover, the volume, ably edited by the earlier editor and biographer of Boker, Sculley Bradley, completes the publication of the dramas of an early poet and dramatist whose talents and relation to contemporary taste, literary and theatrical conditions lend him considerable importance. The pieces by Payne here published have value as varied representatives of the derivative drama which made up the chief theatrical fare of England and America in his time and as evidence of Payne's efforts and abilities. The editors have carefully studied problems of authorship and circumstances of writing and have given a general sketch of Payne's career; but one may question their success in carrying out an announced purpose of the series, to establish the plays as "a significant part of American culture."

Mr. Heffner, who completed the editing of *Davy Crockett and Other Plays* upon the death of Mr. Isaac Goldberg, rightly claims for them no literary merit. In fact, as he says, their value consists in part in their being "excellent examples of that cleavage between literature and the theatre that had arisen in the eighteenth century and continues down through the nineteenth to the renaissance of the modern drama." Five popular plays are presented as records of theatrical tastes, of the developing realism and interest in American subjects which mark their period, roughly, 1850-90, and in relation to the conditions under which American dramatists were working to establish themselves. The plays themselves, particularly the frontier melodrama, *Davy Crockett*, will probably interest the reader most in their use of varied native types and settings. Whatever their crudities in style and obvious devices of farce and melodrama, they form an essential part of a series which is giving the student and general reader the opportunity for a fairly thorough direct acquaintance with the development of the American drama and theater.

Mr. Mason's *French Theatre in New York: A List of Plays, 1899-1939* will be useful as a reference volume for persons who undertake the ordinarily difficult task of identifying plays and learning something of their stage history. Within its chosen period, the book lists places and dates of performance, adaptors and translators, and casts for first-run, or original Broadway productions, and for second-run productions "by

established stock companies or repertory groups," of plays from the French (not operas or light operas), in English and other languages. The apparent accuracy and completeness of these lists indicate patient and extensive research. Mr. Mason's interpretation of his facts in the first forty-one pages provides a suggestive general guide, weakest in linking the French drama in New York during this period to earlier French plays and influences there.

HENRIETTE C. K. NÆSETH.

Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

SHELLEY IN AMERICA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: *His Relation to American Critical Thought and His Influence*. By Julia Power. University Studies, Vol. XL, No. 2. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1940. vii, 255 pp. \$1.50.

This book, written as a dissertation, is a work of substantial character, although it suffers from a vagueness of purpose that is apparent in the title. The most satisfying part of it is the historical account of the early reception of Shelley in America and the growth of his reputation here during the succeeding half century. It is worth something to know that Shelley was first mentioned in an American publication in 1818, that the Galignani edition of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats was the chief means by which he was later popularized, that Alcott placed no book by Shelley in the library at Fruitlands, that there were sound critical opinions of Shelley among the students of Yale College in 1839, that Orestes Brownson was one of Shelley's staunchest defenders and wrote an excellent review of his work for the *Boston Quarterly Review* in 1841, and that the first American edition of Shelley's complete poetical works, issued in 1845, was edited by a Fourierite, G. G. Foster. The greater portion of the book is rightly devoted to the record of American interest in Shelley before 1850, although there are interesting and useful facts about the later period, particularly in the chapter dealing with the work of Lady Shelley and the Shelley scholars in establishing the poet's reputation.

The least satisfying part of the work is that which attempts to demonstrate the extent of Shelley's influence. This part is unfortunately not always clearly distinguished from the historical material. In an effort, which is understandable, to make her survey complete, the author has suggested influences and parallels that seem to the reviewer either doubtful or unimportant, or both. There is no great significance in the fact that a poem by C. P. Cranch is "slightly Shelleyan in atmosphere and diction," that a line in a poem by Ellery Channing "probably was inspired by a similar idea in Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,'" and that

the first stanza of T. B. Aldrich's "An Old Castle" in its form "bears a slight resemblance to the first stanza of 'Arethusa.'" Such likenesses, granting they exist, are too intangible to mean anything.

A separate chapter is devoted to the influence of Shelley on Poe. Doubtless Miss Power accomplishes about as much in this sort of snipe hunting as is humanly possible, but even so the entire effort is almost if not quite futile. She quotes eight lines from "Al Aaraaf," the most significant of which are the first four:

To be carriers of fire
(The red fire of their heart)
With speed that may not tire
And with pain that shall not part.

On these lines she makes the following comments: "The general idea of carriers of fire probably derives from *Prometheus Unbound*, and the line 'With speed that may not tire' has parallels in the same poem. . . . The 'Pain that shall not part' might have been suggested by the cry of Prometheus, 'Pain, pain ever, for ever!'" If Miss Power will read "Al Aaraaf" more carefully I believe she will agree with me that the connotation of "fire" in Poe's poem is altogether unlike the Promethean fire. The meaning given to the word "pain" is equally different in the two poems. In another passage she says that the third stanza of Poe's "To One in Paradise" is "very much like" the third stanza of Shelley's "Ode to Dejection," whereas in fact the two stanzas have only one important word in common, the word "alas," the entire likeness, if it exists, being one of mood. In conjecturing that Poe had Shelley in mind in the "nameless elf" of "Sonnet—Silence," Miss Power seems to misunderstand seriously the meaning of Poe's poem. The antecedent of "elf" is "shadow," and the shadow is the shadow of the corporate Silence. I do not see how by any stretch of the imagination it could refer to Shelley or any other person. Again in discussing Poe's "Dream-Land," she says: "In the first stanza the reference to 'an Eidolon named Night' is probably borrowed from Shelley's idea of death as the brother of night in his poem 'To Night' in that 'Eidolon' is symbolic of death." One trouble with this parallel is that the "Eidolon" of Poe's poem almost certainly does not symbolize death, but is merely night personified. Miss Power's statement that Poe's first recognition of beauty as an element in poetic theory is found in his review of the poetry of Drake and Halleck in 1836 and that he probably got the idea from Shelley would have more weight if Poe had not clearly demonstrated to the discerning reader of "Al Aaraaf," "To Helen," and other poems the fact that he was conscious of his theory of beauty and utilizing it in poems as early as 1829.

Numerous other examples could be cited from this chapter of Miss

Power's book to show the futility of seeking specific parallels in the work of two such imaginative poets as Poe and Shelley, both belonging to the same poetic period. One may state with confidence that Poe and Shelley had ideas in common (though not many) and that they are vaguely similar in the moods they are able to suggest. But to say that Poe derived his ideas, his phrasing, or his atmosphere from Shelley specifically is to assume that he could have got them from no other available source, and that would surely be an unwarranted assumption. Shelley himself pointed out in the preface to *Prometheus Unbound* that a poet's "language and tone of thought" will almost certainly bear a resemblance to the language and tone of thought of the elder poets of his own age. But if the younger poet is original, as Poe undoubtedly was, the resemblance will be too general and too vague to be traced in its details. Indeed, Miss Power admits (pp. 37-38 and 132) the difficulty of establishing an indebtedness of this kind. The real value of her book would have more readily appeared if she had eliminated a considerable portion of her argument for influences and further elaborated and rounded out her historical accounts.

The text is marred by numerous typographical errors that should not have been overlooked, but otherwise the book is well written. The organization of the material, as I have already intimated, could be improved. It is a useful work to the mature student, but it might easily mislead those who are not familiar with the writers discussed.

North Texas State Teachers College.

FLOYD STOVALL.

BRIEF MENTION

FORBIDDEN FRUIT & OTHER PLAYS. By Dion Boucicault. Edited by Allardyce Nicoll and F. Theodore Cloak. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1940. viii, 313 pp. \$5.00.

The past few months have seen the publication of several volumes in the long-awaited series of "America's Lost Plays." This book, which is volume one of the series, contains six plays, hitherto unpublished, that do not add greatly to Boucicault's stature as a dramatist, but that bear additional testimony to his facile skill and inventiveness. Two of the dramas, *Louis XI* and *Flying Scud*, were extremely popular in their day and are of special interest in that they display the author's easy versatility as he turned from serious historical drama to the lively comedy of the race track. The volume has a brief introductory note on Boucicault by Mr. Nicoll, and each play is preceded by a sketch of its history written by Mr. Cloak.

In the General Preface Barrett H. Clark, the editor of the series, suggests the purpose of the undertaking as a whole in this sentence: "We who have collected these hundred plays and are now seeing them published for the first time have sought to bring together an exhibition not only, and perhaps not primarily, of samples of the playwright's craft, but of curious and illuminating criteria of public taste over a period extending from the Revolution down almost to the present day." Undoubtedly, then, the value of the series will consist not merely in its contribution to our stage history, but equally in the further light it will throw upon the popular culture of America. For the fulfillment of such a purpose the first volume augurs well. When the twenty volumes have appeared every student of American drama and culture will owe a profound debt to Mr. Clark, without whose tenacious and devoted efforts the series would have been impossible.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

AMERICAN STUDIES IN HONOR OF WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD. By Members of The Americana Club of Duke University. Edited by David Kelly Jackson. Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. x, 377 pp. \$4.00.

Three of the eight essays in this book deal with neglected aspects or writers of American literature. Jay B. Hubbell has contributed a long survey, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," which goes beyond its title and indicates, also, how Northern sectional prejudice intensified the demand for a separate Southern nationality. Indirectly, his essay

helps to clarify our continuing need for regional literature, by tracing and explaining the first concerted move for a sectional literature. Charles Roberts Anderson describes the tragic last days of two Southern writers, in "Charles Gayarré and Paul Hamilton Hayne: The Last Literary Cavaliers." These unreconstructed gentlemen became acquainted, by correspondence, in 1885; they shared a love for the Old South and a hatred of G. W. Cable. Mr. Anderson presents them chiefly through their letters, most of which have not been published (for that reason, especially, I wish that he had not "silently emended a few obvious slips of the pen"); he also presents valuable material on Cable. David K. Jackson's biographical sketch of Philip Pendleton Cooke, although less definitive than John D. Allen's unpublished biography, is the best account now easily available of the Virginia poet; it includes much unpublished material, and a good evaluation of Cooke's work. The book is a dignified and excellent tribute to a distinguished historian.

University of Georgia.

EDD WINFIELD PARKS.

NATURE (1936). By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Edited with an Introduction, Index-Concordance and Bibliographical Appendices by Kenneth Walter Cameron. New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints. 1940. xxvi, 94, 43 pp. \$3.50.

In addition to bibliographical information this work offers a helpful index of forty-three pages.

C. G.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND PSALMODY: *An Historical Appreciation 1620-1820*. By Hamilton C. Macdougall. Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Daye Press. [1940.] 179 pp. \$3.50.

A valuable addition to our knowledge of the European backgrounds of the early church music of New England.

C. G.

TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF AMERICA. By Ira W. Ford. New York: E. P. Dutton. 1940. 480 pp. \$5.00.

This work reproduces the words of various ballads and patriotic tunes but features the music of the old-time fiddlers. A number of square-dance calls, play-party songs, and the like are also included.

C. G.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES 1939-1940. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries. Edited by Edward A. Henry. New York: H. W. Wilson. 1940. xiii, 126 pp. \$2.00.

The seventh number of this invaluable check-list includes 3,088 dissertations, heading the list being Chemistry (527), Education (309),

and English Literature (183). American Literature is included in the English field but for purposes of convenience ought to be kept separate.
C. G.

THE OHIO GUIDE. Compiled by Workers of the Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Ohio. American Guide Series. Sponsored by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. New York: Oxford University Press. [1940.] xxvii, 634 pp. \$2.75.

This work contains chapters on the press, the literature, and the theater of Ohio, topics which have elicited discussion in only a few of the books in the Guide Series. Professor Harland Hatcher acted as director of the enterprise.

C. G.

LOUISIANA IN THE SHORT STORY. Edited by Lizzie Carter McVoy. University, La: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. xiii, 291 pp. \$2.75.

A collection of fifteen short stories with a Louisiana background. Among the authors are Cable, Hearn, Kate Chopin, Lyle Saxon, Grace King, J. Frank Dobie, and Stark Young.

C. G.

AUDUBON'S AMERICA: *The Narratives and Experiences of John James Audubon*. Edited by Donald Culross Peattie. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. vii, 329 pp. \$6.00.

While the numerous illustrations and deluxe format might lead one to suppose that this volume is merely another gift-book, such is by no means the case, for the selections from the various works of Audubon are carefully made and the commentary by Mr. Peattie is excellent. The whole supplies an unusual indication of the range of Audubon's interests and puts into more general circulation bits of little-known information about his life and travels.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the March, 1941, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

- [ADAMS, JOHN] Carlson, C. Lennart. "John Adams, Matthew Adams, Mather Byles, and the *New England Weekly Journal*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 347-348 (Nov., 1940).

John Adams (Harvard, 1721) contributed at least nineteen of the fifty-two essays and poems which appeared in the *New England Weekly Journal*, 1727-1728. Fourteen were contributed by Matthew Adams, and fourteen by Mather Byles.

- [BROWN, C. B.] Warfel, Harry R. "Charles Brockden Brown's German Sources." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, I, 357-365 (Sept., 1940).

Evidence "that Brown reflected the heightened British interest in things German in the late 1790's; . . . that Brown's psychologizing and rationalistic tendency followed German as well as English models; and [that the] rationalistic German novel, Cajetan Tschinck's *Geisterseher*, translated in 1795 by Peter Will as *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, doubtless supplied Brown with the theme of *Wieland, or the Transformation*."

- [BYLES, MATHER] Carlson, C. Lennart. See above, *s.v.* ADAMS, JOHN.

- [BYRD, WILLIAM] Riback, William H. See below, *s.v.* V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE.

- [DWIGHT, TIMOTHY] Boynton, Percy H. "Timothy Dwight and His Connecticut." *Mod. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 193-203 (Nov., 1940).

The author's provincial attitude toward his home state.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Dos Passos, John. "Two Eighteenth-Century Careers, I. Benjamin Franklin. II. Daniel Defoe." *New Republic*, CIII, 654-657 (Nov. 11 and Nov. 18, 1940).

Sketch of the London which Franklin knew in 1724-1725 and its effect upon him. A comparison of Franklin with Defoe.

- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Haviland, Thomas P. "A Measure for the Early Freneau's Debt to Milton." *PMLA*, LV, 1033-1040 (Dec., 1940).

Cites parallels to prove that "Il Penseroso" and "L'Allegro" are sources for "The Power of Fancy."

- [MATHER, COTTON] Haraszti, Zoltán. "Cotton Mather and the Witchcraft Trials." *More Books*, XV, 179-184 (May, 1940).

In a hitherto unpublished letter by Cotton Mather to John Cotton on Oct. 20, 1692, Mather betrays sensitiveness to criticism of the judges of the witchcraft cases.

- [PAINE, THOMAS] Wecter, Dixon. "Thomas Paine and the Franklins." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 306-317 (Nov., 1940).

Two hitherto unpublished and apparently unknown letters from Paine to Franklin in 1777, and one written in 1778, supplement those previously printed to reflect the hearty collaboration of these two men in the cause of American independence. Paine sent to Benjamin Franklin Bache his *Letter to George Washington*, and copies of *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*, for distribution.

- [PENHALLOW, SAMUEL] Adams, Elizabeth L. "The Wars of New England." *More Books*, XV, 87-101 (March, 1940).

The Boston Public Library obtained the original manuscript of Samuel Penhallow's *History of the Wars of New England, with the Eastern Indians* which once belonged to Thomas Prince. These wars covered ten years of fighting between the settlers and the Abenakis, after 1703, and Lovewell's War between 1722 and 1725.

II. 1800-1870

- [COOPER, J. F.] Goodfellow, Donald M. "The Sources of *Mercedes of Castile*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 318-328 (Nov., 1940).

Cooper based most of the incidents upon passages in Prescott and Irving. Some of the most striking characters are original, but "the purely fictitious episodes are few." Although the contemporary reviewers were unfavorable, the student of the American historical novel will be interested in Cooper's unique method.

- [CROCKETT, DAVID] Blair, Walter. "Six Davy Crocketts." *Southwest Rev.*, XXV, 443-462 (July, 1940).

Parrington's suggestion that there were four Davy Crocketts is too conservative: there were six. The multiplicity of Crocketts is accounted for by the use of Crockett portraits for political purposes.

- [IRVING, PETER] Beach, Leonard B., Hornberger, Theodore, and Wright, Wyllis (eds.). "Peter Irving's Journals." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, XLIV, 598-608, 649-670, 745-772, 814-842 (Aug., Sept., Nov., Dec., 1940). To be continued.

The Introduction describes Washington Irving's eldest brother as a versatile man of talents and elegance. Of twelve notebooks, the record of his travels in 1807, only five have been located, and the manuscripts of these are now in the Yale University Library, the University of Texas Library, and the New York Public Library.

- [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Gohdes, Clarence. "Longfellow and His Authorized English Publishers." *PMLA*, LV, 1165-1179 (Dec., 1940).

Documentary evidence that the absence of an international copyright law helped to make Longfellow's works popular in the British Isles.

- [LOWELL, J. R.] Pound, Louise. "Lowell's 'Breton Legend.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 348-350 (Nov., 1940).

Émile Souvestre's folk tale, "Les Lavandières de Nuit" in *Le Foyer Breton* (1844) is suggested as the source of the hint for "The Washers of the Shroud."

- [MELVILLE, HERMAN] Anderson, Charles Roberts. "The Genesis of *Billy Budd*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 329-346 (Nov., 1940).

Melville found the germ of his novelette *Billy Budd* in a popular article in which the "mutiny" on the *Somers* in 1843 was retold.

- [POE, E. A.] Archibald, R. C. "Music and Edgar Allan Poe." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXIX, 170-171 (Sept. 7, 1940).

Offers seven additions to the 252 musical compositions listed in Evans's *Music and Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliographical Study*.

- Kogan, Bernard. "Poe, the 'Penn,' and the 'Stylus.'" *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 442-445 (Aug., 1940).

The *Penn* and the *Stylus*, Poe's lifelong dreams and nonfulfillment of national literary journals.

- [TIMROD, HENRY] Fidler, William. "Henry Timrod: Poet of the Confederacy." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 527-532 (Oct., 1940).

An appreciative essay.

- . "Unpublished Letters of Henry Timrod." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 532-534 (Oct., 1940).

Two letters to Rachel Lyons, of Columbia, S. C.

III. 1870-1900

- [CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Eskew, Garnett Laidlaw. "Mark Twain, Steamboat Pilot." *Coronet*, VIII, 100-106 (May, 1940).

Quotes a veteran steamboat pilot about jealous antagonism to Mark Twain's reputation.

Gay, Robert M. "The Two Mark Twains." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXVI, 724-726 (Dec., 1940).

The rhetorician, "showy, obvious, and delightful"; and the poet, "often hidden behind the jester and showman."

Hutcherson, Dudley R. "Mark Twain as a Pilot." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 353-355 (Nov., 1940).

An impression exists "in certain quarters" that Mark Twain was not successful as a pilot.

Lorch, Fred W. "A Note on Tom Blankenship (Huckleberry Finn)." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 351-353 (Nov., 1940).

Items in the Hannibal *Daily Messenger* reveal that the original of Huck Finn was still unregenerate in 1861.

[FOSTER, S. C.] Hodges, Fletcher, Jr. "Foster and the South." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 89-96 (Feb., 1940).

His contact with the South and his songs of the South.

[HERNE, J. A.] Morton, Frederick. "James A. Herne." *Theatre Arts*, XXIV, 899-902 (Dec., 1940).

Herne's reputation as a dramatist and his contribution to the American theater.

[JOHNSTON, R. M.] Long, Francis Taylor. "The Life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland, 1867-1898." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV, 305-324 (Dec., 1939).

Containing the story, with letters, of his friendship with Lanier.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Shackford, J. Atkins. "Sidney Lanier as Southerner: In Response to Certain Charges by Three Agrarians." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 153-173, 348-355, 480-493 (Apr., July, Oct., 1940).

The charges made against Lanier by J. C. Ransom, Allen Tate, and R. P. Warren, are summarized in nine statements, of which the following are important: "That his removal from the South was in bad faith." "That Lanier damned Trade, i.e., industry, and then flattered it." "That his nationalism was merely a Northern sectionalism." These can be refuted in Lanier's own works. Actually, the Agrarians' own proposals for a rural South stem from Lanier.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Coad, Oral S. "Whitman *vs.* Parton." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, IV, No. 1, 1-8 (Dec., 1940).

Recently discovered letters fill out the story of the debt of Whitman to James Parton.

Smith, Fred Manning. "Whitman's Poet-Prophet and Carlyle's Hero." *PMLA*, LV, 1146-1164 (Dec., 1940).

"... much in Whitman that has been considered Emersonian may really derive from Carlyle," for "an important source of the inspiration back of the writing of *Leaves of Grass* may be found in *Heroes and Sartor*."

IV. 1900-1941

- [AIKEN, CONRAD] Edison, George. "Thematic Symbols in the Poetry of Aiken and MacLeish." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, X, 12-26 (Oct., 1940).

Though Aiken and MacLeish have not made an "aesthetic withdrawal" from their own times, "A tender elegiacism, a delicacy of yearning and regret over 'things remembered,' forms the emotional background of both poets." Both are masters of the symbolic technique. Hoagland, Clayton. "Explorer of the Ego." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 259-263 (Apr., 1940).

On the fiction of Conrad Aiken.

- [ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Healey, Robert C. "Anderson, Saroyan, Sherwood: New Directions." *Catholic World*, CLII, 174-180 (Nov., 1940).

The latest plays of the three are significant attempts, engendered by the times, to reassess the relation of man to the cosmos.

- [FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Rascoe, Burton. "Faulkner's New York Critics." *Amer. Mercury*, L, 243-247 (June, 1940).

Faulkner's misfortune is to be praised by reviewers who confuse his comic sense with a profound criticism of the economic and social situation in the South.

- [HEYWARD, DUBOSE] Watkins, Wren. "DuBose Heyward." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 422-425 (July, 1940).

The enduring qualities of his works.

- [MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] See above, *s. v.* AIKEN, CONRAD.

- [MORE, P. L.] More, Louis P. "Shelburne Revisited: An Intimate Glimpse of Paul Elmer More." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 457-460 (Oct., 1940).

Dr. More, Professor of Physics and Dean of the Graduate School in the University of Cincinnati, gives personal pictures of his brother, the late Paul Elmer More, and tells of his own part in the Shelburne experiment of forty years ago.

- [REESE, LIZETTE W.] Dowling, Albert Warner. "Lizette Woodworth Reese: An Appreciation." *So Lit. Mes.*, II, 98-104 (Feb., 1940).

- [SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Rice, Philip Blair. "George Santayana: The Philosopher as Poet." *Kenyon Rev.*, II, 460-475 (Autumn, 1940).

"Mr. Santayana began his poetic career with three handicaps which he did not entirely overcome: he was a philosopher, he was addicted to Platonism, and he lived in the United States at the end of the 19th century."

- [SAROYAN, WILLIAM] Nathan, George Jean. "Saroyan: Whirling Dervish of Fresno." *Amer. Mercury*, LI, 303-308 (Nov., 1940).

The chief defect of Saroyan's dramatic works is a lack of organization.

Wilson, Edmund. "The Boys in the Back Room: William Saroyan." *New Republic*, CIII, 697-698 (Nov. 18, 1940).

Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, and Wilder "belong to a bigger cultural world"; Saroyan derives from Hemingway and exploits his own personality.

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Jones, Claude E. "Proletarian Writing and John Steinbeck." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 445-456 (Oct., 1940).

Any treatment of proletarian writing should begin with a clear statement of what the critic believes to be the *sine qua non* of the genre. When the work of John Steinbeck is evaluated by means of such a clear-cut definition, it is apparent that he is not a proletarian writer, for he concerns himself with a local rather than an international problem and his solution is not revolution but love and sympathy.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Baer, Frank L. "They Brought Along Their Songs." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 501-508 (Sept., 1940).

An account of an English folk ballad, "The Suffolk Miracle," which crossed the sea and today is still sung in Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

Bartlett, Adeline C. "Full-word Compounds in Modern English." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 243-249 (Oct., 1940).

Brewster, Paul G. "More Songs from Indiana." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IV, 175-203 (Dec., 1940).

Thirty songs, without comment.

Caffee, N. M. "Southern 'L' Plus a Consonant." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 259-261 (Oct., 1940).

Clark, J. D. "Similes from the Folk Speech of the South: A Supplement to Wilstach's Compilation." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IV, 205-226 (Dec., 1940).

2,026 anonymous similes.

Davidson, John. "A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVIII, 544-546 (Oct., 1940).

A suggestion that an American dictionary should be carried through to completion as soon as possible under the direction of H. L. Mencken.

Englekirk, John E. "Notes on the Repertoire of the New Mexican Spanish Folktheater." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IV, 227-237 (Dec., 1940).

Firebaugh, Joseph J. "The Vocabulary of 'Time' Magazine." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 232-242 (Oct., 1940).

Flanders, Helen Hartness. "List of Folk-Songs Recorded in Vermont in November, 1939." *Pro. Vt. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 302-311 (Sept., 1940).

Heflin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 316-325 (Oct., 1940).

Of articles, pamphlets, and books on "Present Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Matthews, William. "Early New England Words." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 225-231 (Oct., 1940).

Linguistic usages in diaries written in New England before 1750.

Riback, William H. "Some Words in Byrd's Histories." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 331-332 (Oct., 1940).

Sutherland, Elihu Jasper, "Vance's Song." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IV, 251-254 (Dec., 1940).

Two versions of the murderer's song, composed in Virginia in 1817 and now popular in the Ohio Valley.

VI. GENERAL

Adams, Elizabeth L. "The Lives of the American Pirates." *More Books*, XV, 315-330 (Oct., 1940).

Description of the pirate literature in the Boston Public Library.

Many of the items came from the collection of Thomas Prince.

Clark, Harry Hayden. "Suggestions Concerning a History of American Literature." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 288-296 (Nov., 1940).

A revival of DeQuincey's distinction between "the literature of knowledge" and "the literature of power" is suggested as a means of reconciling the conflict between those who regard literature as social or intellectual history and those who regard it as belles-lettres.

Erskine, John. "When Will the Poets Speak?" *Amer. Scholar*, X, 59-66 (Winter, 1940).

Reflections on the questions: (1) Why the present lull in poetic expression? (2) What may the poetry of tomorrow be like, especially if the radio becomes a medium of poetic-communication?

Graubel, George E. "A Decade of American Drama." *Thought (Fordham Univ. Quar.)*, XV, 388-419 (Sept., 1940).

Significant plays of the last decade.

Leisy, Ernest E. "The Significance of Recent Scholarship in American Literature." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 115-125 (Nov., 1940).

Although much has been accomplished, much remains to be done in establishing a closer liaison with research groups in closely related fields and in establishing central clearinghouses for information.

Monroe, N. Elizabeth. "Contemporary Fiction and Society." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 363-367 (June, 1940).

Pearson, Norman Holmes. "Surveying American Literature." *Coll. Eng.*, I, 583-588 (Apr., 1940).

The tendency in survey courses is to teach the Colonial period too scantily, to overemphasize the writers of the nineteenth century, and to dismiss present-day writers too hastily.

Pochmann, Henry A. *et al.* (comps.). *Anglo-German Bibliography for 1939.* *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XXXIX, 546-567 (Oct., 1940).

A listing of publications, projects, research in progress, and unpublished studies.

Rahv, Philip. "The Cult of Experience in American Writing." *Partisan Rev.*, VII, 412-424 (Nov., 1940).

"The creative power of the cult of experience is almost spent."

References to Henry James and Melville.

Robinson, Elwyn B. "The *Public Leader*: An Independent Newspaper." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIV, 43-55 (Jan., 1940).

A sketch of its history up to the Civil War. Founded in 1836, it foreshadowed "the future trend of American journalism."

Winters, Yvor. "On the Possibility of a Co-operative History of American Literature." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 297-305 (Nov., 1940).

An understanding of the literature of our country is indispensable to scholars who would understand the full implications of the earlier literature. A literary history which is the product of specialization without such an historical view will be of value merely for biographical and bibliographical information.

Woods, Katherine. "The Van Doren Brothers in American Letters." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 91-102 (Nov., 1940).

By their versatility, their energy, and their vast output, Carl and Mark Van Doren have become representatives and interpreters of their country and directors of its public's reading and thought.

Wright, Louis B. "Toward a New History of American Literature." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 283-287 (Nov., 1940).

An inventory of what is known about American literature must precede a plan for filling in gaps in our knowledge. An extraordinary amount of original research remains to be done before a synthesis can be made. "In too many fields we have almost nothing yet to synthesize."

Wright, Luella M. "Iowa's Oldest Library." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXXVIII, 408-428 (Oct., 1940).

The 1500 books, of which a third were belles-lettres, selected by the territorial governor in 1838.